

ENGLISH EDITION

1 January-February
March-April
2007



RIVISTA MILITARE



The Concept of War

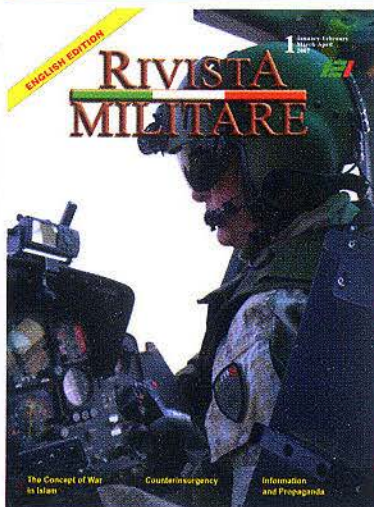
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Information



“RIVISTA MILITARE”

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FOUR-MONTHLY

Supplement to numbers 1 and 2 of Rivista Militare Italian Edition

Editor in Chief:

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Management and Editorial Office

8, Via di S. Marco - 00186 Rome
Phone 0039-06-47357373

Advertising

Care of the Secretariat of Rivista Militare
Phone 0039-06-47358139

Printer

IMAGO MEDIA
81010 Dragoni (CE)
Phone 0039-0823-866710
www.imagomedia.it

Conditions for 2007:

One number: Euro 2,10

One back number: Euro 4,20

Subscription rates:

Italy: Euro 11,40 a year

Abroad: Euro 15,50 a year

Payment must be made on postal

account No.22521009 - S.M.E. -

Centro Pubblicità dell'Esercito

123/A, Via XX Settembre - Rome

Residents abroad may remit payment

through bank cheque or

international postal order

Authorized by the Court of Rome

under No. 994 of the Registry by

Decree 7-6-1949.

2007

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Rivista Militare

The production of this magazine has been supervised
by Omero Rampa.

Rivista Militare aims at broadening and updating the technical and vocational training of Army personnel. It is thus a means of propagating the military way of thinking and a forum of study and debate. Through the publication of articles of technical and scientific interest, Rivista Militare also aims at informing the general public on the Army and on military issues.



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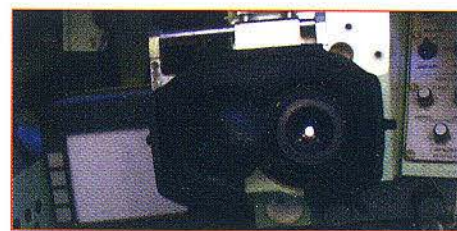
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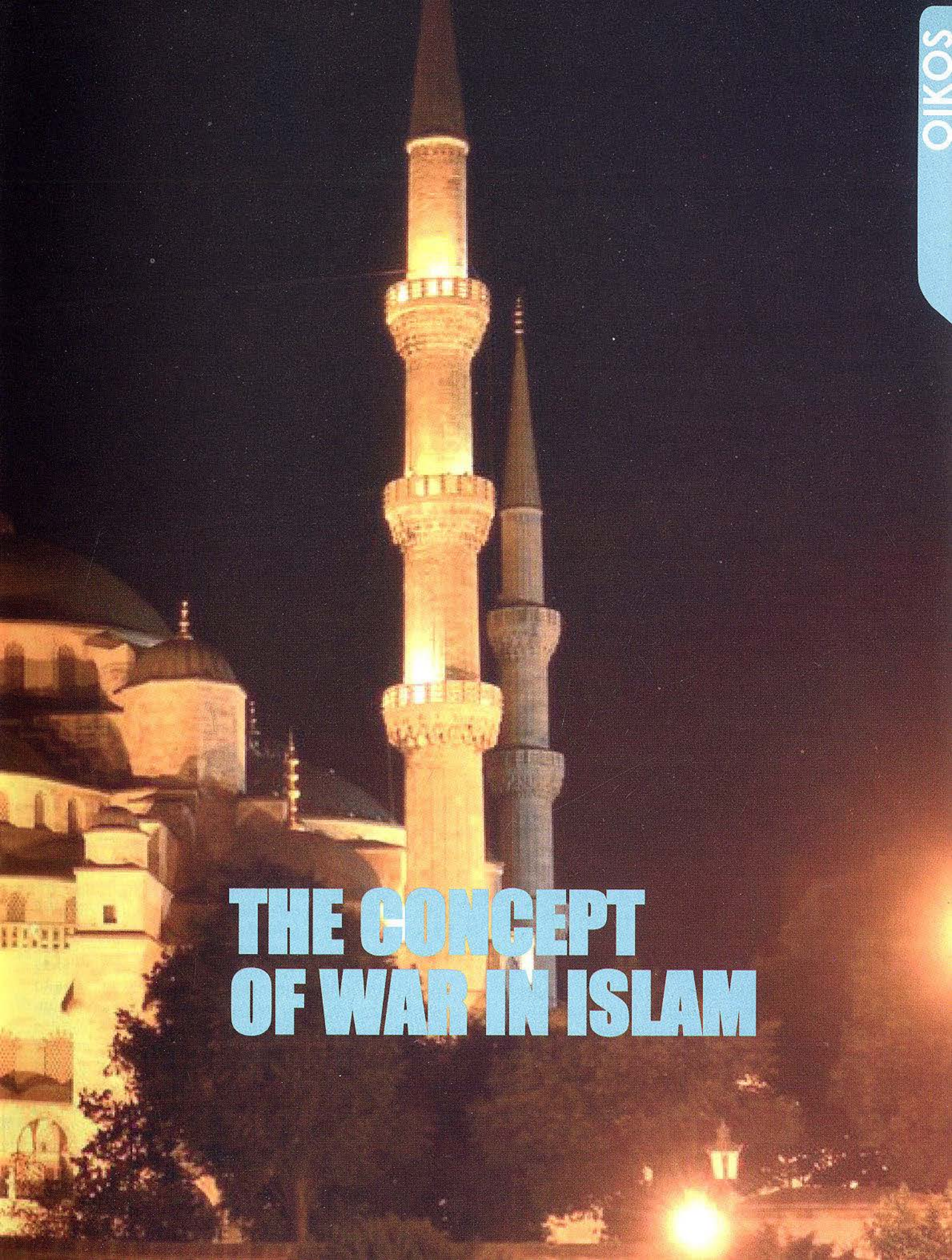
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THE CONCEPT OF WAR IN ISLAM

THE CONCEPT OF WAR IN ISLAM

The stereotype most widespread among Westerners is that of an Islam belonging to a hostile world, blood-thirsty, revengeful, adverse, fanatic, intolerant and backward. It is not so. A careful reading of the main points in the Koran reveals a very different mission, especially as regards the concept of "holy war".

*Human beings are neither angels nor beasts
and unfortunately
the one who wants to be an angel acts like a beast*

Blaise Pascal

The rise of Islam, first in the Arabian Peninsula and subsequently in the surrounding world, took place through the practice of war in a quite different way from other major official religions and, above all, from Christianity.

Differently from Moses, who was not allowed to enter the Promised Land in his lifetime, Mohammed entered La Mecca triumphantly and transformed the Land of his fathers into his own Promised Land, which had been denied to him because of his faith.

His first followers, differently from the Israelites and the Christians, were not persecuted by a hostile government (at least for a short time). Their self-awareness sprang from the memory of a rapid and steady advance where leaders of false and outdated religions had been defeated and where the humiliation of the enemy had paved the way for the final triumph of the Muslim faith. The Muslim weapons spread the Word of God across the world and imposed the divine law on all people.

The Prophet often had to fight against the overwhelming forces. On these occasions he urged his fellows to fight without fear because they were led and protected by God. This is described very well in the Koran and precisely in the verses (ayat) that talk about war. They were written by Arabs and were aimed at putting a stop to the fratricidal war that lots of Arabs fought believing that their faith

will win and the losers will be integrated into the Muslim community and led back to the true faith. The Koran often tells that people do not have to fight against the enemy that desist from attacking and to be tolerant. *Fight against those who attack you to defend the cause of Allah but do not go too far because Allah does not love people who go too far. Kill them wherever you meet them and drive them off your land: persecution is worse than murder. Do not attack them near the Holy mosque if they do not assault you. If they assault you, kill them. This is the reward for misbelievers but if they stop fighting, then Allah will be merciful and forgive them (II, 190-192). Do not spread corruption across the world after people have made it rife. Invoke God with fear and desire. Allah is merciful to those who do good works. He is the One*

who «sends» the winds to herald His infinite mercy. When they bring a heavy cloud, we will lead it to a dead land and we will seed it so that it will rain and water will make fruit grow. In this way we will bring the dead back to life. Maybe, you will reflect on this (VII,56).

Even when the Koran exhorts people to fight against the infidels it always tries to keep a door open to moderation and reconciliation.

After the sacred months have passed, kill these associates wherever you meet them, capture them and set up ambushes for them. If they repent of their sins, say a prayer and pay the tithe, let them go. Allah will forgive them because he is merciful. If an associate seeks shelter, you give him it in order that he can listen to the Word of Allah and then let him go. People like them do not know anything. How could a pact exist between Allah, His messenger and polytheists except for those who negotiated an accord

“ The Koran expressly invites people, several times, not to fight an enemy who does not attack or desists from attacking ”



with you in the Holy mosque? Until they behave well towards you, behave correctly towards them. Allah loves those who are God-fearing (IX, 5-7).

The Old Testament discusses the topic of war in even harsher tones: *the King of Ai was captured and led to Joshua. After Israel had finished killing all fighters from Ai in the country, in the desert and in all the places they had been pursued and after they had been put to the sword, the Israelites overflowed into Ai and slashed at people with swords. On that day, 12 thousand people, men and women, die. Joshua did not withdraw the hand that brandished the spear until they had exterminated all inhabitants of Ai. The Israelites obeyed the orders God had given to Joshua and kept only livestock and the booty of the city (Joshua 8,23-27).*

In another passage the Old Testament gives some rules to follow in a war: *when you approach a city to attack it, at first you will offer it peace. If it accepts peace and opens its doors, its people will pay tribute to you and serve you. But if it wages war on you, you will besiege it. When Your Lord hands the city over to you, you will kill all men with sword but not women, children, the livestock or the booty of the city which will become your prey; you will eat the booty of your enemy that Your Lord God has given to you. And so you will do in all cities that are very far from you and are not cities of these nations. Only in the cities that Your Lord God leaves you as inheritance will you kill their populaces: the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites, as God ordered you to do in order that they do not teach you all abominations they*

Title pages.

Istanbul: the Blue Mosque.

Left.

Mecca packed with believers.

commit for their gods and you do not commit any sin against Your Lord God.

These words sound extremely harsh and show that the analysis of sacred books must be done in a careful way taking the historical context into consideration and avoiding absolutist positions.

MILITARY THOUGHT

Military thought was initiated, together with the rise of Islam and the Arab-Muslim state, in the 7th century AD and with the passing of time it spread across the Muslim world. Since power uses strength as an instrument for pursuing ethical and religious aims (keeping alive the Muslim faith and spreading it across the world), political-military thought, which rationalizes this strength, has deep religious significance. The doctrine of «jihad» was formulated during the conflict that led Mohammed to impose himself over the polytheistic tribes of La Mecca and it became a fundamental part of military thought and of the prevailing doctrines that were developed by Muslim scholars during the centuries VII-IX AD (the Abbasside era).

Not only did Mohammed permeate the religious ideas of the Arab community, but he was the legislator, the politician and the strategist setting a perfect example of «Holy» behaviour (in this regard there is a vast anthology (*hadith*) of sayings and examples of Mohammed's behaviour).

The shape of military thought was determined by the Islamic war in order to legitimise the organization of the state according to the religious principles of «Sharia». The military authority is the Caliph (or Imam), who performs political, tactical and strategic functions at the same time. The Imam is the supreme «executive» authority of the state and his figure is linked to the concepts of «sovereignty», «authority» and «power».

The fundamental concepts, which have influenced the military Islamic thought up to now, can be summarized in the following way:

«conflict with those who are different from me», in accordance with the concepts of unity and universality of Islamic society;

a «religious» feature that characterizes each armed conflict, in accordance with theocracy and ethicalness of Islamic society. This means that in the Islamic world a war is legitimate only if it is fought for religious or defensive reasons;

The supreme authority of the state (who was rep-

resented by the Caliph until 1258 and subsequently by the Muslim monarchies) plays a prominent role in taking political, tactical and strategic decisions because it is impossible to separate political power from military power.

JIHAD

Etymologically, «jihad» means «effort to achieve a clear aim» and in the Koranic expressions it is usually accompanied by the following phrase: «on the path of God».

«Jihad», which is translated as «holy war» in Europe, is a masculine term that actually means «effort». In Arabic the term «war» is *muqatāla*, which derives from *qital* «struggle». *Ijtihad* is the effort that the jurisconsults make to find a juridical solution, whereas *mujahada* is the effort everyone makes to improve one's religious life.

Jihad is considered as minor struggle (*jihad Asghar*) when it is waged by the community to make justice and moral virtue triumph and it is considered as a major struggle when the individual makes an effort to become a good Muslim.

The term «holy war» exists neither in the Koran nor in the *hadith*, according to which no war can be defined as «holy». In addition, it rules out resorting to force to convert people to Islam. *There is no compulsion in religion. The right path has indeed become distinct from the wrong. So whoever rejects false worship and believes in Allah, then he has grasped the most trustworthy handhold that will never break. And Allah is All Hearing, All Knowing* (Sura II, 256).

Traditionally, in the West because of free translations of the Koran, the *jihad* has been recognized only as «armed struggle to spread Islam» according to the following Koranic verses (XLVII, 4–6): *When you meet in battle those who have disbelieved, smite their necks; and after the slaughter fasten tight the bonds, until the war lays aside its burdens. Then either release them as a favor, or in return for ransom.* "When ye encounter the infidels, strike off their heads till ye have made a great slaughter among them, and of the rest make fast the fetters.

And afterwards let there either be free dismissals or ransoms, till the war hath laid down its burdens. Thus do. Were such the pleasure of God, he could himself take vengeance upon them: but He would rather prove the one of you by the other. And whoso fight for the cause of God, their works he will not suffer to miscarry; he will vouchsafe them guidance, and dispose their hearts aright;

and he will bring them into the Paradise, of which he hath told them.

A close analysis of the text shows that the ultimate aim (*When you meet in battle those who have disbelieved*) is to put an end to the fighting (*And afterwards let there either be free dismissals or ransoms, till the war hath laid down its burdens*) and to make the battle as less bloody as possible ... *and after the slaughter fasten tight the bonds, until the war lays aside its burdens ...* without taking reprisals against those who surrender or are taken prisoner ... *fasten tight the bonds.*

The issue of *jihad* is extremely complex and it rarely fought under the slogan «God wants it» which had been invented during the first crusade (launched by Pope Urban II during the Council of Clermont in 1095). It must be emphasized that at first the effort, the *jihad*, was only a war against the Arab tribes, who did not convert to Islam, to free the Ka'ba, (*al-Ka'ba al-musharrafa*, the honoured

Ka'ba, which was a cubical building situated in the middle of the Great Mosque in La Mecca, where the «Black Stone» was set in a corner) and make it a new center of the Arab world, which had been changed by Islam, as it is highlighted by the *sura VIII 38–40: Say to the Unbelievers, if (now) they desist*

(from Unbelief), their past would be forgiven them; but if they persist, the punishment of those before them is already (a matter of warning for them). And fight them on until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in Allah altogether and everywhere; but if they cease, verily Allah doth see all that they do. If they refuse, be sure that Allah is your Protector – the best to protect and the best to help.

The concept of «Holy War» can also be found in the Bible: *Proclaim this among the nations: Prepare for war! Rouse the warriors! Let all the fighting men draw near and attack.*

Then this term was used in the West after the battles against the Muslims and it came into common usage after the speculation of great philosophers from whom Saint Thomas D'Aquino stood out. In Christianity, the expression «Holy War» referred to the wars waged by the Christians in the Iberian Peninsula against the Muslims and subsequently it was used during the first crusade.

The military society, which had established itself in the West after the Barbarian invasions, never lost its own combative spirit and the Catholic Church, which could do very little to curb this ruinous tendency, tried to channel the kings' energy into wars from which it could have obtained considerable benefits. A new concept of war was developed: a

“The term «holy war» does not exist in the Koran. Besides, it rules out any type of war aimed at converting people to Islam”



*The naval victory of Leo IV over the Saracens at Ostia.
(The Vatican, Raphael Stanze).*

war that was fought to safeguard the Church's interests. This kind of war took on the meaning of a «holy war». The aims that the Church wanted to achieve were considered to be saint. Consequently, the means that was used to achieve them was saint.

In the middle of the 9th century Pope Lion IV (847–855) declared that whoever died in battle would receive a reward in heaven. A few years later Pope John VIII (872–822) defined the fallen in a holy war as martyrs.

As well as the concept of «holy war» that was fought to achieve a sacred ideal, the Catholic Church formulated the concept of «fair war» that would be developed by Saint Thomas D'Aquino. According to him, war contrasts with charity but in some cases it can be justified.

War was fair and legitimate if it was declared:

- for a good cause (defence of one's country or of laws, recovery of possessions, peacekeeping);
- out of necessity, because it was the only means to remedy an injustice;
- by a legitimate authority to defend fair interests that were threatened by another state, in case it was the only possible means to achieve one's objectives.

According to this doctrine, in order that a war could be considered as a fair and legitimate war, the military operations had to be conducted following clear rules:

- the aims of war had to be proportional to the human costs;
- war had to be fought through means that enabled them to practise discrimination against civilians;
- there had to be realistic chances of victory.

The concept of «holy war» is actually unknown to the Islamic culture where the Koran and the *sharia* impose a set of rules for the behaviour of believers. The term «holy war» has always been linked with a sense of anguish because for a long time it was generally believed that the spread of Islam and of the Muslim power across Europe was inevitable. For thousand years, from the first landing of Moors in Spain to the second Turkish siege of Vienna, Europe was under constant threat from Islam. European populations used ethnic-geographic terms instead of religious terms to describe the Muslims in order to diminish the importance of the enemy. In this way they expressed their fear of Islam.

The Muslims were never «Muslim» but, according to the period of history, they were Moors, Saracens, Turks, Tartarus.

The stereotype of Islam as an opposing world that is bloodthirsty, vindictive, hostile, fanatical, intolerant and backward is, still today, very common in the West.

During the colonialism these stereotypes were aimed at exerting a powerful influence on public opinion to justify political and military decisions, invasions and occupations. After the European colonialism, the Islamic world started to react against its stereotypical image that the colonial powers had built up. They created a new image for themselves that was aimed at re-evaluating its history and recovering its cultural heritage that had been trampled on by the colonial subjugation, through studies concerning the doctrine of «jihad» and highlighting its defensive nature and of peaceful propaganda. The modern arab authors oppose numerous western orientalist, who have interpreted the «Jihad» as a war aimed at spreading the religion of Allah with the use of weapons and they have tried to explain that the fighting «on the path of God» involves the peaceful spread of the Truth preached by the Prophet Mohammed. Originally, the «Jihad» was the effort that each Muslim had to make to struggle within themselves (the so-called «Great Jihad») and around themselves («Little Jihad») to make Islam triumph. «Jihad» has two clear but correlated meanings: *jihad* means devoting all the efforts to defending Islam, that is to say «armed conflict», and devoting all the efforts to spreading Islam, that is «peaceful religious propaganda».

These meanings originate from the fundamental principle of the universalism of Islam, according to which this religion must be spread across the world irrespective of the means: by sword or by peaceful propaganda.

In the past, according to the Koranic interpretation war was a means to spread faith. Recently, the Koranic concept of war has changed. It gives much more importance to the defence of real religion. This new view of war is based on the teachings of the Koran which allows people freedom of choice with regard to religion. Consequently, the lack of a deep religious conviction does not constitute real expansion of Islam. Therefore, war must aim at conquest not in order to force individuals and populaces to convert but to spread the word of Allah and help people to find faith in Allah. By contrast, the most radical view is that *jihad* is a state of permanent war which concerns the sphere of action of the individual and imposes a type of militancy that could involve the ultimate sacrifice. In the course of history, the practical application of *jihad* has changed according to the historicosocial conditions.

In principle, this war had to continue until all mankind either embraced Islam or submitted to the authority of the Muslim state. Until this pur-

pose was achieved there could theoretically be no peace, though truces were permitted which in effect and duration did not greatly differ from the peace treaties that from time to time punctuated the almost continuous warfare waged by the princes of Europe against one another. When the Muslim power went into gradual decline, at the end of the 17th century, the use of *jihad* was increasingly rare because it did not meet the interests of that moment but this did not mean excluding it altogether.

According to the Muslim teachings, even though the *jihad* is an obligation God has imposed on all the Muslims through the Revelation, it is not included in the five main principles of Islam. This highlights the real nature of Islam, which is the pursuing of an aim that God has chosen between these aims. The main aim is the spiritual self-elevation through profession of faith, charity and probity of life.

«Little Jihad» is a collective duty.

According to the Sunni conception, the duty of «Jihad» is based on the universality of the Muslim Revelation: the word and message of God are addressed to all mankind and it is duty of those who welcome them to fight ceaselessly to convert or, at least, subjugate those who do not welcome Islam: there is no space or time limit on this duty which must be

carried out until the entire world welcomes the Islamic faith or submits itself to the power of the Islamic state. This interpretation is not univocal. For example, the Shia claim that in the absence of Imam the duty of «Jihad» is cancelled temporarily until he goes back or appoints someone else as his delegate

In some cases, the *jihad* can become an individual duty imposed on each male adult when the territory of Islam is attacked by the enemy.

The concept of «Shahid» is linked with that of «Jihad». It refers to the believer who dies fighting for the cause of God. This term is commonly translated as «martyr» but it keeps the original meaning of «witness» and it refers to the person who has proved his faith on the battlefield. «Shahid» is a believer who enjoys the greater favours of Allah because he dies not to salvage his pride or to win earthly glory but to find divine love. Spending a day in the fighting is much more important than observing a 30-day fast and prayer because «Shahid» will be spared by the Last Judgement and he will be the first one to go to Heaven where he will sit next to God.

«The division of the world in two parts» is a concept that is closely linked with the doctrine of «jihad»: the «Dâr-al-Islâm», which is the «Home of

“In the course of history, the practical application of *jihad* has changed according to the historical and social conditions”



Ankara: the Kocatepe Mosque.

Islam» where Muslim power and Islamic law prevail, and the «Dār-al-Harb», which is the «Home of War», including the rest.

For the Muslim believer the world outside Islam is chaotic and consequently it is fair to fight on those grounds to bring «Islamic order» and to convert the populaces who live there.

There is a state of war between the two parts, which is morally, legally and religiously necessary until the final and inevitable triumph of Islam over unbelief.

When a part of the «Dar-al-Harb» was conquered by the Muslims, its inhabitants were offered the following alternatives:

- conversion to Islam;
- payment of a tax to be able to continue to profess one's faith;
- death (with sword).

The Muslim law distinguishes between four types of behaviour through which the believers can fulfill the «jihad»: through soul, word, hands and sword.

The first behaviour is defined as «Great Jihad» and involves a spiritual activity, which is a struggle within oneself in order to suppress one's bad

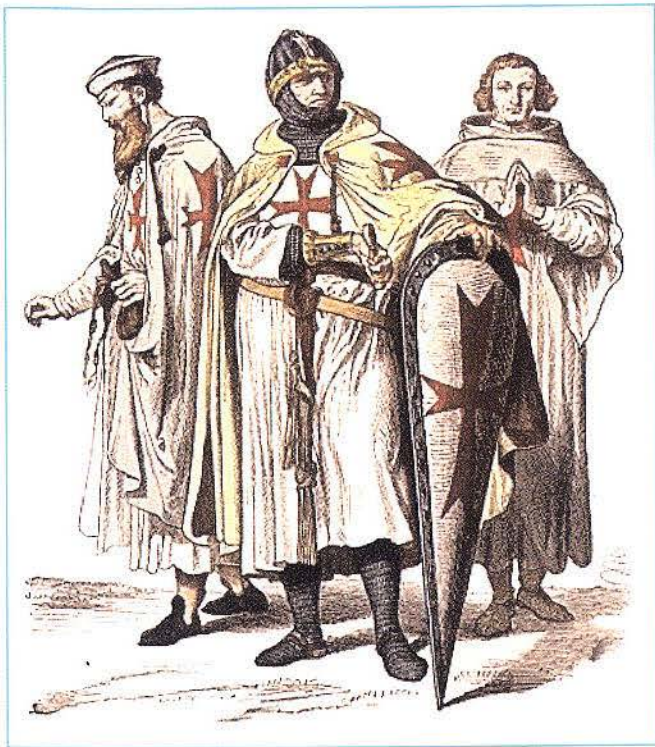
instincts. It aims to control every action and, above all, to stifle the wicked passion which is considered as being worse than the act itself.

The other attitudes do not concern the individual sphere:

- «jihad with word» involves encouraging what is right and correcting what is wrong in the surrounding social world;
- «jihad with hands» involves the adoption of disciplinary measures from the holders of power, which aim to prevent people from committing crime or violating the Islamic rule;
- «jihad with sword», which is traditionally defined as «Little Jihad», involves fighting against the infidels to spread the Islamic religion across the world.

The aim of the «Little Jihad» is to purify the social order of unbelief whereas the «Great Jihad» aims to purify the spirit fighting against its evil aspects and exercising strict discipline over them in accordance to the Divine Law.

The two principal dimensions of *jihad* (combative and contemplative) each have some aspects of the other. In the armed struggle each fighter pursues the promise of Beatification in an afterlife performing his duties. In the spiritual struggle each fighter looks for the divine presence in his soul



Knight Templars.

CONCLUSIONS

We should wonder whether the Islamic values are totally incompatible with those of the West; whether the political-strategic conception of Islam is entirely different from that of Christianity and whether it is possible to follow a common path.

Socio-economic underdevelopment has often regarded as a distinctive feature of a religion. Actually, each religion, including the Christian-Catholic religion, is characterised by conservatism which tends to inhibit the development of free thought and social dynamics.

In the West, social dynamics and the development of free thought have been linked (among lots of other factors like cultural ones) with economic development. After the Industrial Revolution the economic development has brought a strong, competitive and dynamic West to modernity. There is nothing to stop this from happening in the Islamic culture. This has already happened in the most developed Islamic countries (Malaysia, Turkey), where the middle class, which is more and more responsible and aware of its potential, is intensifying its efforts to produce a change and build an egalitarian and free society.

The process of secularization does not refer to the religion that is secularized, but it springs from the economic development and from an increase in the importance of the middle-class.

In the West, technological progress has increased cultural forces that have changed our society not only materially and externally but also internally.

In this regard we should emphasize that in 1683 (the siege of Vienna) the expansive dynamics of Islamic society was comparable to that of Western society and only at the last moment Vienna was saved from a terrible siege.

100 years later the situation had been completely reversed and in 1798 the expedition of Napoleon to Egypt proved the overwhelming superiority in means, procedures and military skills over those of the Ottoman Empire. What had happened? What had altered the delicate balance between the two cultures? The most logical and correct explanation is that the Industrial Revolution had forced a drastic change on Western society.

Keeping dialogue alive, tolerating each other and choosing between democracy and laicism without any prejudice seem to be the necessary conditions in order to allow, *motu proprio* and without any

following the Path of God. Both of them purify themselves and pursue only spiritual objectives.

The *Jihad* is a constant effort, on the path of God, to fulfil the divine will and to spread the Islamic word. The idea that there is a unique truth for all mankind and that those who know it have to reveal it originated with Christianity and then emerged with Islam again. Christianity and Islam shared an innovative and revolutionary idea: being the only possessor of divine truth. The Muslims and the Christians were convinced that what they possessed was the ultimate divine truth and consequently any subsequent faith was necessarily false and harmful and cannot be tolerated.

“ Christianity and Islam shared an innovative and revolutionary idea: that of being the only possessors of the entire divine truth ”

In this context:

- in the Christian lands Islam was not accepted and when the Muslims surrendered (in Spain, in Portugal and in Sicily) they had no alternative but to emigrate or convert to Christianity; Judaism was the only religion to be tolerated (because it was revealed before Christianity) even though it was subjected to some forms of persecution;
- in the Islamic lands apostasies from Islam were not tolerated; the faiths that had been revealed before Islam were tolerated and their followers had to pay a tax (*gizya*).

Being repositories of divine truth meant feeling the need to convert people to Islam or Christianity through an intensive missionary campaign with the use of weapons.



Jerusalem, meeting place of the three religions.

external imposition, the process of development that is aimed at freeing all economic and cultural energies Islamic society has, safeguarding traditional religious beliefs that are still today extremely important. All too often the religious vocabulary has deepened our understanding of experiences of privation, social oppression and political corruption.

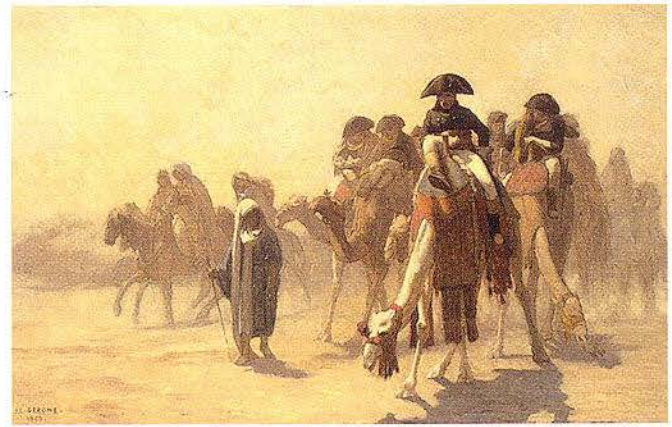
The mixture of religion and violence, as Juergensmeyer has pointed out, is linked with the social tensions of this historical period, which call for an ultimate solution, with a feeling of personal humiliation felt by those men who aim to restore the integrity they have lost through global, political and social changes; but this does not mean that religion does not have a role to play any more.

Religion meets the need of hope and provides people with patterns of behaviour that clash with the use of violence. Religion can give energy and vitality to public life and establish principles to create a correct moral order that can show the ruling classes the way to handle the worldly things of life properly. Turning one's attention to the weak and the disadvantaged is common to both religions. The Muslims and the Christians share lots of values (benevolence, respect for individual) and for this reason they should channel their energy into quelling the violence using religion as a means to elevate moral and spiritual values.

Modern technology, which is the pride, the glory and the obsession of the West, comes from scientific tradition which originated in ancient Greece and in Hellenistic society and developed within Islamic society. It was established in Europe at the end of the 12th century and rightly it can be defined as the «greek-arab-latin» science.

The achievements of these three societies set a perfect example of multiculturalism that was made

“Behind today's apparent lack of communication it is possible to notice a complete ignorance of the history, culture and religion of «the others»...”



Jéan-Léon Jerome: Napoleon in Egypt.

possible by the fact that scholars of a society felt the need to learn from the scholars of another society. The Latins were faced with an inevitable choice: learning from those who were better than them or remaining inferior for ever. So, they chose to learn from them and translated as many Arabic texts as possible into Latin.

Even the Arabs, during their astonishing conquests in the 7th and 8th centuries, felt a profound lack of their own scientific literature and started to translate Greek texts about science and Eastern philosophy into Arabic.

If the Muslim scholars had thought they did not have anything to learn from the Greek pagans, the «big movement» of medieval translations would not have developed. This would have made history poorer and it would have slowed down scientific progress.

Behind the current apparent lack of communication it is possible to notice a complete ignorance of history, culture and religion of «the others» and the main reason the violence that disguise itself as religion seems to triumph is that pride, arrogance and excessive self-confidence (the greek *hybris*) are the major features of the «non-dialogue» between the West and the East.

The Muslims look up to the West and, in particular, to Europe and are disposed to imitate it provided that they are treated as equals and are allowed to meet their legitimate aspirations to affluence in order that they are able to quell the violence.

Pietro Tornabene
Colonel,

*Head, Movement & Transport Office,
Army Logistic Command*





CHINA: CHALLENGES AND UNCERTAINTIES

CHINA: CHALLENGES AND UNCERTAINTIES

A giant with feet of clay or the future leader-nation of the planet? An intriguing and worrying question that remains unanswered. To read the future of this incredible Country through its contradictory reality is a titanic job that no Western politician or economist seems capable of accomplishing.

According to recent statistical data that the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) has gathered, the 21st century will be the century of the «Middle Kingdom»: China. A study conducted by a group of economists who work for Goldman Sachs Bank (American Investment Bank) has revealed that the new protagonists of the world economy will be China, India, Brazil, Russia in a little more than 40 years (precisely in 2050). The United States will not be

“At the moment, in this enormous subcontinent there is a positive coexistence of the regime with a free capitalist-type market economy”

the world leader any more. In 20 years, Brazil will surpass Italy with regard to GDP but not with regard to per capita income. On account of the low growth rate and population ageing, the great European democracies will count exactly as Belgium counts within the EU today. Surely, they will be rich and have strong governments but will not be able to influence political and economic decisions. In 2050 China will become a unique democracy, if it continues combining centralized and market economy.

CHINA IS CLOSER THAN EVER

China is working to build a better world than that of the industrialized countries.

A few months ago, China has ranked fifth among the economic powers in the G8 list and has surpassed Italy. In about a year it is likely to surpass even French and Great Britain.

At the moment, in this enormous subcontinent there is positive coexistence of regime with free capitalist market economy but if you push a situation too far, something's got to give. In future, China will be likely to

Title pages.
Beijing, Tienanmen Square.

Left.
The Chinese dragon has always been the symbol of the «Middle Kingdom».



reach a crisis point. In this case, the situation will explode when the two socio-economic systems turn out to be incompatible or after a rejection crisis. In a sense, there are some conflicting aspects in the Chinese reality. On the one hand, there is strong and authoritarian capitalism which has developed rapidly in the last 20 years, on the other, China seems like a rich giant not able to ensure a fair distribution of wealth between town and country, east and west.

Inequalities of wealth could lead to conflicts and difficulties which would call for the intervention of the UN. Therefore, in the not too distant future the redistribution of wealth and the rationalization of the development will be the new challenges. With regard to the three economic sectors, the service industry has increased from 31,9% to 40,7%, whereas the primary and secondary sectors have dropped from 52,9% to 46,2% and from 15,2% to 13,1% respectively. It means that the impulse that has prompted the development in the service sector has resulted in a reduction in the industrial activity and in the further impoverishment of the poorest sector.

ALL TOGETHER TO FACE NEW CHALLENGES

It is difficult to think about what could happen if the «marriage» of communism and capitalism turned out to be extremely tight with the passing of time. What would happen to the market economy of the Western countries, especially the United States, burdened with a foreign debt which is mainly sustained by the Chinese economy? China, whose population density is the highest in the world, has to deal with lots of difficulties that all its citizens want to overcome together.

We Westerners should learn a lot of things from China. For instance, how to turn economic growth into human progress, how to ensure social stability, how to combine technological development with labour costs, how to improve the living conditions in the inland areas of the continent, which are poorer than the coastal zones, how to make cities grow by controlling immigration from rural areas, how to attract new foreign investment, how to tackle pollution by using less coal and more oil (which China buys from Iraq, Sudan, Indonesia and elsewhere, but not from the US), how to double the GDP by 2010, quadruple it by 2020 and ensure that it continues to grow in the following years. It is not an easy task, but the present ruling class and the entrepreneurs have funds, tech-



President Hu Jintao.

nological resources and, in addition, they are hard workers. However, this situation will probably push the richest nations to promote innovation, cooperation and exchanges.

A DEMOCRACY FOR EXPORT

On the occasion of a visit of President Bush to the Middle East, some people said that the proposed itinerary «was meant to comb the Chinese areas». However, the main aim was to «cauterise» the difficulties President Bush would encounter on the internal front. In Kyoto he said that *when a ray of hope filters through the door of liberty, you cannot shut that door; democratisation would be in the best interests of Chinese power: Taiwan sets a perfect example since it liberalized the economy and then democratised the country respecting the individual rights.* The Occidental diplomacy must consider important factors carefully. This type of democratisation seems to be an export democracy. For instance,



in Egypt a religious and political sect, which was founded in 1928 and is now known as «Muslim Brothers», managed the most extensive network of the Islamic fundamentalism. In Iran the Western powers have legitimised Ahmadinejad; for this reason we could see bin Laden assume power in Saudi Arabia. The short-term memory of the Westerners has prevented them from drawing a lesson from the events. Recent history has not taught anything. The political re-establishment of the «Muslim Brothers» in the Seventies resulted in the assassination of Sadat in 1981 and the outbreak of terrorism. The political legitimization of the FIS (Islamic Salvation Front) in Algeria in the Eighties meant death for more than 150 thousand people. The Western intervention in the Middle East meets with criticism not for its legality but because it is considered «shortsighted». It is the case of Libya, with the re-establishment of Colonel Gaddafi's regime, and of Tunisia led by Ben Ali.

FORMAL DEMOCRACY AND SUBSTANTIAL DEMOCRACY

Ours seems to be a «formal» democracy that has legitimised forces showing open hostility towards the «substantial» democracy. The exploitation of formal democracy will lead to formally democratic regimes which will be substantially dictatorial, illiberal and liberticidal. The «Muslim Brothers» follow a political programme involving loyalty to democracy and, at the same time, allegiance to theocracy. On the one hand it exalts the right to life of the Muslims, on the other hand it sentences the enemies of Islam to death. Women, ethnic and religious minorities, intellectuals, the silent majority of Arab population have paid dear for the «short-sighted legitimate interests» of the Westerners. Formal democracy puts the security of many States at risk. In particular, Israel attracts the ideological hatred of lay and religious

Left.
A shopping centre.

Right.
The Great Wall of China, which dates back to the III Century B.C., stretches for more than 6000km.

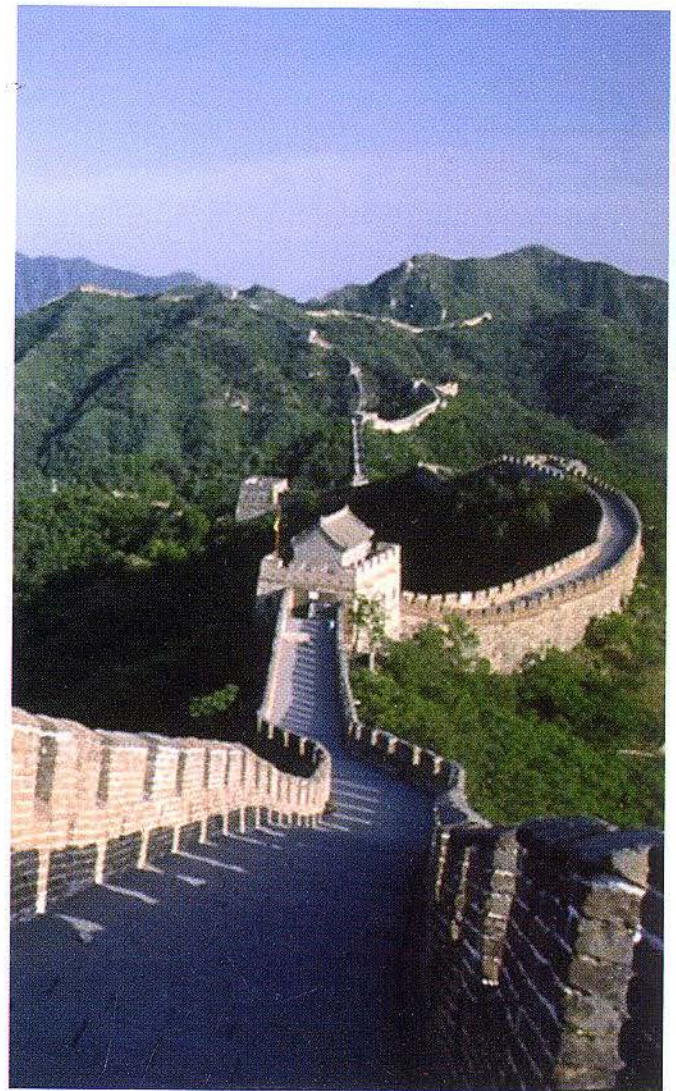
Arab and Muslim dictatorships. Everything must be based on the respect of human life or else democracy is just a dangerous formal ritual rather than a healthy substantial process.

REVERTING TO THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

In China it is no longer true that «every hour of work pays the individual and the country more than the same hour paid under the inefficient and oppressive Communist regime». It will take China much longer to improve pension system, social safety valves, health care, to reduce working hours and to have longer holiday time, but this will not make them less competitive in the international market. Like in other systems, both people and the state will increase their profits. When Italo-American Alberto Alasina was asked how the Western world would be able to defend itself against the rampant Asian capitalism, he answered that there would be a historic turning point, a redistribution of power and wealth at a global level without precedent in the course of history. According to him, this process will not be instantaneous, but it will take place over a period of several decades. It will not be due to «military events» but it will spring from economic and demographic ones.

This will result in an inevitable decline of the West. Our social structure has changed and has enjoyed of a booming economy since the Second World War. All people have lived in affluence, not only the upper classes. Lots of factors have led to this privileged situation. In the past, Europe and the US were the birthplace of civilization and represented «a beacon of orientation». Neither China, nor India, nor Japan were able to escape their appeal. In addition, after the conflicts between nations Europe could put all its energy into the economic development. After the war damage, first there were economic miracles in German and Italy, then in England and in Spain. Finally, the spread of the Communism across

“The economic integration between Beijing and Taipei seems to speed up, and is so fast that it is difficult not to imagine a peaceful solution to the age-old problems ...”



the world has prevented a billion and a half people from taking part in global competition.

A CHINESE ECONOMIC UNION?

China is growing day by day. A few years ago, Taiwan proposed creating a federation which could unite the two Chinese territories, granting each of them full sovereignty. This proposal implied the acknowledgement of Taiwan's sovereignty from Beijing; this is the reason why it met with little success. In March 2002, the Vice-President of the Taiwanese nationalist party, Vincent Siew

Wang-chang, proposed creating «an area of free trade and common market» between the two countries. The aim was to cooperate economically preserving one's economic inde-

YELLOW CLOUDS LOOMING OVER THE BLACK CONTINENT

A strange fate lies in store for Africa. Differently from other continents, it is still an object of envy and exploitation. Since the European colonization that followed the Arab invasion it has been easy prey for the big world powers. In fact, they want to promote their socio-economic development and Africa represents an important source of inexhaustible raw materials. Left to its fate, Africa has been likened to a woman who is loved and deserted by everyone in the constant search for someone able to give her certainty and stability.

Even the relationship between Asia and Africa is strange. Historically, these two continents have shared a common destiny: the Western colonization. Whereas the former is rapidly developing, the latter continues sinking into poverty with its arms folded waiting for things to fall into its lap.

In addition, it is strange that the Chinese have penetrated into Africa for the umpteenth time. Distant and different from each other, Africa and China do not have anything in common. The Chinese and the Africans have never shared life and historical experiences as the Africans and the Europeans did. This does not mean that there has been absence of relations. According to Marc Aicardi of the Overseas Academy of Sciences, they first established contact with each other at the time when the Arabs and the Europeans undertook expeditions to Africa. It was a dark period in the country's history because of the slave trade. Through Egypt, Africa and China developed trade relations before the Christian era when Islam had already spread across China under the Sui dynasty. After Mao Tsé-Tung assumed power in 1949 and after the Conference of the so-called non-aligned nations in Bandung in Indonesia (1955), which brought 29 Asian and African countries together, new relationships between Africa and Asia began.

China has often supported African countries in the struggle for independence, especially the liberation movement. For instance, it provided Algerian (FNL), Angolan (MPLA and FNLA) and Mozambican (FRELIMO and COREMO) liberation movements with military, substantial and economic aid. During the Seventies, immediately after the independence of the majority of those countries, relationships between China and Africa were regarded as an expression of solidarity and friendship because both of them belonged to the same developing world. The Chinese were then seen as technicians who had come from distant places in order to help the friendly countries of Africa which had just been freed from the Western colonial rule and to contribute to their development. Even the European colonial powers have come in for criticism from the present Asian economic power.

To revive its image and to enhance its rapid economic development, China had to cultivate close and stable relations with African countries. This is the reason behind the first Chinese-African summit that was held in Beijing in 2000. As well as about 45 African countries, lots of international and private organizations participated in it. This event led to important consequences. China arrived at the decision to write off a good part of the African countries' public debt which stood at 10 billion dollars. As the columnist Pier Francesco Galgani has pointed out, *China has cemented its ties with the African nations by cancelling their public debt and by giving them technological support and loans*. This has enabled the Chinese to exploit their soft power resources within a broader strategy. In addition, this conference has stressed that China wants to promote South-South cooperation, to improve the relationships between North and South through dialogue and to establish a long-term partnership between the two sides. Finally, it has emerged that China wants to help African countries to lift them out of poverty.

Another summit «China-Africa Cooperation Forum» (CACF) was held in Addis-Ababa, in Ethiopia, in November 2003. The Chinese Prime Minister, Wen Jiabao, was committed to increasing the volume of development aid, promoting the democratisation of international relations through permanent consultation and harmonizing conflicting opinions to reach an agreement on world trade. As the journalist Pierre Antoine Braud has written, at every bilateral meeting the Chinese leaders have tried to convey their view about a fair and democratic world order that brooks no interference in other countries' internal affairs. Since it is the biggest country of the Third World, China wants to support the struggle against poverty because it seems to see the development of Africa and the internationalisation of Chinese companies as complementary processes.

The current policy

The relationships between Africa and Asia have always been unstable. In the last few years, China has tried hard to establish lasting relationships with lots of African countries. The constant visits from Chinese leaders to Africa underline the existence of a political will that is based on key principles: solidarity, friendship, common development, equity, cooperation. After having improved its relationships with the world powers, such as the US and the countries of the EU, China does not want to lose African raw materials. On the contrary, the big Asian country wants to secure energy resources making Africa the third area for its oil companies through African oil in Sudan, Angola and Nigeria. As well as the African oil, China also intends to exploit other important raw materials in order to foster the competitive development of its economy. As far as Africa is concerned, lots of African Heads of State often went to China in search of investments.

Practically, China aims to conclude bilateral and sound agreements that can allow it long-term

access to African raw materials necessary for the development of the national economy. With regard to Africa, Chinese investments will be able to help Africa take its first steps towards a socio-economic development, without any influence on the process of democratisation and the respect of human rights.

The investments

China's economic policy in Africa is based on financial aid, investments and Chinese companies. The two countries strengthened their relations in the Seventies with a shower of investments, in terms of loans (about 723 million dollars). They concerned Sudan, Egypt, Somalia, Tanzania and Zambia. During the years 72-73 the countries situated in the francophone area (Zaire, Senegal, Rwanda, Cameroon, Benin, Tunisia, Togo, Ivory Coast) received Chinese loans. Commercial trade grows every year. Between 2000 and 2004 Chinese-African trade reached 60% (about 30 billion dollars).

The number of Chinese companies is increasing disproportionately in Africa, if you draw a comparison with African countries' interests. Between 2000 and 2003 it increased from 500 to 640 and investments rose from 660 to 950 billion dollars. In 2005 there were 820 companies in 49 African countries (Analysis, 2005). Many of them invested in the oil industry, power stations, industry, transport, and agriculture. For the Chinese economy African countries represent the potential market where they can sell their products at a low cost providing those populations with food products, textiles, household appliance, medication and vital commodities. Another aspect of the Chinese-African cooperation concerns professional training. In fact, at the end of the second Chinese-African summit in Addis-Ababa, China was committed to training 10 000 African technicians in different sectors of economy, industry and tertiary industry.

The commercial and economic strategy

The Chinese expansion into the Black continent is neither humanitarian, nor charitable. China is not a good Samaritan towards Africa. It is not motivated by a desire to help a country that does not have the wherewithal to manage enormous resources, a country that is not able to pick itself up and shape its own future in a world that is ruled by intense competition.

With regard to Africa, it does not see China as an instrument for getting rid of the Western «trusteeship». The Black Continent does not want to replace the Western «trusteeship» with another, in the hope that they can promote a rapid economic development like China. Of course, African leaders must continue believing in China's good designs to side together in defence of the African cause within international organizations. They also believe in the investments and economic aid the Chinese have always given to them, especially during the wars of independence. Sudan and Angola set a perfect example. From its point of view, China is working towards a specific goal. It aims to exploit the oil and mineral wealth of the Black continent and to invest in different social and economic sectors. Its strategy seems to be a new model of partnership where the interest of each member is calculated at 50%. In fact, China states belief in a capitalist policy which launches the Asian giant on the African market and the sources of raw materials. Their continuing economic and political presence in African countries allows Chinese leaders to sign agreements, projects and declarations with the African government authorities in order to exploit and import oil from Sudan, Angola, Nigeria and Gabon, as well as important raw materials such as gas, cobalt, gold, uranium, coal, bauxite.

At this point we should wonder if these relationships will last and if African government leaders will use the Chinese investments as an instrument for encouraging the development of their nation. In addition, we should wonder if means of funding and investments will be really used for the African development. *Without any doubt, as Marc Aicardi wrote, until China integrates Taiwan and finds other energy resources suppliers, nobody knows if these two conditions will be met.* However, China continues harbouring its ambition to become a great power and Africa can rely on a friendly relationship with China which will allow it to receive solid diplomatic support at international conferences and development aid in return for raw materials.

The Chinese investments will come in useful only if the African leaders are able to plan long-term programmes and to enact laws aimed at favouring the social and economic development of the country which should be based on its own resources rather than on an external intervention of a foreign country.

The development of African countries depends on their will and determination. They must concentrate all their efforts on the socio-economic development with Western and Asian support. Western and Asian countries show a greater willingness to help African people to lift them out of poverty.

Nicodème N'kashama N'Koy
Africanist,
Expert on international politics



Soldiers in training.

pendence. Peking has given this second proposal much more consideration than the first one because it concerns a mere economic union and it would not cause any disagreement between the two sides. The economic integration between Beijing and Taipei seems to speed up and it is so fast that it is difficult to find a peaceful solution to the age-old problems facing them. Data indicates that 45 thousand Taiwanese companies have invested in the People's Republic of China 40 billion dollars up to now and as many as 54 thousand Chinese companies have been established with Taiwanese

capital. The Beijing Government has started to turn public corporations into limited companies quoting the best ones and making the insolvent ones bankrupt. Actually, this change is bringing about radical transformations in the job market resulting in an increase in unemployment. In this regard, the reform of the Welfare system and the reorganization of the banking and financial system, where the gross political interference and the relative lack of independence of the Central Bank are still in contrast to an excess of domestic credit, appear to be extremely important. Promoting cooperation means according equal status to both of them. If Beijing re-established friendly relations with Taiwan, it would become fully integrated with

the rest of the world and it could aspire to be a world leading state.

EVERYONE NEEDS CHINA

All Western countries look at China. Even the Islamic countries, at the moment only the most moderate ones, look at China.

It will take China a long time to impose a new model of democracy. Despite being very different from the American democracy, it will develop a form of market that is typical of Western countries.

The Chinese democracy seems to offer future generations the possibility of living, moving and working without fighting, as free and productive men in all situations. It is a «newborn» democracy, where what appears to be good today can be replaced with something better tomorrow, and it will be kept separate from religion and secularisation. Even if there is not yet equality between all people, the ruling class is enforcing those rules of the game that are essential for democracy. A balanced compromise between social order and individual freedom is already self-evident. It is inspired by Toqueville, Churchill, Norberto Bobbio, but actually it is not the democracy of any of them.

With regard to religion, China could need the Vatican, as it happened to the US in the past.

In 1969 President Nixon, together with Pope Paul VI, tried to lay the foundations for the co-operation between the US and the Vatican that would help to find a solution to the hoary question of the Cold War.

Although Nixon was Protestant, he saw the Pope as an essential interlocutor in order to shape an international policy of appeasement and stability. They talked about appeasement, disarmament and mediation in Vietnam, Biafra and the Middle East.

We could witness an interesting change in international relations if China and the Vatican begin a closer dialogue.

A NEW ECONOMIC MODEL

It will take them a long time to establish this type of democracy. The new capitalist-communist system can produce the same results as the western political system. China should not use the military conquest as an instrument for making the economy flourish. Free trade and economic integration can lead it to build a

peaceful and affluent society. Chinese people have never been influenced by the Occidentalism and anti-Americanism that spread across the world at the beginning of the 20th century. At the moment, everyone works hard. They excel in sophisticated manufacture and are able to develop remarkably cheap products compared with other European and American countries. So the western companies have lost ground in every sectors (shoes, furnishings, textile sector). A short time ago, Beppe Severgnini wrote a report from those far-off lands: *now China is an exciting and provisional country. The problem is that nobody knows what will happen and when it will take place: so everyone tries to have a good time, do business and not think about it. This changing China is the America of the East.*

CONCLUSIONS

People say that each object of desire becomes a need, each need a right and each right a credit with technology. China has enough technology to recognize all rights its inhabitants will claim. Although the Chinese have not freed completely themselves from the Marxist legacy, they have learned the modern production methods, they do not have to face the costs of European social models and, above all, they are keen to work and grow. We Europeans do not have this enthusiasm any more, also because we have the impression that events run faster than we do.

Lots of questions remain unanswered. In 2050, what kind of democracy will China have with a national income one third higher than that of the US? Will it develop greater sensitivity towards the environment? How many funds will it channel into the military system? Will it want to participate in the G8 summits which impose strict conditions on

the integration? Freeing itself from the Communist legacy will not be easy and maybe there is no will to do it. In any case, although the democratic process is still in progress, China is one of the new actors of the world development. It is important that in that subcontinent the intellectuals can find a significant role again cherishing the hope that political freedom can be combined with economic liberalism.

Giovanni Bucciol
Major General (ret.)

“...although the democratic process is still in progress, the Country is one of the new actors of the world development”



A photograph of an Italian military tank, specifically an Ariete, in a conflict zone. The tank is painted with a camouflage pattern of green, yellow, and red. It has a small Italian flag on the front left and a logo with the text "15 PARACADUTISTI" and "TRAMOLI NERI" on the front. Two soldiers in full combat gear are visible on top of the tank. In the background is a multi-story concrete building that appears to be under construction or in ruins. The foreground is filled with tangled barbed wire.

JOURNEY INSIDE THE SOMALIAN HELL

JOURNEY INSIDE THE SOMALIAN HELL

Destructions and massacres have been going on for years in that remote area of the Horn of Africa, drawing an apocalyptic picture. In the clash that is taking place, hundreds of thousands of people are considered geostrategic variables, goods that can be bartered, simple pawns of international political and economic interests.

In 1949 the United Nations approve the independence of the former Italian colony, which takes the name of "Territories of Somalia" and, together with the former British protectorate of Somaliland, in 1960 forms the Somali Republic. Less than ten years later, on October 21, 1969, a military junta led by General Maxamed Siyaad (trained at the Italian Military Academy and Army Commander since 1965), better known with the name of Siad Barre, seizes power with a coup d'état and once again Somalia changes its name, becoming the Democratic Republic of Somalia, a socialist state that rapidly proceeds to dissolve the political parties and nationalize all the most important economic activities, also with serious damages to the Italian interests, which have been present in the Country since 1889.

GENERAL SIAD BARRE'S HEAVY LEGACY

At the head of the Supreme Revolutionary Council and with Soviet and Chinese financial support, Siad Barre tries to prevail over the tribal divisions of the Somali population (nomads still constitute 65% of it) and fight the illiteracy widespread on the entire territory.

Even if the price to be paid is the installation of Soviet missile bases (later dismantled) on the coast

of the strategic Gulf of Aden, Siad Barre's dream remains the creation of a "Great Somalia", i.e. the reunification with the 350,000 Somalis inhabiting the regions bordering on Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti.

“...Siad Barre's dream remains the creation of a «Great Somalia», i.e. the reunification with the 350,000 Somalis inhabiting the regions bordering on Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti ”

Taking advantage of the Ethiopian crisis of 1977, Mogadishu's regular troops support the Somali rebels in the Ogaden province, who have long been fighting against Addis Ababa.

However, the direct intervention of the Soviet Union and Cuba, which are siding with the military in power in Ethiopia, and the reservations shown by the international community towards an aggressor Country, isolate Somalia politically and militarily, forcing it to pull out of Ogaden in 1978. Nevertheless, Somalia does not withdraw its support to the local guerrillas who are fighting against hated Ethiopia.

The new Constitution (1979) reaffirms with force the Somalian solidarity with the liberation movements, causing as a consequence an enormous flow of "political" refugees, who are joined by thousands of farmers hit by a very bad drought. In 1980 the refugees are about 1,200,000, and this means an inhabitant out of four, in a population already severely hit by war and economic crisis.

President Barre, anxious mainly to overcome the international isolation, makes a close alliance with the People's Republic of China (military and economic aid), but he neither cares about the unachieved national unity (he must execute the authors of an unsuccessful coup d'état) nor about the very serious food crisis that

Title pages.

Italian paratroopers guard a checkpoint in Mogadishu in 1993.



torments the Country. The crisis is only mitigated by aid from the United Nations, which has drafted a report placing the Country among the poorest in the world.

Despite the extension of the state of emergency (it is revoked only in 1982), the National Somali Movement (NSM) continues its policy of opposition to the dictatorial regime and, after rejecting a project for a democratic Constitution, in 1991 the armed groups of the "Congress of Somali Unity" and the "Somali Patriotic Movement" enter Mogadishu and Barre is forced to flee.

The non-official appointment of new President Ali Mahdi (of the Abgal clan) is immediately contested by General Farah Aidid (of the Aberghedir clan), starting a bloody civil war among the opposed factions for the control of Mogadishu, which is by now an almost completely destroyed city, at the end of its strength and lacking any kind of efficient public institution.

While the Issak ethnic group proclaims the secession of the northern regions (Somaliland, governed by Islamic law and not recognized by the international Community) General Barre in 1992 tries in vain to reconquer Mogadishu, but must repair to Kenya after his defeat by Aidid's militias, which are by now organized and well consolidated in the Capital and are somehow the heirs of the complex and difficult legacy of the deposed President.

For 16 years Somalia remains without a real Government, while a violent and bloody guerrilla war-

fare among tribal groups, and a famine of biblical dimensions in an already starving Country, kill over half million people.

HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTIONS AND BIRTH OF A TRANSITION GOVERNMENT

The situation, which has by now become unbearable – the humanitarian organizations cannot operate because of the violence – prompts the UN Security Council to order the dispatch in 1992 of 800 Blue Helmets (UNOSOM), but the persisting crisis induces the Council (Resolution 794) to entrust a mandate to a US-led Coalition ("Restore Hope") and subsequently to go back, in 1993 (Resolution 814), to a direct Command of the United Nations of the forces in the theatre ("UNOSOM II"). Considering the objective difficulty of managing the crisis (UN – Coalition – UN) the Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Gali, declares that "Peacekeeping is not a soldier's task, but only soldiers can do it".

The Peace Forces manage to establish a minimal kind of order on the territory and permit to resume the assistance to the population, but the environment remains so hostile (there are bloody attacks of suspected terrorist origin linked to Osama bin Laden) that no real change occurs in the intricate ethnic-political situation.

After the withdrawal of the last contingents (1995), the Country falls again a prey of the harsh conflict between the Warlords, once more Farah Aidid and Ali Mahdi, who both proclaim themselves Presidents of the Somali Republic.

The first landings of Italian troops, commanded by General Rossi, start in the morning of December 23, 1992: operation "Ibis" has begun.

The "Folgore" Brigade and the 9th "Col Moschin" Battalion of Assault Paratroopers, together with the "San Marco" Navy Riflemen and detachments of the Operational Ranger Commando (24th Naval Group of the Navy, with the "Vittorio Veneto" cruiser and the "San Giorgio" amphibious ship) and with the support of the Air Force (C-130s, Boeing 707 T/Ts, G-222s and HH-3F helicopters) take our flag back on Somali land, after the mandate carried out on behalf of the United Nations from 1950 to 1960.

The Italian contingent – some 2700 men – is deployed between Mogadishu (Airport, Old Port and Italian Embassy) and Bullo Burti, along the road that leads to Ethiopia, covering also places difficult to reach.

The guerrillas do not lay down their arms and our soldiers start a mission marked by high risk and many fire clashes.

Mogadishu is divided in two by the "green line", the territorial border between Aidid's and Mahdi's militias, which have become bloodthirsty clans given to plunder and indiscriminate violence against the civilian population. Despite the attacks, often made even against escorted convoys, our Contingent manages to carry out many humanitarian interventions of assistance to the population.

The militiamen can exploit the advantage of a guerrilla warfare conducted right in the middle of inhabited centres, and on June 5, 1993 - during a mopping up in the city, in the zone of the "Manifattura Tabacchi" - Aidid's forces attack a Pakistani unit. The unit suffers the loss of 26 men: the survivors are saved by an Italian armoured column, which succeeds in carrying them to safety without resorting to weapons.

Less than a month later, during another mopping up made by our soldiers (in the "Pastificio" zone, Check Point "Pasta", July 2, 1993) the militias attack our units also with antitank rocket launchers: we suffer the loss of three men, during what is considered one of the heavier combats fought by our soldiers after the end of WW2.

As the differences with "UNOSOM" (the UN Command of the mission) and with the US Command (a different concept of the use of force and on the conduct of negotiations) become more marked, the UN Deputy Secretary, Kofy Annan, goes as far as asking the replacement of the Commander of the "Folgore" (General Loi) making charges, which are later withdrawn, that concern a supposed and improbable cover offered by our Contingent to the super-wanted Aidid.

The Italians leave Mogadishu in August, moving to the northern regions of the Country and the "Legnano" (General Fiore), reinforced by other components, replaces the "Folgore" Brigade.

After the American unsuccessful attempt (Rangers and Delta Force) at capturing Aidid - with the loss of 19 men - the Italian Contingent leaves Somalia on March 25, 1994 (25th Naval Group, with the "Garibaldi" aircraft carrier) and will return only a year later for the definitive evacuation: the UN Mission decrees its failure officially.

Somalia remains a Country bathed in blood and nothing and nobody succeeds in containing the dramatic escalation of violence.

In 1998 also the northeastern region of Puntland declares its autonomy, followed in the successive years by other regions (Bari, Nugaal and Mudug), which constitute separate governments, always on a tribal basis, without expressing an ampler polit-

ical project towards independence or towards the constitution of a unitary State.

And, as always, the heated rivalries of the fragmented and bloodthirsty clans stand in the way of the first attempt at national reconciliation (Djibouti, 1999) fostered by UN, Europe, Arab League and IGAD, the Intergovernmental Authority Development, an intergovernmental body of regional cooperation consisting of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Kenya, Somalia, Uganda and Sudan.

In 2000 a worse fate awaits the nomination of the ad-interim President (Abdigassim Salad Hassan, Siad Barre's former deputy Prime Minister), whose transitory Government is not recognised by the "Warlords", who constitute a parallel governmental body (Somalian Restoration and Reconciliation Council, SRRC) and resume the fight with greater vigour.

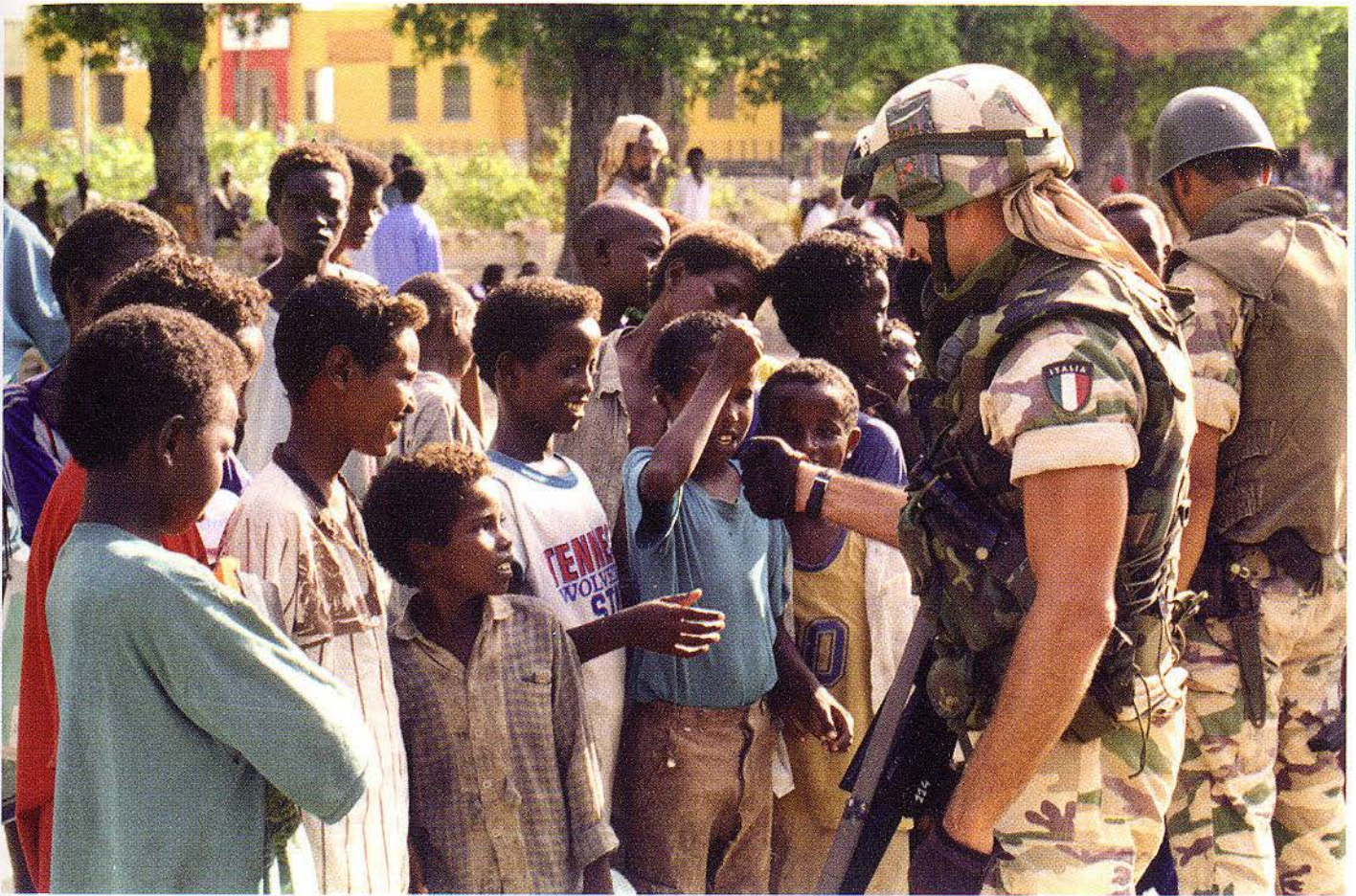
One must wait until 2004 - after a weak truce among the leaders of the various factions - in order to see the birth of a provisional Parliament, which inaugurates the first legislature of the Country, after 13 years of total anarchy.

After two years of work, the "Conference of Reconciliation" - which opened at Eldoret in Kenya on October 15, 2002 and closed in Nairobi on August 29, 2004 - passes a federal Constitution and the new Parliament (275 members selected by the participating heads of the clans) and elects, with 189 votes in favour, the Head of the State: former Colonel Abdullahi Yussuf Ahmad.

Ahmad is a tribal chief - actually, a former "Warlord" and also the President of Puntland, one third of the territory - who, at the age of seventy (nicknamed "The Wolf", is married, has four children and three grandchildren, besides having undergone a liver transplant) turns into a politician: *I have been trained in Italy, at the Infantry School of Cesano, then in Moscow, at the War College. After my commission as an Officer of the Somali Army I was asked by General Barre to participate in his coup d'état. I refused: a choice I paid with six years imprisonment, from 1969 to 1975 [...] but when in 1977 he launched the war against Ethiopia he appointed me Commander of the southern front. In nine months I penetrated 350km inside the Ethiopian territory. Despite this, Somalia was defeated. It was at that time that some of my Officers tried to overthrow the dictatorship. The coup failed and I had to take refuge in Nairobi. But I had started the civil war in Somalia, and since then I have been continuing to fight without a break.*

Today, even if strongly supported by Ethiopia itself, the President remains in exile in Nairobi,

“Somalia remains a Country bathed in blood, and nothing and nobody succeeds in containing the dramatic escalation of violence”



1993: Italian soldiers making friends with some Somali children.

Kenya, precisely like the new national Government and its Prime Minister, Ali Mohammed Gedi, a veterinarian and former academician.

In order to allow him to return to his homeland, the African Union and IGAD are ready to dispatch a military Contingent (Uganda is ready to send 2000 men) but without including Ethiopia, which Egypt and Eritrea consider capable of exerting "too strong an influence" on Somalia.

Among the voices of the opposition there is also that of an extremist Islamic leader, 42 year-old Sheik Sharif Ahmed: *Holy War against the Government if it dares to set foot in Somalia and Holy War also against the foreign troops that dare to come here to protect it!*

The transition Government must be content with Baidoa, a little town in the hilly hinterland, 250km west of Mogadishu.

THE ISLAMIC COURTS

The voice that "thundered" the call to the Holy War is not an isolated one.

Somalia has apparently become the new base of Islamic terrorism, because several leaders of al-Qaeda's are now living permanently in Mogadishu. A recent UN report denounces that thousands of terrorists coming from Yemen, Eritrea, Syria and Libya have been living there already since 1998, after the attacks on the US Embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, for which al-Qaeda claims responsibility.

Adan Hashi Aeru is one of them. He is the guerrilla responsible for many attacks against the American troops during the UNOSOM operation, and is now directly under Osama bin Laden's orders, after some operational training with the Taliban. Another is Abu Talha Assudani (alias "The Sudanese"), who is charged with recruiting men to be employed against the Western interests in Somalia and Africa in general, and is moreover the alleged responsible for the profanation of the Italian cemetery in Mogadishu, restructured by our soldiers in 1993, during Operation "Ibis". On January 18, 2005, a Tuesday, bands of militiamen destroyed it completely, with the justification that the Country could not accept cemeteries other than Islamic ones. The witness of a BBC reporter is appalling: tombs pulled up, gravestones destroyed and hundreds of remains of our dead scattered about the



Guerrillas of the Islamic Courts.

ground and made objects of play and scorn by the Somali children.

The alliance of terror – drug traffickers and Islamic extremists – is by now ready to materialize on the coasts of Mogadishu, after having been forced to leave Kabul's dust.

With three different offensives, launched from February to June 2006, the Islamic Courts become masters of the city and of a large part of the Somali territory.

With surprising rapidity, about 8000 Islamic fighters riding hundreds of "Teknicas" (Japanese pickups equipped with heavy weapons) put the Warlords' militiamen to flight and put up their black flags, with Arabic inscriptions exalting the Prophet, on the buildings of the Capital.

They are called "Shabab" (Youth), and are almost all young Asian *Jihadists*, joined by fundamentalists and moderate Somali religious men, firm opposers of the Transition Government, and also bands of some Warlords who are opportunistically supporting the new Caliphate of terror.

Moreover, there is no lack of financing. The Islamic Courts – federated in a Union that assembles ideologically both the extremists connected with al-Qaeda and the moderate clergy who follow the Egyptian ideologue Sayyed Qtub, hanged by Nasser in 1966, as well as the Islamic Somalis who, in spite of all, do not like the intrusion of external elements – can count on the Saudi Monarchy, the Arab Emirates and many Arab Gulf sheiks, besides some rich and powerful Somali "tradesmen", who consider the Islamic militias a compliant instrument for their more or less lawful trade.

Moreover, the Courts can also rely on the Islamic "tax system", i.e. the tax collected from

the rather reluctant Somalian *suks*, the commercial activities already harassed by the racket of the Warlords' militias.

In addition, arms arrive effortlessly by sea from Yemen – historically a leading Country in the regional weapon trade – and by air from Eritrea, in view of its historical opposition to Ethiopia, which supports the transition Government. Thus, Somalia is completely abandoned to its fate.

Even huge airplanes, such as two Ilyushin 76, can land on the territory controlled by the Courts to unload eighty tons of weapons and dozens of Eritrean military advisers (source: BBC, July 2006) and no voice rises to condemn, at least verbally, the violation of the embargo and Asmara's heavy interference in helping an organization of strong Islamic inspiration and openly against the Somali transition Government, recognized by the international community.

In order to see an end to violence, to the corruption and impunity of the profiteers, as well as the oppression of the Warlords, the population even welcomes Allah's fighters and accepts the imposition of the Islamic law.

But soon Mogadishu realizes that the price is too high. The new Somali Taliban have only one simple government programme: the Koran.

Most schools are closed (children are harassed with cartridge-belts and recruited immediately) and for the ones remained open the new Shari'a regulations provide for separate classes for males and females, and also little girls must wear the blue veil.

Somali women – who have always been fond of gorgeous dresses of coloured mousseline – must wear the rigorous plain Muslim veil, which covers the entire body, excepting only the face.

The "Police of Morals" forbids dancing and shuts down dancing halls and cinemas. It is also prohibited to watch television (including football matches), listen to Western music and chew *kat*, a light stimulant very popular among young people.

Alcoholic drinks are banned, and in the little town of Bullo Buti the new Mullahs go as far as threatening death to whomever does not respect the Islamic law of the five daily prayers.

The Courts seize the residences (villas, apart-

"Somalia has apparently become the new base of Islamic terrorism, because several leaders of al-Qaeda's are now living permanently in Mogadishu"

ments and fortified premises) of the Warlords, and in their propaganda films show to the population the level of corruption reached by the former "regime": bottles of Scotch whisky, gin made in Ethiopia and beer cans, together with videocassettes and Western magazines.

But the Islamic law wears also a mask of horror.

Yussuf Indhadde, one of the most important sheiks of the Union, declares solemnly that *to cut a hand or a leg, to flog or execute a criminal to punish a crime is perfectly legal*.

Indhadde was a soldier under former President Barre (his men had an important role in the battle of Mogadishu). Today he is a very rich man of forty-eight, who officially runs the import of the profitable Japanese pickups, but in fact he has been included in a UN report as Somalia's biggest arm trafficker: *the population called us because they wanted us to stop thefts, kidnappings and racket*, and all this without the international Community rising a protest.

Actually the "Holy Men" (the definition was used by Premier Gedi to indicate Islamic fundamentalists) succeed in ensuring some social order for the exhausted inhabitants of Mogadishu: less thefts, less levies and less risk of losing one's property and life, in exchange for blind obedience to the law of the Koran.

THE WAR

During the first days of the month of December of 2006 the tension between the Islamic Courts and the transition Government skyrocketed. While the clashes only 40km from Baidoa are worsening, the UN Security Council authorizes the constitution of a Peace Force, consisting only of African Countries, to be sent to Somalia with the task of protecting the Federal Government of National Transition and promoting the negotiations with the Courts and the Islamic Tribunals.

But the new leader of the Courts, Sheik Hassan Dahir Aweys (he is on the list of international terrorists drawn up by the UN), who has replaced the more moderate Sharif Ahmed, rejects the proposal of the Security Council, saying that it is impossible to think of a presence of foreign troops in Somalia, not even if they are African or Muslim.

But wasn't he precisely the man who launched the Jihad against Ethiopia on October 9, 2006, having it followed after a few days by a call for "all the Islamic fighters of the world" to participate in the Holy War? And moreover: aren't perchance his own the Courts full of thousands of

Islamic terrorists coming from Yemen, Eritrea, Syria and Libya?

The frail transition Government is by now barricaded inside Baidoa, besieged by the Islamic Courts and the skirmishes become violent fights.

President Yussuf's defence is provided by Ethiopian troops (a few thousands according to the observers, but only a few hundred armed military advisers according to Addis Ababa) and on December 12, 2006 the Council of the Islamic Courts launches an ultimatum to Ethiopia: either the troops get out of Somalia within seven days or "this will be Doomsday for the Ethiopians and mark their destruction".

The spectre of a direct war – the Ethiopians acknowledge officially the presence of troops on Somali territory – is rapidly materializing. After an umpteenth attack carried out on the periphery of Baidoa, Ethiopia – supported by the United States and backed by the African Union – decides to intervene.

Four thousand soldiers, two hundred tanks and dozens of armoured vehicles raise the siege of Baidoa and force the Islamic militiamen to a "strategic retreat".

Simultaneously, targeted air raids strike the international airport of Mogadishu and the military airport of Baledogle, destinations of the flow of arms, munitions and foreign fighters for the defence of the Koran on Somali land. Lacking an effective army and an antiaircraft force, the Courts fall back towards Mogadishu, where they are likely to create an Islamic stronghold, which would be much more difficult to conquer.

The spokesman of the transition Government, Abdimahran Dinari, does not seem to see this danger: *When everything is finished, we shall enter Mogadishu peacefully. But we will take no revenge. On the contrary, we offer our pardon to the militiamen that will lay down their arms*.

Menes Zawari, the Ethiopian Premier, expresses the same opinion: *We don't want Mogadishu. We are going to withdraw soon. The objective of the offensive underway is to eliminate the forces of international terrorism; and particularly the Eritrean, who back and support them*.

Now the Ethiopian soldiers are 20,000 and the air force employs constantly its fighters (Sukhoi 27 and Mig 23) to cover the advancing troops and, despite Zewari's assurances, the Ethiopian presence becomes now too burdensome (the Ethiopian Armed Forces are considered among the most powerful in Africa).

Following a request presented by Qatar, the UN Security Council tries to find a compromise for the withdrawal of the Ethiopian troops (untimely, for the United States and Great Britain). Also the African Union is reconsiders its initial posi-

tions, and through its Secretary General, Alpha Oumar Konaré, demands the immediate withdrawal of Addis Ababa's soldiers.

But the Ethiopian tanks have already entered Mogadishu and are deployed in defence of the international airport (most of the contingent, including tanks, remains outside the city), while the Somali troops patrol the area of the port. The feared battle for the capital did not take place and the remaining Islamic troops – of the 20,000 militiamen there are only a few thousands left – withdraw towards Kismayu, where the power is still in the hands of the fundamentalist group led by sheik Hassan Turki, the ideologue of Ittihat, the Somali branch of al-Qaeda.

But why there was no fighting in the capital? According to Sharif Ahmes' statements to the press *we have left in order to avoid carpet bombings, since the Ethiopian forces are perpetrating genocide of the Somali people.*

Beyond the forced exaggeration of the reality of the war in progress (the losses of the Islamic Courts total 3000 fallen and 5000 wounded, and the civilian victims are at the moment 150, among the refugees crowding the barges headed for Yemen), many militiamen – mostly Islamic boys and young men taken from workshops and schools and compelled to fight – have taken off their "uniform" to return to their former activities or to enlist with the old Warlords who are again in control of Mogadishu.

In fact, one of the first persons to go into the city is precisely the notorious General Aidid who, with his retinue of warriors, leads the new looting in villas and palaces, where the extremists had lived until the day before, and takes possession of the strategic points (main streets, squares and crossroads) to regain control over the territory that had been seized from him. But this time he is even stronger: his son Hussein is the new Minister of the Interior (!).

While the majority of the Mogadishu population receives the news of the militias' flight with joy and satisfaction, there are also doubts (and protests) for a new Government completely unknown to the inhabitants: will it be able to keep control of the Capital – that somehow the Courts had assured – or will there be again the same long period of violence and harassments from the Warlords?

While the army of the transition Government and its Ethiopian allies install themselves in the former US Embassy, Prime Minister Gedi returns

to Mogadishu (December 29, 2006), escorted by a convoy of twenty-two vehicles, six of which armed with heavy weapons (more than one hundred men between loyalist and Ethiopian forces). He announces that martial law will be imposed for three months: *to end anarchy and re-establish security.*

Somali General Nur Gal, who had helped to overthrow Siad Barre's dictatorship, tries to regain control of the city: he recommends that the Ethiopian troops stay outside Mogadishu in order to legitimate the entry of the Government's representatives (but also to avoid incidents), and he also guarantees the defence of the Italian Cemetery, which had become the headquarters of the fanatical Shebab militias.

The political problem of Ethiopia's presence is of no little account.

As a matter of fact, the struggle for power was decided by a military intervention from outside, as if Somalia had been under the protectorate of its powerful and bellicose northern neighbour.

“ The struggle for power was decided by a military intervention from outside, as if Somalia had been under the protectorate of its powerful and bellicose northern neighbour ”

Even if for Addis Ababa's Government may prove difficult to carry in depth and in time its military offensive – the effort for transporting and sustaining the troops on the line has not been a negligible one, and it is also necessary to garrison with attention the border with Eritrea – in the eyes of Somali public opinion, President Yussuf and Premier Gedi may appear as puppets handled by Ethiopia.

In fact they might not enjoy the regard that, somehow or other, had been shown to the Islamic Courts, which have fought with the only forces at their disposal, and have maintained the social prestige that defeat has not compromised. On the contrary, it has perhaps even increased it.

Certainly Addis Ababa's Government does not help to create a more transparent image of the operation: why are the names of the four Generals who have led and coordinated the military intervention not made public?

During the press conference given by Somali Premier Meles Zenawi (December 28, 2006) an absolute utmost reserve was maintained on the identity of the Generals who have won the blitzkrieg against the Courts and organized the training camps for the Government's soldiers, with particular attention to anti-guerrilla techniques.

Apparently these Generals are now engaged in hunting down the guerrillas who are fighting a-



A "Teknica" of the Islamic Courts.

against the regime in Ethiopia ("Oromo Liberation Front" and "Ogaden People's Liberation Front") but have their bases in Somalia, mostly in Mogadishu. The Generals are also trying to capture the Eritrean dissenters who had been fighting with the Islamic Courts.

Their names are not made known because they are probably Officers from the Tigré region, and this could create a certain embarrassment for both Ethiopia – where the Government is accused of being formed only by persons from Tigré, although they are only a 7% minority – and for Eritrea itself, where the Tigré people represent 52% of the population.

And what if they were not even Muslims? In this case the Islamic Courts would be right in affirming, as they did, that it was a "Crusade" against Islam!

But what has become of the Islamic Courts?

They have gone back home, to their historical base on the Ras Kambon Island, in front of the Somali coast of Kismayu, but much nearer to the Kenyan border. Disconcerted by the loss suffered, the Union of the Courts seems still incapable of reorganising itself but, rather, anxious to start negotiations that could avoid the arrest and sentence of its leaders.

Besides the joint statements ("We have been defeated but we have not lost the war. On the contrary, we will do what we have promised to do: we will strike anywhere and withdraw, until all the Ethiopian tanks and armoured cars will be thrown out of the Country"), apparently the Islamic militias have divided themselves in three different groups.

According to indications gathered by Western Intelligence, the first group, loyal to Hassan Turki, decides to remain at Ras Kambon to organize the promised guerrilla warfare, and the island is called "Tora Bora", as a tribute to the Afghan mountain chains, where Osama bin Laden took refuge during the American bombardments in the war against the Taliban.

The second group, linked to sheik Hassan Dahir Aweys, chooses clandestinity in the mountainous and thickly wooded Bassa Shabelle region, determined to prepare and organize the "terrorist" resistance to the new regime.

The third group, consisting of the followers of Sharif Shek Ahmed, a moderate, is trying to repair to Kenya and ask for political asylum. But Nairobi's Government has already deployed thousands of soldiers and policemen along the 1500 km of the border, without counting the massive patrolling of its coasts: refugees are welcome, but no entry for Islamic extremists.

In any case, the Islamic Courts are still dreaded: revenges, retaliations, and attacks can take place



A Somali farmer.

CIA (intelligence support, without direct intervention) to the Warlords, in order to hold back the advance of the Islamic Courts and, after the failure of the operation, it has been deemed suitable to entrust the "Somalia file" to the Department of Defence. At present, the Islamic Courts are somehow surrounded by the troops of the Mogadishu Government and by the defensive line of the Nairobi Government, and their hideouts are by now quite known.

And it is precisely between January 7 and 8, 2007 that four laser-guided bombs officially announce the return of the United States in Somalia, after the disastrous experience of "Restore Hope" in 1993.

The AC-130 "Spooky" – a four-engine propeller aircraft derived from the C-130 "Hercules" – can produce an impressive firepower: 40mm Bofors gun (120 rounds per minute), 20mm GAU-4 Vulcan machinegun (1800 rounds per minute), 7.62mm machineguns and a 105mm gun.

The aircraft is 29.8 metre long, has a range of 2407km (about 8–10 hours of flight), a crew of 13 men and can carry 10 tons of armaments and munitions, with sophisticated radars (for navigation and with indicators of moving targets, for night vision and for following the trajectory of the rounds fired), a Centre of Control of the accuracy of fire, with instruments for infrared vision and sensors for protection against offensive missiles.

The "Spectre" strikes Hayo and Badmadow (Ras Kambon), while American helicopters (Delta Force?) attack Bankajirow and Badel, the places where the Islamic militiamen, fleeing from Mogadishu, have taken shelter.

According to Pentagon sources, two of the three super-wanted terrorists, belonging to the al-Qaeda group (Abdullah Mohammed Fazul, Comoro Islands; Abu Tacha, Sudan and Ali Saleh Naban, Kenya) are killed, even if their names are not made known, together with about ten more

equally important terrorists.

The US attacks, although authorized and supported by the Somali President, are censured by the new UN Secretary General, Ban Ki-moon, by the European Union and, particularly, by Italy.

On January 22, 2007 the UN confirm the reports (disclosed by the BBC) that the Somali leader of the Islamic Courts, Sharif Sheikh Ahmed, has surrendered to Kenya's frontier police, near the little town of Wajir and the intransigent Hassan Dahir Aweys has apparently the intention to ask for asy-

at any time: only the time for wounds to be healed.

They don't know yet that the American aircraft carrier "Dwight D. Eisenhower", leading three more warships for intelligence and antiterrorism operations, is sailing from the American base of Manama in Bahrain and is slowly approaching the area.

Nor do they know that in the American base of Djibouti an AC-130 "Spectre", called "flying gunboat" has started to taxi. They also ignore that President Yussuf has declared that the United States has the right to take action on its own to strike the terrorists wherever they are.

Since 2003 Djibouti has been the base of the American Task Force ("Camp Le Monier", about 1600 men) and in Bahrain is stationed the 5th U.S. Fleet (about 1500 men) with the wider mission of "locating, hindering and defeating the transnational terrorist groups that operate in the region", according to a Directive issued after September 11, 2001 (Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defence) within the wide strategy of the Pentagon for counter-terrorism operations on a global scale.

According to the "New York Times" (January 13, 2007) Washington has given the collaboration of

“Probably the war has not ended yet: the ability to control the territory and the stability of the Government have still to be verified”

lum, still in Kenya, to the UNHCR, the UN Agency for the refugees.

But in Mogadishu the situation is not pacified yet.

The Ethiopian troops, still deployed in defence of Villa Somalia, President Yussuf's residence, are still shelled by the mortars of the Islamic militiamen; according to Western intelligence, in the Capital there are about 3000 men. Therefore the "young" Mogadishu Government still needs help and military protection.

Although the UN has authorized the formation of a contingent of Peace Force made up of African Countries, in order to contribute to Somalia's stabilization, the game is now in the hands of Kenya's President, Mwai Kibaki, and of the Ethiopian Premier, Meles Zenawi.

Both Governments agree on speeding up the implementation of the peacekeeping operation. Ethiopia, criticized for its military intervention, has declared that it will leave Somalia within a short time and does not wish to see its efforts made fruitless by a fresh outbreak of terrorism. Kenya – which is seriously worried by the presence of Islamic extremists along its borders – holds now the presidency of IGAD and has received the mandate by the African Union to coordinate the entire operation.

Even if the analysts believe that the time available is too short (more than 8000 men are needed) the greatest unknown factors are coming precisely from the African Countries.

Uganda has already sent (March 1, 2007) a logistic battalion to Baidoa, with the task of organizing the deployment of the military contingent of the African Union, and a further 1500 Ugandan soldiers are due to arrive, besides 850 Nigerians, together with units from Ghana and Burundi.

Angola has offered its willingness, but South Africa, Tanzania and Nigeria are still hesitant.

Even if the assent of Malawi is certain – while Mozambique is engaged in preparing a contingent to be sent to Darfur, within the "Amis" mission – it seems at the moment impossible to achieve the envisaged total of 8000 men, also due to the African Union's evident lack of funds for financing the mission.

A "Conference of Peace and Reconciliation" is programmed for the end of April 2007 (the place is still a secret: Puntland or Mogadishu?), in the hope of obtaining funds from the United States and the European Union. The Italian Government,

represented by the Foreign Minister, has already expressed its favourable opinion.

At present the good intentions of Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni should also be remarked: albeit his men do not have the task of disarming the Islamic militias, there remains the firm duty to defend the Somali Government and the pledge to rebuild and train the police and the Somali Army.

The Ugandan troops (on special trains and ships from Kampala to Mombasa, and then on to Mogadishu) will find the support of the Somali soldiers, already deployed in order to avoid incidents



Partial view of Mogadishu.

with the population and clashes with the Islamic militias.

The short-term objective is also that of bringing back to Mogadishu the legitimate Government and its political and administrative institutions.

Probably the war has not ended yet: there is still a good number of analysts who have serious doubts about the actual possibility of the African Forces to bring peace and security; besides, their ability to control the territory and the real stability of the Government have still to be verified.

But did the 22 years of President Barre's dictatorship, and the 16 years of bloody civilian violence, not suffice to revive the national sentiment of the ancient and proud Somali people?

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COUNTERINSURGENCY



COUNTERINSURGENCY

Non-conventional conflicts require a correct approach, adequate methodology and personnel well trained to operate with flexibility. Only in this way will the "flea war" be won. Significant reflections on the past can help to understand these complex problems.

In 1962, at West Point – the temple of the US military – President J.F. Kennedy, addressing an audience of youth in grey uniforms, expressed himself along these lines: *This is a new type of war, new in its intensity, but old in its origins – guerrilla warfare – subversive, the onset of assassinations, a war of ambushes rather than combat, of infiltration and not aggression, where victory is looked for in the erosion and exhaustion of the enemy and not in the battle-field. It's the ideal form of war.. for undermining the will of the new and poor countries that are struggling to maintain the peace that they have finally achieved. It nurtures economic uncertainty and ethnic conflict....* Words that intended to explain the continued presence of the United States in Vietnam but which can now equally be applied to the war on terrorism. Like now, two different worlds are opposing each other, separated by how to live in peace and how to interpret the war. Shrewdness and stealth against state of the art technology. Heroes – martyrs – against machines. If there exists a 'western' way of fighting, just as old in its origins, it limits in the decisive conflict – the final battle – the range of the war. The conflict must take place quickly and with all the possible forces that both sides could muster. The greater the commitment, the faster the conclusion is reached. This approach, though, in its direct line of thought, doesn't always reap the desired results, and above all it could create conceptual limits when the opposition follow different rules. The 'unconventional' enemy moves in a mode similar but not identical to the 'conventional' enemy. (1)

In terms of time – the dimension of "time" – it becomes impossible to confront the enemy on equal terms. As time ticks on it moves from a

“The conflict must take place quickly and with all the possible forces that both sides could muster”



Title pages.
French soldiers on an Algerian plateau.

Above.
Personnel from the U.S. 11th Cavalry Regiment disembarking in the Philippines in 1902.

time of war to a war of attrition. The longer it takes to end the operations the greater the chance of defeat. Victory for the insurgents is seen in their own daily existence – it's enough that they exist to prove the inadequacies and inefficiencies of the others. After time, space. The dimension "space" is the geographical place of conflict. It comprises the terrain, the urban areas, the countryside and forests that all have their influence on the choice of tactics, but really it happens in

the people. The struggle is concentrated in the "souls" of the people, who can strike fear, who can convince them. No one at all is under illusion, instead pragmatism rules, the regimes will change, the armies will move on but life will continue. The symbols of "propaganda" are



Above.
A British patrol crossing a stream in Malaya.

Right.
French legionnaires relieving an injured child in Algeria.

stronger than battalions and brigades. For some it's to express "civilisation", for others "weaknesses" – but either way opportunities to hit home with efficient effect. Propaganda has the power to change the perception in the minds of the populace in regards to politics, to the military activity and distancing the people and the enemy soldiers. And isolation is the start of the abandoning of the struggle. The language that they use changes according to the listener; it's "highly-civilized" to the world in general as it explains the conflict, but becomes "direct" when it deals with the populace fluctuating between flattery and threats.

Operating in the three dimensional space so outlined allows one to see that the social, economic and political development becomes more important than its simple destruction and above all that the "low intensity conflicts" are not fought in a "classical war" mode. But this is nothing new or revolutionary. In the old American Army manuals on "Small Wars" it was already confirmed that the use of brute force was counterproductive because... *a Command that has achieved its objective without shooting a single person, in a tiny war, has achieved a victory much more worthwhile than one who had had to have recourse to use arms...*(2) and also; *in small wars tolerance, sympathy, kindness should be the watch words of our relationship to the local populace* (3). And this aim doesn't change even when the situation does come to blows. Otherwise there would be the loss of credibility for the intermediary.

The Philippine War lasted three years from 1899 to 1902, and the British intervention in Malaysia was completed in 1960 after 12 years, forming a clear methodological reference point for anti-guerrilla tactics. In the first case, paradoxically, the success can be attributed to the scarcity of the technology that was available. The absence of 'flying fortresses' and the non-use of artillery avoided 'collateral damage' and obliged the Americans to conduct a war based on the spreading out of small highly mobile units armed lightly, and able to help the Philippines catch the enemy guerrillas. It was then the hostility and indifference of the majority of the population, defended and protected by the government in large settlements, that resulted in the physical and ideological isolation of the



guerrillas. The army avoided the big operations, and learnt to maximise the use of indigenous 'scouts' and 'paramilitary' forces to strengthen and support the decentralised patrols, helping the population use the schools, the hospitals and infrastructure of the country and in so doing destabilizing the legitimacy of the insurgents complaints about the regime, who meantime, organized themselves into political parties against the regime. In short supplying them the possibility to become legitimate.

The British, in a similar mode, lay the success of their campaign in their ability to have captured the 'hearts and minds' of the people (the famous phrase coming from this campaign itself) (4). In effect they gained the support of the villages by simply reaffirming that what was in their best interests was peace and stability. They introduced large scale public projects with the aim of improving life in the small villages

and so depriving the Malaysian Communist Party of its core support; the peasants. It was a strategy in three parts; a military campaign to cut off guerrilla supply lines; isolating the communities from their influence, propaganda, and the infiltration of the party into the social fabric; the carrying out of public works for the attainment of public support.

It was nothing new for the United Kingdom (5), but simply the application of a politics derived from many years as a colonial power that had demonstrated the validity of an integrated "military-civil", based on the premise that the conflicts were not only military problems. The control, in the wider political sense, of the emergency was given to civilians. When the units became employed, above all in the early phases, it strived for flexibility. It matched itself to the situation and gave control to the ground units as a standard form of procedure of management. This model, however, suited the army with its strength in the 'regiments' and its 'professional soldiers'. This was thanks to the homogeneity of recruitment – that could be defined as 'tribal' – in which soldiers and officers, in the main originating from the same area, served together for long periods of time and giving credence to public support and vertical lines of command. The 'armed professions' all serving long periods, and as such knowledgeable of the risks, guaranteed a higher level of public acceptance.

The support and protection of the population was based on the substantial contribution to the development of the nation, on the basis of mutual respect within society, on the conservation of resources, and the return to active production. It was wide-'range'ing and embraced various sensitive sectors. And it contained everything. With regards to the public works program, especially the immediate needs of water and electricity, it passed over to the state the finishing off of the program under a cloak of protection. The Ambassador became 'kingpin' in the 'military-civil' integrated system. He was a guarantee of the government, at the highest level, to the co-ordination of troops already deployed on the ground and the whole military contingent. In such a system the successful completion of the public works required a consensus of opinion and synergy of resources and finances. On the part of the general military plan (as opposed to the long term development plan

for the country) and its completion special units were required (CIMIC cell – Civil Military Cooperation). These were given the task to work with agencies, governmental and non-governmental, in the local areas in order to optimise the available resources for the completion of projects. In summary the operatives of CIMIC represented the interface between the military contingents, the civil population, the local authorities and the humanitarian operatives. In the French experience in Algeria (6) a similar body was called the Section Administrative Spécialisée – SAS (Sezioni Amministrative Speciali) (7). They had the responsibility of re-establishing the stability of the French authority amongst the local population and the care of the reconstruction of local democratic institutions. In effect they managed to reform the local government, to install a sustainable public sanitary system, aid public education, monitoring a scholastic programme and communicating, across their privileged channels, the principles of democracy. The SAS detachment acted as a police force and the 'harkas' – the native police force – was specialised in local matters, but were also equipped to take a more offensive role. Thanks to the frequent and well supported contact with the local population they became important collection pots of local information from the populace. In the final phase of the war both the French and the Algerians considered these periphery detachments, normally headed by a captain or lieutenant, as the most important and well managed resource against the guerrillas. Their political and social impact was felt for a long time afterwards.

The protection they gave and managed to the people and to the space in which the people lived were vital activities. This, as well as supplying the most natural needs of security, looked to set the conditions for the separation of the guerrillas from the population and built an important defence against their propaganda and their preaching. The measures that were most useful against in creating such a defence included security measures (check points, patrols, etc) and the limiting of movement (restricted zones of movement, blackouts etc) and indirectly the support of the security forces (instruction, information, logistical support, etc). Another interesting experiment in this field was in Vietnam (8). The 'Combined Action Program (CAP)' was an innovation from the Marine Corps

“ The operational procedures in low intensity conflicts differ from the norm. A small scale tactic that if given time can make differences in the environment and socially and above all in its final failure rate ”



Algerian soldiers and FLN volunteers in training.

on the ground. It comprised of a team, at gunner level, coupled with a native platoon. This 'combined' force was posted inside the village of the same platoon and was responsible for combating the Viet Cong and aiming to restore order and the law.

The operational procedures in low intensity conflicts differ from the norm. A small scale tactic that if given time can make differences in the environment and socially and above all in its final failure rate. Not discounting the 'policy' adopted in the choice between protection and mobility. The sense of security that could be given by a 'base' and 'vehicles' potentially protect, but for such reasons are not as fast and useful and can become targets. In such circumstances the need for a balance in the decisions taken have given rise to "paralysis" in units and the consequent loss of territory and inhabitants. With a bolder but appropriate for-

mula, the 'Soviet-Afghan' war was defined by 'mobile bunkers', which meant that basically the Red Army managed only to secure control of the big bases and lines of communication. In the rest of the territory the guerrillas moved with ease taking advantage to the best of their ability the mountainous terrain to neutralize the Russian transport columns (9). The news of the war reminds us of the soldiers holed up in their cocoons of steel. They felt well protected. In reality they were blind and immobile and lacked space and visibility, they were too late to hide when the enemy approached and had their movements in their vehicles stifled. In this way the 'shelter' became 'trap'. Then the attention in general became focused on finding ways of increasing security for those soldiers who can then explore new horizons. For the personal protection of the body soldiers started to wear anti-projectile jackets, shoes with protective soles (contains metal parts), lightened helmets with 'bands' etc for avoiding trauma for contact, from sport there is also the use of knee

and elbow protectors. With a heavier organizational structure that can build advanced bases with landing strips, entrenched camps, check points and protected observation points and protection barriers that run for hundreds of kilometres. It was in this way that the French in Algeria (10) tried to seal the border with Tunisia. The 'Morice Line', a fortified barrier that extended for over 250 km and intended to cut the umbilical cord between the guerrillas and their sanctuary. Such an impressive system has the disadvantage of costing a lot and absorbing hundreds of soldiers for its operations. Not being impermeable - nothing is so - it ended up being bypassed.

Different, but complementary, are the activities regarding 'prevention' and 'repression' converting the military duties into public order duties. The aim, time and modus for developing one or the other are made of such diverse elements that 'special' forces

have to create. Prevention is above all based on the element of visibility, but not only, of the troops in patrol in the way that simply they are seen to be passing through the population and places of habitation. The aim includes sounding out the attitudes of the local populace but also

showing the availability and propensity to be open for dialogue. With regards to repression the focus is on a strictly military plan, which dusts off the old principals of combat. Surprise, speed and concentration of force, measures aimed to neutralize the opposition. The return to mobile columns but above all the use of air support/helicopters, and if so desired airdrops of soldiers are an option for the rapid deployment of troops. The objectives are hand picked via an 'observation network'. Permanent observation posts, garrisoned in isolated cells, constitute a 'fixed' system. The personnel in these posts have to be able to survive in difficult situations and get used to the idea of being left exposed to the enemy. A 'mobile' system based around the activities of small cells and patrols specializing in areas on the outlook for elements of hostile activity. Physically more involved than previous operations it has the advantage of only offering the adversary 'moving' targets, difficult to spot and therefore difficult to hit. A correspondent to this operation mode was the system 'quadrillage' (11), adopted by the French in Algeria, that divided the country into four different areas of operation and to each one was assigned a 'guarnigione' force

“ Different, but complementary, are the activities regarding 'prevention' and 'repression' converting the military duties into public order duties ”

with the task of guaranteeing the security via a mixture of static positions and mobile patrols. A mobile reserve made of elite units, mechanized, parachute and the Foreign Legion, was placed to support the forces in situ. These forces could wherever and quickly both to reinforce the forces in situ and to intervene against identified objectives. But the true key to success came from the capacity of the French intelligence to supply quickly, within hours of discovery, the critical information that would allow the reaching and striking of objectives.

The guerrillas possessed, by their very nature, the antidote to escape the big operations but they are, paradoxically, vulnerable to themselves, or better, to the type of actions that make it so threatening and efficient. From this point on the tactics against the guerrillas became the guerrillas' tactics themselves.

'Methods' but also 'mentality' explain the importance of the employment of military training and paramilitary recruitment of the local populace. Amongst the experiments conducted with the local militia is that done by the US Army called "Program for the Pacification and Long-Term Development of South Vietnam (PROVN Study)" (12) that's based on

the experience of the Special Forces in the organization, training and management of the 'Civilian Irregular Defense Groups' (CIDG). In essence the CIDG, which comprised militia units and groups of ethnic minorities were stationed in the mountain and border regions, and were also to conduct military offensives, defend their own bases, impede the movement of Viet Cong and regular North Vietnamese army soldiers. Not that different, in theory, was the Soviet vision of the use of native forces (13) in small combined operations in the Soviet-Afghan war. However in certain circumstances they made the error of placing the militia only in the most dangerous areas and tasks. For example the Soviets reserved for the 'protection' of the villages doing the 'minesweeping' or 'flushing' out of soldiers from forests instead of the Afghans would have helped cement the alliance. Instead it just undermined any trust between the two sides and led to the successive failure.

Guerrillas and contro-guerrilla forces face each other above all in the arena of ideology - the war of the ideas - where flexibility and agility of thought are the keys to persuade the opinion polls, the public and the soldiers. The

first observation concerns communication. The information channels used to communicate are substantially different, as different and diverse as the sources themselves. The 'institutional' communication, that of meeting the people's needs through the newspapers etc, as opposed to those 'alternative' means. The possibility of direct access with the press would presuppose the existence of privileged relationships between the military forces and the recipients. It's reasonable to think so, but in reality things are different; in fact at times it's the complete opposite. There is a heavy prejudice against men in uniforms, in other cases there is an incapacity on the part of the military to communicate, other times there is simply a lack of interest; there's no news. For the guerrillas the argument is different. The secret and inaccessibility of the sources make desirable every bit of information regardless of what its content may be. The relationship with the media could have a fundamental influence on the outcome of the conflict. The journalists that exercise their 'legal right' to report the facts and tell the stories from all parts, Commanders and privates. The ex-Chief of Staff of the US Army, (14), General Eric Shineski had said "If we don't speak for the army, they will." This affirmation in its dramatic obviousness confirms a certainty; the media will write their articles with or without the military speeches. The availability of the commanders to help can make the difference between good and bad results. NO guarantees exist that the activities in which they take part will result in their words coming out as planned or obtained the results desired, only the opportunities exist that can either be taken or let go. More uninhibited - and efficient - is the mode of communicating across the world by the guerrillas, having their messages recorded and transmitted by television or through the internet unedited.

A multitude of sites (15) spreading the messages, giving orders and strategy guidelines to follow. The sensitive messages are encoded in 'innocuous' sites. Domains based all around the world enable access to these sites via a series of links. The magazine On-line keeps analysis, communications and interviews with its leaders. The internet allows the widespread diffusion of their communication without trace. It's enough just to send details and video recordings to the preferred host site. For the production of video cassettes all that is needed is a camcorder, editing facilities and a machine to copy tapes. But all the attention has been focused on the 'combat camera' which have had the most success. Across these various means



An «Alpini» patrol controlling a road in Afghanistan.

have come various images; training, proclamations, and above all recruitment videos.

Moving the specific to the general;

- relations with the local population and with their efforts at stabilization, reconstruction and communication covering all important fundamentals
- The contro-guerrilla to be effective must adopt procedures similar to the guerrilla.
- The rapidity of the response requires a high level of readiness and organization that facilitates a rapid reception of critical information. When it is based on a network of observation this could include personnel with an elevated ability of survival.
- The operational difficulties could be exasperated by the environmental conditions; breathing difficulties at altitude (an estimated thirty during the American air drop in operation 'Anaconda' due to insufficient time for acclimatization), harsh temperatures or extreme heat in a desert etc

This is all to say that all those who are called into action should be in possession of the ability and experience to survive, for long periods, in desperate situations and extreme climates. A reference point for the level of ability that we



Vietnam. American soldiers protecting South Vietnamese children during an attack by North Vietnamese regulars.

should want for all our soldiers. By definition training is a reflection of the type of mission, to the specifics of the environment and concerns all, and in consideration of all – no one excluded – all are possible targets.

By way of example we can review what happened in 2003, in 'Operation Kite' in Afghanistan. The operation was developed at home then carried out in the zone of operation. It was based on the overcoming of individual, *team* and unit barriers that had been clearly outlined in the phase 3 of 'combat readiness', being ready for going operational. At headquarters particular attention was being placed on the ability to survive in mountainous conditions and an environment of physical and mental stress. So checking both the changes to physical resistance and operational capability in light of sleep deprivation while trying to complete physical tasks, and the suitability of life in conditions differing from the norm (in general the corimec (16) living conditions and organiza-

“ Guerrillas and counter-guerrilla forces face each other above all in the arena of ideology – the war of the ideas – where flexibility and agility of thought can be pivotal ... ”

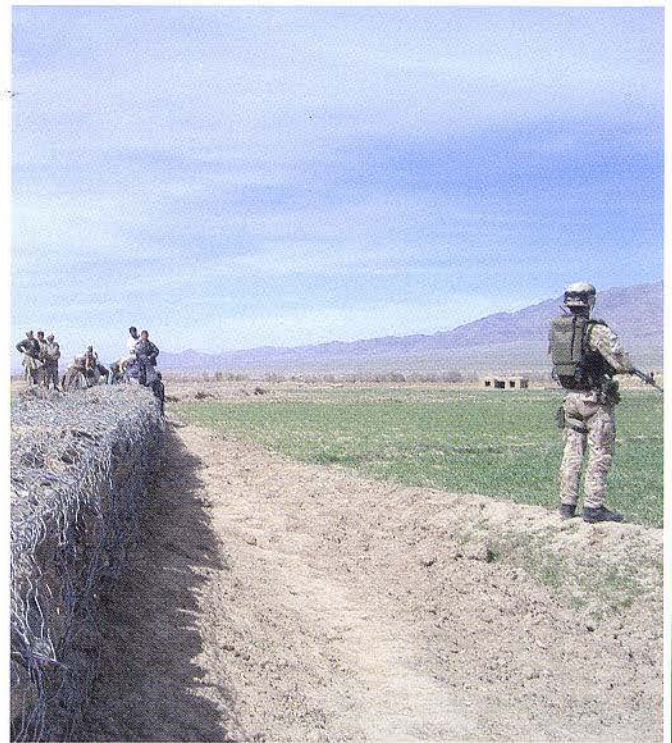
tion and infrastructure of such cases). The basic menu of this first phase was the course 'dead wood' (effectively in mountain with all equipment) over distances ranging from 10–15km. Additionally there was the use of personal armour with the use of precision shooting (with all supplied arms) as well as live shooting (especially useful for gauging reaction quality). For increasing the impact of real wounds some soldiers were trained in 'basic life support' (BLS) from NATO and national organizations, while others – the majority – had done specific training

in fencing and bayonets fixed to their rifles. For these soldiers they were forced to use and survive on what could seem to be discarded items, becoming true to life targets. With the help of trained instructors a company of fusiliers completed a 'stage' that involved being able to cross particular obstacles; Himalayan bridges and then

when was followed by a further period of conditioning in high altitude conditions (Val Pusteria) in which the personnel were put to the test at their ability to survive in low temperatures.

The 'Key Leaders' were subsequently taken to a conference organised for officials once back in Afghanistan.

Particular interest came from the Brigade Command (Britain) of the 'Royal Marines' after a tour of operations of almost six months in Bagram, and an American team of 'Navy Seals'. In both cases they were examining the effect of conducting of operations at high mountain altitude and the tactics and operational procedures of possible enemies. Other conference goers, for a wider audience, had brought their own experiences. Team training by the General Staff had as usual the 'stage' where troops were trained in acclimatization to local culture, environment and resources, and where appropriate mine awareness. Passing continual assessment, that had the aim of monitoring and if required correcting the progression and the level of the training achieved at *team*, team and patrol level with particular emphasis on the performing on technical and procedural aspects regarding ambush response. Combat in built up areas, mine clearing modes, and negotiation techniques were examined as well as competitions with American units based in Italy (specifically US SETAF) in order to achieve a level of interoperability designed to guarantee, in case of necessity, the ability to utilize US Army procedures. In the case of combat in built up areas extremely practical solutions – such as white bands along the ground to indicate spaces, the entering of houses and flats, allowed a level of coordination 'between and amongst' team of an exceptional level. In this period there was also practicing 'on fire' of relevant departmental arms (60mm mortars, 12.7mm machine guns, Milan missiles, panzerfaust rocket launches etc) and in small units. Completing the picture there is the successful landing of a helicopter on to plane type CH 47 (also in a night flight using night vision goggles) and type AB 412. In conclusion it was the completion of exercises of the hardest order with regard to difficulty and duration. Continual activity in large amounts to test the newly assigned materials and to check the operational procedures 'especially' of those most recently assigned, like mine sweeping of caves, small built up areas, and 'antisniping'. Part of the training time was dedicated to crowd control with the use of 'antiriot' equipment; shields and batons and also in this there was the validation by a commission of the Brigade. As a complement to the exercises 'on fire' at a lower level. For the groups at a lower level it was reviewed, with an eye to daily occurrences and from the American magazines, the lessons learnt from Afghanistan, in particular those related to 'Operation Anaconda' by the American 10th Division. It was subject to serious review and even the testimonials from the Soviet-



Afghanistan. An Italian soldier near the village of Pash-tun-zargul.

Afghan war, and as a case in point the articles related by Lieutenant Colonel Lester Grau (17), of the Soviet Frunze Academy (the body dedicated to the study of Red Army warfare experiences), and from various authors like Jason Vest (18) and more recently, related to 'anaconda' from the Federal News Service (19). These all comment and give treatments on the operational activities that have already been discussed here.

Also in Afghanistan there were a number of activities aimed at looking at the acclimatization of personnel to temperatures and also to how teams blended. The USA requested the verification and validation of the FAC (Forward Air Controller) procedure, the reconditioning of personnel transport carriers, heavy artillery and vehicles, for the use with American carriers such as Black Hawk and CH47. The dependence of the American Command resulted in the study and adoption of a variety of procedures that can lead to the deployment of its forces by helicopter and vehicles, for the intervention in case of 'mass casualties' and for the protection of personnel in case of mortar and rocket attack on encampments. The object of attention was also on the creation of the orders of operation (standard USA) comprehensive from the appendix of 'backbrief' and 'rock drill' (20). From a practical point of view, the putting into



Afghan Mujaheddin during the Soviet invasion.

action of differing capacities CIMIC, in prevalence as a medical structure, showed a good level of cooperation amongst the allies. Amongst the combined activities, beyond the recognition and formal presentations to the notable locals, the refining of the techniques of 'village assessment' have allowed the continuation of good relations with the local population without creating interruptions to the substitution. At the Transfer of Authority (TOA) the procedure happens with guards and patrols mixed across the 'left seat - right seat'. A symbolic representation of the defensive operations and stance occupied (21).

In conclusion, the guerrillas fight the 'War of the Flea' (22) and its military enemy suffers the disadvantage of the dog; too much to defend, an adversary present everywhere, and too small and agile to be captured. If the war continues long enough - so says the theory - the dog will be overcome by the enemy and die through exhaustion and anaemia, without ever having something to close its jaws on or root out with its claws. The War of the Flea lasts longer in contrast to a conventional war. In the near future it's possible that adversaries will only resort to terrorist wars. Fortunately however, recent history has shown us that with the right approach and suitable methodology even the 'War of the Flea' can be won. A major emphasis

on projects of stabilisation and reconstruction and availability of the military present to operate in a flexible mode in small groups that can offer a plausible alternative to the 'classical war (big war)' (23) when fighting the 'conventional war (small war)'.

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NOTES

(1) The terms 'guerilla warfare', 'war of subversion' and 'insurgency' are used, for the sake of simplicity as synonyms. The correct definitions are; Insurgency, organized uprising aimed at overturning the current order or government with the use of subversion and armed conflict. War of Subversion, form of struggle, conducted within a nation by its citizens, with or without external help, with the aim of overturning the government or institutions, or at least paralysing their actions and functions, normally stems from guerrilla warfare as a military action without recourse to more traditional modes of warfare, but could occur in times of conventional war. Guerrilla Warfare, a form of struggle particularly associated with military and paramilitary organizations, in territory controlled by the enemy, with at least the partial support of the population. It is signified by actions aggressive and rapid and without warning aimed at weakening the morale of its adversary.

(2) 'Small Wars Manual' - United States Marine Corps - 1940 Edition swm 1-10 pag 18. 'The aim is not to develop a belligerent spirit in our men but rather one of caution and steadiness. Instead of employing force, one strives to accomplish the purpose by diplomacy. A Force Commander who gains his objective in a small war without firing a shot has attained far greater success than one who resorted to the use of arms. While endeavouring to avoid the infliction of physical harm to any native, there is always the necessity of preventing, as far as possible, any casualties among our own troops.'

(3) 'Small Wars Manual' - United States Marine Corps - 1940 Edition swm 1-17 pag 32. 'In major warfare, hatred of the enemy is developed among troops to arouse courage. In small wars, tolerance, sympathy and kindness should be the keynote of our relationship with the mass of the population.'

(4) Rich Lowry 'Been There, Done That' National Review Editor, 18 Jan. '05.

(5) Lt. C R.M. Cassidy, 'The British Army and Counterinsurgency; The Salience of Military Culture.' "US Army Military Review" May-June 2005.

(6) Lou Di Marco, 'Losing the Moral Compass: Tor-



A patrol of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division in Afghanistan.

ture and Guerre Revolutionnaire in the Algerian War".

(7) Grégor Mathias, "Les Sections Administratives Spécialisées (SAS) en Algérie entre idéal et réalité".

(8) Robert M. Cassidy "Back to the Street without Joy: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Vietnam and other Small Wars".

(9) Lester W. Grau "The Bear Went Over The Mountain: Soviet Tactics and Tactical Lessons Learned during their War in Afghanistan."

(10) Lou Di Marco, 'Losing the Moral Compass: Torture and Guerre Revolutionnaire in the Algerian War'.

(11) Lou Di Marco, 'Losing the Moral Compass: Torture and Guerre Revolutionnaire in the Algerian War'.

(12) Robert M. Cassidy "Back to the Street without Joy: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Vietnam and other Small Wars".

(13) Major S.D. Pomer "Don't Follow the Bear; The Soviet Attempt to Built Afghanistan's Military." 'US Army Military Review' September-October 2005.

(14) Capt. David Connolly "The Media in the Battlefield".

(15) Maurizio Piccirilli "Le Quaglie di Osama" Edizione Memori - Blocknotes "Maktab al Jihad - ufficio comunicazione della guerra santa".

(16) Taken from the name of the firm that supplies nearly all clothing for every theatre of operations.

(17) "The Soviet War in Afghanistan: History and Harbinger of Future War?" "22 Ground Combat at High Altitude" "The Campaign for the caves: the battles for Zhawar in the Soviet-Afghan war" "Whither the Taliban?" "The Soviet-Afghan War, Breaking the Hammer and Sickle." "Artillery and Counterinsurgency: The Soviet Experience in Afghanistan." "Beaten by the Bugs: The Soviet-Afghan War Experience" "The Other Side of the Mountain: Mujaheddin Tactics in the Soviet-Afghan War."

(18) "Mountain Warfare is not the only thing slowing down the U.S. Army"

(19) "Background briefing on the report of the battle of Takur Ghar". Transcription prepared by the Federal News Service Inc, Washington D.C. *Federal News Service is a private company.*

(20) Simulation on plastic of the capacity of warning and handling sudden situations following military activity of the enemy.

(21) Namely what brings the end of the fixed timetable for the transfer of responsibility, the military in the position of the 'left seat' follow the development without having responsibility, and those on the 'right seat' have the responsibility, while they occupy the 'left seat' until the last moments of their turn.

(22) Robert Taber "In The War of the Flea: Guerrilla Warfare in Theory and Practice".

(23) American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research 2003.

SM and SMH

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A woman in a police uniform is standing at the front of a classroom, pointing at a whiteboard. The whiteboard has the title "QUESTIONS TO ASK" and a list of questions: "1. What is the problem?", "2. What are the causes?", "3. What are the effects?", "4. What are the solutions?". A red 'X' is marked next to the first question. In the foreground, there are two wooden desks with laptops and mice. A white bag is on the desk in the foreground. A person is sitting at the desk in the background, looking at a laptop. The text "ASSESSMENT CENTERS: THE RIGHT MAN IN THE RIGHT PLACE" is overlaid on the bottom half of the image.

***ASSESSMENT CENTERS:
THE RIGHT MAN IN THE
RIGHT PLACE***

ASSESSMENT CENTERS: THE RIGHT MAN IN THE RIGHT PLACE

The operating experiences teach us that we should know in depth the qualities of the personnel at our disposal in order to be able to employ them correctly. Through activities of vocational guidance, based on methodologies of work psychology, on the one hand we can optimise the man-job pairing, on the other we can obtain full awareness of our resources.

Career guidance sets itself ambitious objectives which at the same time are inescapable objectives for the future success of every firm, the ability to match the right person to the right job. For this to be possible we must refer to a clichéd outlook that the man and the job are as important as each other. Let's begin with the man.

Let's suppose we have to ask ourselves before starting a diet what is essential. The response would come straight back as; a good doctor, correct analysis, an iron will... reasonable answers but not very exact. The fundamental thing, that we must not leave out in such a situation, is a simple, mechanical, banal, object: the scales. Without a real and objective way to measure any changes the success of the procedure becomes arbitrary; at the end of the day for all the medical advice, analysis of the body and the iron will the person needs to know if they are losing weight (Figure 1).

We could argue that an effective and correct management of human resources must do so through means of assessing the value of the individual in terms of performance and potential.

If performance represents the way in which the individual carries out the tasks of their current position, then potential represents the hypothetical ability to carry out a different role from the current. In such a sense the initial valuation is one of "a synthesis of the past, the

appraisal of the potential and the dynamic process focused the future of predicted characteristics" (Fertonani).

On this subject, while we are considering the individual, the military organization has the ability, via its characteristic documentation and systems to be in a situation that allows it to measure in an analytical mode diverse factors that it considers valuable in the assessment of potential, and it would need to assign the individual a number of different and difficult tests to find their perfect field. This is plainly unreasonable; one cannot ask a person to pilot a helicopter as a test run if they

are unable to fly. Obviously and imperatively safety must be considered when these tests are being imposed; from this protected environment comes a forecast, in the analogous sense as happens with the weather or in *intelligence*, it takes the form and structure through the observation of what is happening.

It seems evident that the valuation of performance offers a good objective approximation, but the procedure of assessing potential needs a standardised procedure that runs of risk of being very subjective. And in every sense hides the problem common to all organizations that of pigeon holing the individual before they are able to develop their potential, and the solution of which depends on the value of subsequent challenges.

Already today the maximum care is taken in the recruitment of officers, non-commissioned officers and volunteers, that arrive at their future tasks after intensive training courses, qualifications and specializations. The Armed

"... an effective and correct management of human resources must do so through means of assessing the value of the individual in terms of performance and potential"

Forces offers the opportunity to grow through a variety of operational experiences and training activities; in other words the individuals arrive at their posts able to grow from their initial placement into positions of greater responsibility and interest to them. From these people come accurate valuations of their activities in service from their line command, and such valuations can be key in assessing how best to meet the potential of each person. This is to say that nowadays the development of and evaluation of human resources is a fundamental operation within the army.

However in the world that the Armed Forces live in today there are continual changes that are forcing the army to keep up with changes and be equipped to change. Operational experience teaches us that there is a need to protect the structure, the operational procedures and the allocation of human resources that are necessary to keep the ability to spot changes and solutions already while things are changing. It's vital therefore to know well the people on who you are counting, to be able to use them in the best way possible. Via career guidance and the methodology of workplace psychology one is

Fig. 1

"If you don't measure results, it's impossible to distinguish success from failure"

"If you don't spot successes, it's impossible to reward them"



"If you don't spot failures, it's impossible to correct them"

"If successes are not rewarded and failures not corrected, then one ends up rewarding failures and correcting successes"

able to draw on cognitive elements of the personnel that from one side allow them to optimise the best relationship between man and post and from the other side allows a greater understanding of all the resources at hand.

MODEL OF COMPETENCIES

For a long time the entrance selection process was heavily influenced by who was considered 'able', and such a term was understood in a restrictive mode in respect to the true lexical meaning. In fact 'ability' is not only descriptive

of who is prepared but also who has the capacity and expertise. In reality ability is often only considered in its finished form (in other words as something that is professionally and technically held by the person) and so the selection processes were always geared towards who already had the knowledge and capability and not who had the capacity to have the capability. This type of approach did not guarantee the best results because already knowing something doesn't guarantee that the performance will be excellent. It's noteworthy to think that Einstein would not have been the best professor of mathematics at a high school, but he would have been a better university lecturer, provided that he was able to communicate effectively with his students.

The modern notion of competencies embraces a wider meaning and can be considered through "a way of being and thinking that is repeated in a convincing way in diverse situations and over a significant length of time" (Gion). Competencies, as defined in the celebrated model introduced by the psychologist David McClelland, are defined into 3 fundamental factors (knowledge, capacity and experience) and exist only to combine to produce the performance. The great strength of the model is that it divides the individual baggage of the individual into practical components that the same person can then deal with. In this sense it was a revolutionary step in that it put the attention not on the individual but on the position that the individual wanted to fill. Every individual therefore became the focus of what the job required to have carried out, given that every task was supplied with its own viewpoint, and according to the difficulty imposed some would be proportionally more predisposed to the tasks than the others. The evaluation of every human resource is therefore relative to the uniqueness of the basic job description required to be filled; such assessment keeps each appointment 'relative' and not 'absolute' in terms of the job that needs to be done. The new and important focus on the task can be seen in the funny anecdote from Spencer and Spencer that 'it's possible to teach a turkey to climb a tree but it's better to use a squirrel'. Where the act required in the job, the climbing of the tree, is better done by who is better 'suited' and therefore more 'competent' than the others.

Moving towards the more practical and concrete world of capacity, we notice that the gap between this and knowledge is as big as the sea, that in the traditional opinion we are stuck in the middle of, between 'doing and saying'; by capacity it is meant the ability to do, to take ac-

The 34 detectable behavioural capacities of an individual can be divided into the following areas:

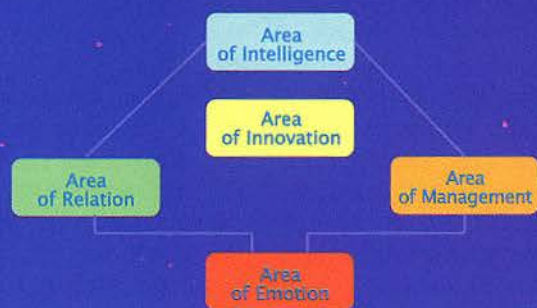


Fig. 2

tion, to put into place certain behaviour. It's important to distinguish between capacity and behaviour. Behaviour is natural, observable and describable, while capacity is category created to collect all possible behaviours. The capacity tree (figure 2) gives an immediate picture of the first five fundamental classifications of capacity.

The capacity of the area of emotions (for example self-control and management of stress) is found at the base of the tree, and is its stability and is possible to give solidity to the whole structure. Without a solid emotional base all the other possible areas are prone to uncertainty and faltering.

The capacity of the area of management (for example the management of others) and relations (for example in negotiations) serve as support and cement for the area of intellect (for example problem solving).

The capacity of the area of innovation (for example flexibility) appears instead unconnected from the others which is why it is thought that a 'weak' person in other areas could suddenly emerge with a new idea or perspective of seeing things.

“The Assessment Center has its origins in the military research conducted by German psychologists between the wars, in order to improve their officer recruitment selection systems...”

ORIGINS AND PURPOSE

Germany

The Assessment Center has its origins in the military research conducted by German psychologists between the wars, in order to improve their officer recruitment selection processes then in use. The problem that was stirring up their interest was related to the ability of trusting and counting on one's com-

mander, not only in terms of technical competency, but that they offered a natural sense of leadership and an ability to be trusted. To research and get evidence of the specific capacities of leadership amongst these future heads of the army they employed for the first time the use of simulated role plays of true to life scenarios that the real heads of army would face.

Great Britain

The first application came in 1942 when Wilfred Ruprecht Bion (1) conducted the selection process for those hoping to enter with British War Office Selection Boards. (W.O.S.B.).

The system available until then had not been able to discriminate with sufficient accuracy certain personal 'characteristics'. The systems and equipment then in use showed that nearly all the total candidates were not suitable for future redeployment into operative units. Clearly a system that wasn't functioning accurately. The system of analysis was put under scrutiny and all areas of uncertainty were deleted. In practice the system that was in place was not 'objective'. That's to say it was not very objective given that some of the interview was based on interviews regarding cultural backgrounds and levels of educational and sociability. A further criteria to measure character of a candidates was of such things as 'unusual acumen' (2).

It was decided therefore to abandon the system that had been in use until that point and to immediately put into practice the new Assessment Centers. This system would attempt to 'deduce' objectively the potential 'capacity' of an officer from a number of observations regarding his behaviour as he carried out tasks. The simulations set the candidate specific tasks to complete. The method aimed to determine certain behaviour patterns, that would come from

certain precise potentiality, that would determine the success or not of placing the individual back into certain organizational positions.

The exercises used included;

- Leaderless group exercises. This type of exercise revolved around the solving of a problem in a specified time. They could have free roles or defined roles. The character of the discussion could be cooperative or competitive depending on the objectives that were assigned to the test.
- Selection tests. This exercises could be subdi-



Wilfred Ruprecht, amongst the first to implement the Assessment Center.

vided into;

- • Aptitude tests, for the measurement of the ability and capacity to carry out, potentially, certain tasks.
- • Personality tests, tests that assess the candidates character in terms of emotions, sociability, motivation, interests and attitudes.
- Individual interviews

The three type of exercises mentioned were conducted by a team of three, an 'old' officer, and officer of a similar level to the candidate and a psychiatrist.

This system resulted in an improvement balance in spotting which officers could be deployed in operational units and which ones shouldn't.

After the Second World War the system was used again to decide the selection process for entry into the *civil service*. A variant of the same idea was also used to help the selection process for entry into the Armed Forces.

The United States

The system was first used in the Second World War by the O.S.S. (Office of Strategic Service) to select suitable recruits for the collection and analysis of information.

Following the war the Assessment Center was exported into the private sector; in particular it was employed on a massive scale by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T), who used it to select the numerous line managers of the company. Additionally it was employed by Standard Oil Ohio, IBM, and Sear and General Electric.

The principal differences between USA and Great Britain was in the application of the system, in the 'weighting' of various parts of the test; in GB the importance was given to the group exercises with leaders assigned, to group discussions and to the long written exercises, while in America more emphasis was put on exercises such as in-tray (3), group exercises with roles assigned and two person role play (4).

Italy

The arrival of the *Assessment Center* didn't follow the usual path of new organizational management trends, coming via the multinationals or the large consulting companies. The first use came at the end of the Seventies by Montedison which saw the system as a good device to help them choose their managers. The need arose from the 'managerial' crisis that was made worse by the competition in the chemical industry. And created a system that would win out over all other options and techniques, both in the private sector and the public sector for choosing the *leadership* of tomorrow.

In 2002 the Italian Army, wanting to improve its selection procedures, adopted the principals of the *Assessment Center*. It was able to spot, with notable precision, the person with the characteristics, or capacity, greatly suited to the position for which this form of selection procedure, or career guidance, was aimed at. Currently the career guidance procedure is used for;

- Future managers of the Armed Forces that are applying to join the Istituto Superiore di Stato Maggiore Interforze (ISSIMI);
- The lines of command for the Istituti di Formazione, the Training Institutes (Military Academy, School for Non-commissioned Officers, and Volontari, Nunziatella and Teulìè regimental training)

- For the Special Operations Forces
- Information Research Unit
- For those people who wish to be added to the list of reserves for the Armed Forces

DESIGNING OF AN ASSESSMENT CENTER SESSION

With regards to the motivation that pushes an organization to apply such methodology to their human resources one can note a substantial difference in the needs between public and private companies. For the former the Assessment Center normally answers to instrumental needs, comparable to an investment in human resources. For the latter it represents a criteria of evaluation and development of the human resources. Whichever the motivation for wanting to use an Assessment Center, it can be seen in figure 3 the phases in which a session of evaluation follows.

The analysis of the work, and the parameters that outline the evaluation is a complex process that offers a number of possibilities. In fact there are numerous techniques to study positions and various interlocutors to consider. Equally as diverse are the options for delineating and weighting of the critical dimensions regarding the various instruments and techniques that are available. The choice of techniques depends on the contingent conditions in relation to the organization, for example the amount of time available. In the process of defining the role it will be necessary to outline and choose the capacities that in respect to the position under scrutiny could be used to define the most important features and that represent the 'key capacities'.

The problem of choosing the evaluators (observers and coordinators) – with regards to training these employees in techniques of observation and recording of behaviour patterns, constitutes one of the more urgent and sensitive aspects of all the Assessment Center implementation.

All the various authors are of unanimous accord that only those evaluators that have received the right training coaching in assessment are able to grade the performance of the participants, and so give any value to the process as a whole and any judgements made.

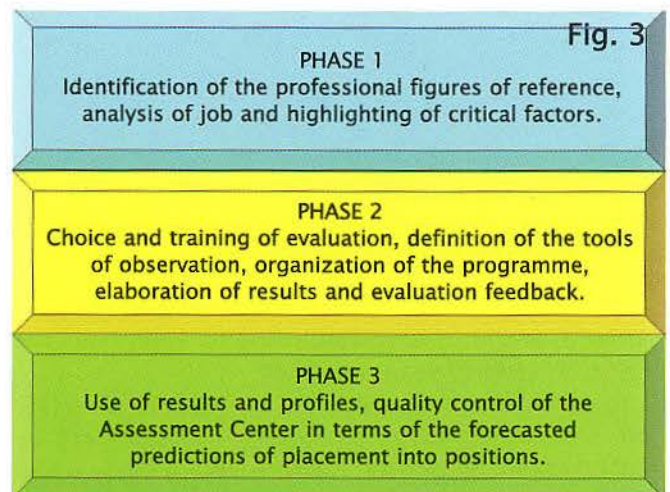
Different methods are used for different evaluators; the most common consists of putting values for exercises that are done in certain sequences, discussing then the process with an expert guide, in such a way to understand in a deeper manner the exercise and the indicators that such an exercise could offer. Often these

exercises are recorded for future evaluation and playback and discussion afterwards.

Another method consists of making the evaluators take part in other Assessment Centers in the guise of an observer to then be able to familiarize and understand the phases and the content of activities and the problems of evaluation. Both types of training would be coupled with classes in theoretical understanding.

The task of the observers is to note the behaviour that the participants use in the group and individual exercises and, subsequently, to correlate it to the objective capacities outlined in the questionnaire.

Therefore the primary objective of an observer should be the ability to transcribe with swiftness and precision what is said and done during an exercise by the participants in an Assessment session. The first step in the training of an observer is how to record with the best fidelity the actions, assertions and attitudes of the observed. The principal that the observer



should follow is that of delaying judgement, because the judgement should come at a later time, a time separate from the actions being recorded, for a more balanced judgement.

The second ability of a good observer comes into play when the observer is recording the data observed, and is based on the principles of 'behavioural psychology', according to what is scientifically significant, to only record what is considered 'objective'. Namely what is to be recorded should be what is said, what is done or what is shown and what is forbidden is any interpretation of a subjective nature. Expressed actions can be recorded but not so easily states of mind.

To put into effect an Assessment Center session it is necessary to have the presence of a co-ordinator that facilitates the smooth run-

ning of the session for the observer. The reasoning for such a presence are found whenever one observes a smooth running Assessment Center. A session requires that someone has made enough copies of all the activities and other administrative tasks. They can pre-organize the pairing off of observers and participants. And additionally it is extremely useful to have someone available for the general management of the session, that brings all the materials (exercises, questionnaires, forms etc), firmly controls the timings, explains the correct procedures for the completion of the questionnaires and forms, as well as being able to respond to all the queries that the participants could ask.

Finally, what is also important is in the group discussions that has a number of objectives for the observers is that the discussion runs smoothly. And the co-ordinator doesn't just have the role of simply being a moderator but also and above all of methodology and instigator. The co-ordinator should have the professional authority to supply assistance and support to the observers, even in the course of their work to help them with data collection and elaboration during and straight after the exercises.

The coordinator therefore has to have a good understanding of the methodology, have a solid record as an observer and a good memory, every time, of all the exercises used, as well as the characteristics of each exercise utilized. And to know by heart the objective capacities being assessed and the connections between them.

That in essence is the responsibility of managing the whole of the Assessment Center session, the preparation of the session and materials and the completion of the work right up to the final collection of data.

At the moment the Italian Army has 34 qualified Assessment observers and coordinators.

For the assessment of the capacities one must use the tests, choosing those tests that are the most suitable for verification of the capacities that would mean someone could fill for real the post that they are being assessed for. Among the tests most frequently used in the Assessment Center include the Leaderless Group Discussion (LGD), the 'In Basket', the 'Business Game', 'Interview Simulation', Presentations, 'Fact Finding' and the aptitude tests and situational tests.

In particular the last tests supply realistic tests for the actual situations that are to be

faced and are extremely valuable (with a success rate of 80%) in choosing the correct capacity for being suitable to the final task. Such tests create circumstances in which the subjects have to manage chains and resources, take decisions, follow results; the aim being of which is to simulate the behaviour in the subject similar to the possible reality. The exercises are divided into group and individual, the former being tests or working in groups.

A CASE STUDY: PROFILE OF THE APPOINTMENT OF AN OPERATOR FOR THE INFORMATION RESEARCH UNIT.

The evolution of the international scene has forced the army to adopt a process aimed at acquiring the latest operating capacity at the highest level of specialization, ready even to be sent overseas. In this context the Information Research Unit with the capacity of *humint* (Human Intelligence), is one of the key priorities that the Armed Forces has intended to achieve in the short term.

This unit, in particular, must develop the capacity *humint* both in terms of training and in the operational mode of information collection and selected operations (5), in terms of the analysis, the planning, the training and coaching of individuals and 'team operatives'.

The career guidance activities are developed via the study of the definition of the reference profile of the *humint* Operator. Specifically, in order to define the role, the collaboration of experienced Officers and Non-commissioned officers in the relevant sector was requested and they were interviewed individually in a structured fashion (6). This group constituted the 'Champions of Reference' for what the post entailed. In this phase part of the information required to 'understand' the required capacities of the operator was supplied. Another step was getting together the personnel to participate in a focus group (7) to discuss 'Activities and competencies in the *humint* environment'. Finally all the information was collected and a document was written outlining the specific functions, training, *modus operandi* in various environments and information gathering techniques. At the end there was the choice of the relevant technical instruments (in order to simulate realistic scenarios) for assessing the highlighted capacities and to define the procedures for correctly car-

“...only the evaluators... are able to assess the performance of the participants...”



rying out the career guidance stage.

At the end of the testing period all the information and results collected were compiled together, and the individuals were compared to the champions of reference in relation to the activities deemed important to role of the Operator. Schematically these activities can be divided in the following mode;

- Ability to effectively communicate verbally
- Easily able to keep interpersonal relations with any type of interlocutor
- Able to appreciate and manage correctly differences in race, culture, status etc as tested
- To be able to separate data from information in a precise manner

On the basis of such activities described above a character profile (aptitudes and organizational behaviour) was able to be created for the carrying out of the job function in question. Then there were identified the following eight aptitudes (8);

- Verbal reasoning; comprehension of content and sensitivity of language in verbal expression
- Abstract reasoning; perception of all aspects of a situation relevant to a situation in re-

The Army has adopted the Assessment Center principles for the selection of its personnel.

gards to similarities, differences, casual connections.

- Open minded; interest in keeping and acquiring knowledge. Ability to see situations from more than one viewpoint.
- Memory; retention of verbal facts and the following organizational behaviours
 - Verbal communication; capacity to express with clarity and to simplify facts and concepts to any type of interlocutor, taking care of what is being said
 - Availability in interpersonal relationships; capacity to understand the perceptions, the needs, the attitudes of others and utilize them in a constructive way
 - Collection and elaboration of information; capacity to research, compile and make explicit data and facts available from the relevant environment and hidden in complex representations of reality
 - Orientation of results; capacity to direct oneself and others continually in the pur-

suit of the objectives previously formulated in a nature coherent with the objectives themselves.

From the examination of results and the information collected it facilitated the choice of which instruments to use (aptitude tests, group exercises, questionnaires and interviews), the mode of interpretation (observation models, models of interview evaluation and matrixes of behaviour related to area under observation) and for the measuring of organizational behaviour and breakdowns on subjects.

From 2004 to today there have been 12 internships, a career guidance project involving 172 Officers, Non-commissioned officers and volunteers in permanent service hoping to be assigned to the Information Research Unit.

CONCLUSIONS

There exist undeniable difficulties with the indiscriminate use of Assessment Center methodology, connected to reasons of culture and finances. In fact the use of such a methodology is expensive, especially if based on the absorption of resources from within the organization. For such reasons it's not infrequently passed over to specialist consultants.

Also undeniable – and there are a good number of factors not in its favour – are the number of benefits of an Assessment Center, such as has been created in the Armed Forces, has introduced to the process of career guidance four fundamental areas for future reference;

- the plurality of techniques of evaluation; the use of numerous techniques to cross reference diverse observations to create one evaluation. In effect this reduces errors in the final decision. It helps to clarify, strengthen and harmonise against any eventual discrepancies among the viewpoints. The quality of the evaluation is assured by means of 'strength of numbers', the ratio of observed to observer as one to two.
- The operators. It's seen that the observers should be subject to the direction of line management that have a training content, but specifically, that they have an interest in the problems of development of staff. Emphasising that the fundamental role in such a sensitive area as career guidance could be carried out at the 'front line', inviting the use of com-

petencies (in terms of knowledge, capacity and experience) of the internal resources. And in so doing taking away the financial and managerial reliance on external companies and limiting the cultural resistance from within; in this style of Assessment Center there isn't the judgement of people but rather the judgement of relative performance to an individual post; the final profile, that describes the final capacity required to be put into action, is able to state who is ready now and who is not.

- Beneficiaries; it's presented as a tool of evaluation but it's also for development, in this sense that it can appreciate the strong points of someone and those that are needed to be improved in the context of the organization. Beyond the nature of the test, there are problems to resolve, it represents a intellectual challenge to those who participate, to what comes out – which is inevitable when the playful side is engaged – even to those who are resistant to such career guidance. The involvement of the simulations pushes the participants to 'put into play' their capacities, even if their egos are opposed to the notion.

- The value of observation; it uses tools that directly observe behaviour. Multiple observations allows the escape from the two sterile traps that can be fallen into, namely the claim of objectivity ('there is only one truth') and that of subjectivity ('I am the only truth'). And thanks to the observations, in various guises with differing observers, it's possible to achieve

the objective of an authentic inter-subjectivity ('the truth is a human system shared out by our definitions of reality'). Observing the photos (on the following pages) of the same street from two different angles. The design is the same... but they appear completely different from the point of view of the observer. Thanks to the technology of Assessment, we would be able to take advantage of a third party's viewpoint on the situation to gain a new perspective that would help to dispel any uncertainty about what it is we are observing. As in the operational reality, the crosshair of the marksmen must rest on the right objective. In summary this is the synthesis of the difference with other methodologies in how it is a sophisticated system designed to cancel out the prejudices of the observer, which is inevitable in every human, that cut across other methods.

In conclusion, taking the metaphor already used,

“The situation tests supply realistic conditions for the simulation of actual situations and permit a reliable evaluation of the capabilities scrutinized..”



it can be said that the Assessment Center is a way to take a photograph from many different angles. And as always when one re-sees the problem one can be more or less satisfied that now they are viewing the real situation... but it will continue to be difficult however to not recognise oneself in the photo, that represents our 'balanced' selves and the point at which we must leave off for developing each human resource.

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NOTES

(1) Wilfred Ruprecht Bion (Muttura, India 1897 - Oxford, UK 1979) arrived late into the psychoanalysis profession. After a brief period in childhood spent in India he arrived in England aged 8. After finishing grammar school he enlisted as an officer and fought in the last year of the Great War, and was decorated for military valour. After the war he graduated in history from Oxford University, and then taught for a brief period in London, then returned to university to study medicine at the University of London. Following the state exams he became interested in psychotherapy and attended the Tavistock Clinic until 1932. Undertaking an analysis with John Rickman in 1938 that was then interrupted by the Second World War, and then completely abandoned when Bion and Rickman found themselves working together as military psychiatrists in the Northfield military hospital - the place where Bion started to develop his theories on groups, that would eventually lead to the definitive formulation in 'Group Experiences'. Even if after the 1950's Bion no longer worked in the field of groups his perceptions of the individual and the group ran through the remainder of his work as a psy-



choanalyst. Undertaking analysis with Melanie Klein in 1945 he rapidly became a leading figure in the British Psychoanalytical Society (directing the London society from 1956 to 1962, and then President of the Society from 1962 to 1965). He moved to Los Angeles in 1968, before returning to England a few months before his death in November 1979.

(2) www.psychometrics.co.uk

(3) Exercises that require the carrying out of certain tasks regarding information that is normally only available to a manager, such as letters, internal notes and other information of a more general nature. The candidate is required to take decisions based on this information in a limited time.

(4) The Role Play is a training tool that simulates problems that the real job may involve. It offers the opportunity to study the interaction of participants related to such tasks as they each take roles as-

sumed for the simulation and to see how the participants handle having to take the initiative.

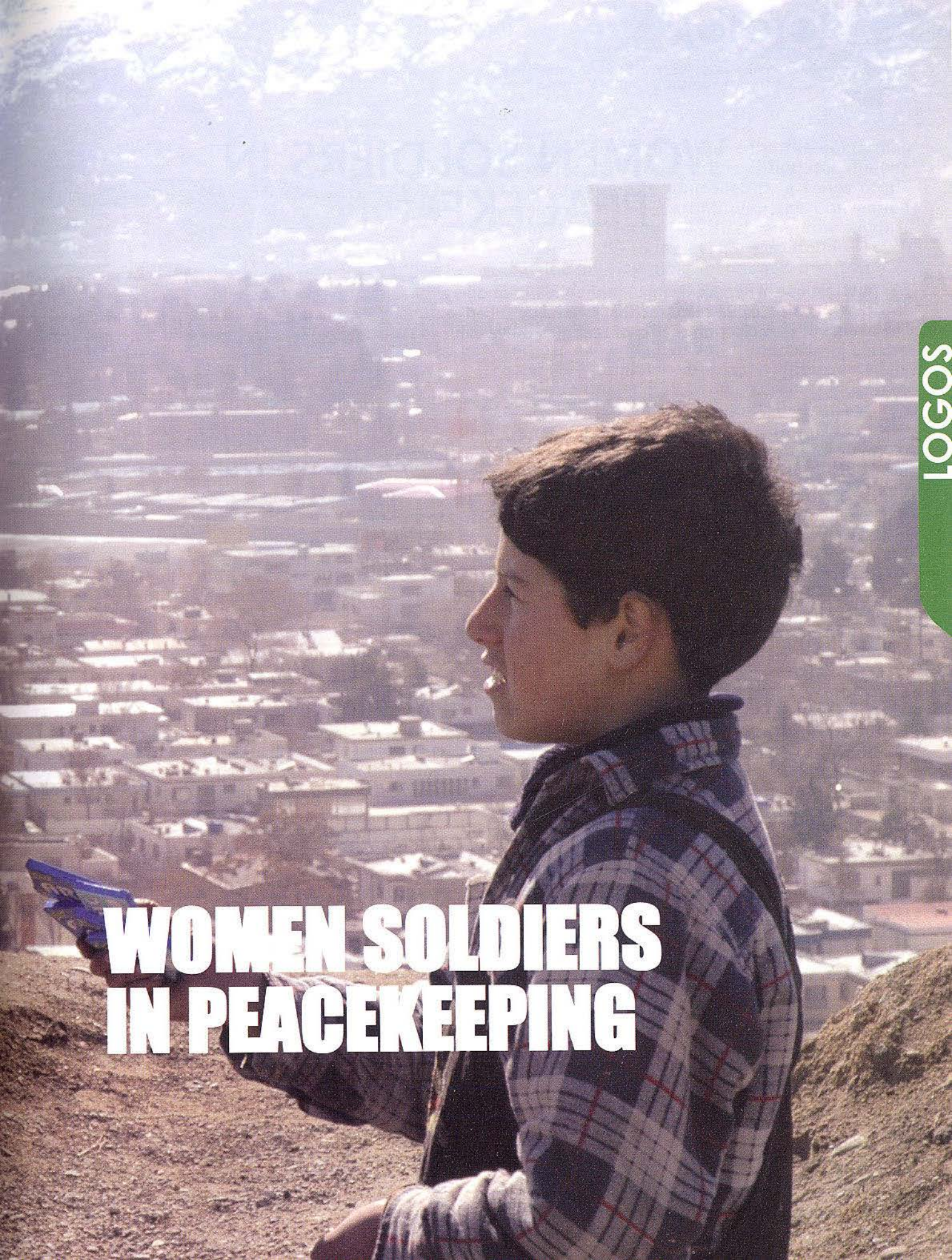
(5) Activities that for one part are based on local customs and civilities (in relation to where they might be placed) and the other part on open questions. Where the candidate looks to establish a stable relationship with the source of the information and move towards the aim of information gathering.

(6) Structured interview; interviews that are conducted in strict controls of time and structure so are unvarying

(7) Focus Group; Open group discussion related to tasks

(8) Aptitude; something that cannot be directly observed, but whose effects are predictable. Where the progress of the individual and the capacity of the subject examined can be monitored and predicted and suitable training can be advised.



A young boy with dark hair, wearing a blue and white plaid shirt, is shown in profile from the chest up. He is looking out over a vast, hazy cityscape from a high vantage point, likely a hill. The city below is densely packed with buildings, and a prominent tall, thin tower is visible in the distance. The sky is filled with soft, white clouds. The boy is holding a small blue object in his right hand.

WOMEN SOLDIERS IN PEACEKEEPING

WOMEN SOLDIERS IN PEACEKEEPING

The possible use of service-women in the theatre of operations, in terms of professionalism, experience and sensitivity, is a precious resource that is already called-on on a daily basis to solve innumerable problems. One aspect of participation that is of real qualitative value is their marked ability to communicate and enter into the local reality.

The role of women in a peacekeeping mission, be they soldiers, UN functionaries, local activists, or unfortunately as victims of the conflict, is of great strategic importance in the success of a mission, and it is true that "as much as women are half of every community, they are also half of every peace process solution." (1).

Despite this evident potential the 'feminine' dimension in peacekeeping operations remains an aspect little explored.

An explanation could be found in the cultural disconnection between women and war. According to traditional sociological images created by western culture war is, after biological reproduction, the most sexually segregating activity. In the collective social imagery, specifically, men are seen as warmongers and women as the bringers of universal peace. This entrenched cultural stereotype seems to have hampered access for

women into the leading roles in peacekeeping processes.

Yet war is changing. In fact it has passed from being conflicts between states to conflicts within states; from war with its external dimension, with the armies deployed in battlefields, to an internal dimension that is made up by components of the same country (inter-ethnic) or is exported and inflicted "at home" such as with the attack on the Twin Towers in September 2001.

The war on terrorism has undoubtedly accelerated this process and has inaugurated this era of so-called "post modern conflicts" characterized by the "fluidity" between the standard categories; war/peace, country/front, military/civilian.

Modern conflicts have seen the successive interiorization of the "front line", moving from the true battlefields into built up areas, in a process of "Stalingradization" of the conflict.

As a consequence even the victims have changed. Before it was 90% soldiers, now it's 90% civilians. Together with the peacekeepers of Nassirya, Herat and Kabul it is mainly women, the old and children who die in current conflicts. As the American sociologist Allen Beverly said: "In these wars there are no longer fronts, death reaps you when you are in line for bread or while you are doing the shopping at the market." (2).

"In the collective social imagery, men are seen as warmongers and women as bringers of universal peace"



Left.

A Nepalese woman soldier of the "UNAMSIL" Contingent in Sierra Leone in 2003.

Title pages.

An Italian female soldier on surveillance duty in Afghanistan.



Kofi Annan, then UN Secretary General, inspecting a unit of the "Monuc" Contingent in the Congo Republic.

The experiences for women in conflicts is distinctively different from those for men: one can, for example, think of rape and violence those improper weapons of modern conflicts. Historically they are above all victims, even if at times they transform themselves into voluntary participants (soldiers, guerrillas, workers), or involuntary participants (such as the "bush wives" in Liberia). But conflict has transformed even their connected roles; society, deprived of able men (killed, deported, disappeared) forces women to substitute them in a new and often improvised process of female empowerment, as had happened after the world war.

In all cases they are important carriers of collective memory and of personal experiences that have to be collected and entered into the process of reconciliation in order to allow society to escape from the conflict, to take stock of their past and to go ahead.

THE NORMATIVE PICTURE

Gender politics could be analysed under two perspectives: the quantitative criteria of the numerical value of women in a given situation (gender balance) and the qualitative criteria which takes account of the differing perspectives between men and women in whatever particular avenue, political, economic and social (gender mainstreaming).

The participation of women in the operations of keeping the peace concerns both the dimensions cited and is controlled by a series of international rules starting with the Convention against all forms of discrimination against women (1979) to the Peking Declaration (1995) that for the first time mentioned the theme of female-peacekeeping, and up to the Windhoek Declaration (2000) that affirmed the indissolubility between the connection between peace and sexual equality. But the lynchpin of this complex normative process is represented in resolution no. 1,325 "Women, peace and security", adopted unanimously by the UN Security Council on the 31st October 2000. This resolution, strongly wanted by national and international female activists, filled the legal gap related to women-peacekeeping that was left by the Brahimi report in 2000.

In its 18 points it asks the Security Council, the Secretary General and all states contributing armed/police forces to commit to three directive principles, namely; the participation of women in peace processes; the inclusion of the perspective of gender in peacekeeping operations; the protection and security of women in such missions.

Every year, in October, in New York, the anniversary of this resolution is celebrated in the form of an open debate in which the various governments are invited to mention the various measures adopted in its application. It was recently requested of the states to supply, annually, a plan of action for the enforcement of the above said resolution. The objective is to correct the key gaps in the resolution, basically that of there being no mechanism for accountability that would encourage all the UN member states to comply both nationally and internationally.

Even though the resolution covers a lot of ground and details in cannot, and doesn't intend to, cover all eventualities. It is like every political compromise in this respect, it is the fruit of long negotiations and leaves some missed opportunities to cover up the weak points; such as not including the problem of women as victims of conflict; or not including the nomination of an independent expert; or not guaranteeing the regular flow of information from experiences and the collective memory of women into the peace processes.

Unfortunately the agreed guidelines in resolution 1,325 remain an element sectorial and



Italian female «Bersagliere» in the turret of a VCC-1 in operations.

are not included automatically, as they should be, when the Security Council deploys a peace mission. A positive exception is given to us by the UN Peace Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) in which – even though the passing of resolution 1,325 was subsequent to the UNMIK in 1999 – the concept of gender balance was introduced in the Operational Plan in 2004–2005 and in the “Kosovo Standard” forming one of the fundamental requirements for the aspired establishment of a juridical *status*. The electoral law stated that a third of all candidates must be women; and thanks to this clause women made up 28% of the final Kosovan Legislative Assembly.

Two years after its approval, to avoid the resolution becoming a dead document Graca Machel, advisor to the Secretary General on the impact of armed conflict on children, proposed that two independent experts should be nominated to evaluate the situation of women in the peacekeeping missions and to verify the progress reached in the application of the resolution. The report produced by Elizabeth Rhen

and Ellen J. Sirleaf, under the auspices of UNIFEM, “Progress of the World’s Women 2002: Women, War, Peace” (3), is an extremely important document that collates the stories of women from 14 peacekeeping operations visited. In all of the missions it was observed how the local women strongly felt the presence of the “peacekeeping environment” and it underlined the correlation between the arrival of the peacekeeping mission and the growth of local prostitution. The report, published by the UN, supplies an extraordinary testimony and concludes with a precise recommendation. Unfortunately however it has not been adopted as an official UN document, perhaps because of the simplicity of the language used and the direct and precise criticism dished out. One of the objectives reached thanks to resolution 1,325 is surely the institution in 2003 of a “Gender Advisor” in DPKO, the peace keeping department of the UN, who coordinates all the gender advisors spread out amongst the various peacekeeping missions. At the moment out of the 18 peacekeeping operations, as many as ten have a full time gender advisor (including such operations as Afghanistan, Congo, Kosovo, Haiti and Sudan). UNMIK was the first mission that the UN employed a gender advisor, with which

it directly undertook a participation project with Kosovan women for the restoration of peace.

Completing the normative picture of women in peacekeeping was added, one month after the adoption of resolution 1,325, a resolution of the European Parliament (no 2000/2,025): with more assertive language and containing specific recommendations such as them being at least 40% of all peacekeeping missions and European observers.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN UNIFORM

Peacekeeping, in its current generally accepted meaning, is the meeting of two completely different worlds: the community that is exiting the conflict and those of the expatriates – military or civilian personnel involved in the peace mission – who arrive with a specific theatre of operations that of bringing help to the population. This meeting brings a sudden and inevitable “contamination” between the two cultures and a clash between the respective, and often distant, concepts of sex (consider the status of women in Afghanistan under the Taliban regime) which puts in action serious changes.

In every mission we can identify three distinct categories of women who at times interact: those locals who are both leaders and or political activists or just mothers of families but still must be faced by the international mission: those civilians that work for the various agencies or NGOs: those in the military that operate within the contingent.

This article aims at investigating the role of the female soldier and to suggest ways of how to maximise their operational impact.

In September 2006 the Indian Government created the first all female police unit: 125 officers, taken from the Indian Central Reserve Police Force, they were trained to form the first all female team that in October was deployed into Liberia, a country torn apart by over 25 years of fighting. Interviewed about this news, Kiran Bedi (4), a senior member in the Indian police force with a vast experience of peacekeeping confirmed that women were less threatening and knew how to create closer ties with the local population. The officers were specially trained in crowd control, demonstra-

tions and revolts. Specifically in Liberia their presence has contributed to the disarming and demobilization of over 20,000 female ex-soldiers. And this would never have been achieved without body-searching. Furthermore the politics of “zero tolerance” with respect to any type of sexual exploitation was made possible by the presence of these peacekeepers.

But this all-female unit remained the exception and for this reason it made the news.

Even with the formal commitment and signing of resolution 1,325 the United Nations and NATO still seem to still not have undertaken a real strategic plan for improving the gender balance in the peacekeeping missions.

To overcome this inertia and revive resolution 1,325 there were, in March 2006, talks entitled “Increasing the operational impact of peacekeeping missions: Gender balance in the UN military peacekeeping contingents”, under the auspices of DPKO, the peace keeping department of the UN. The meeting, chaired by Comfort Lampey, gender advisor to the department,

united about 50 countries who were contributing to the missions with troops and or police forces. The scope was that of exploring ways and strategies for increasing the number of ways and strategies for the effective deployment of female-soldiers in the theatre of operations. The debate offered the first concrete opportunity to highlight a strategic plan that would allow the increased presence of

women in peacekeeping and for identifying their operational impact on the operations.

The debate revolved around a DPKO document which was based on a questionnaire sent out, in February 2006, to all the contingents employed in operations, to UN staff, UN military advisors and DPKO personal (5). The response rate was surprisingly high (about 70%) which shows that as a issue it was welcomed for debate.

There emerged a principal fact: that female-soldiers active in peacekeeping operations account for only 1.7% percent of all forces deployed. Obtaining this fact was difficult as there is a general lack of information and a difficult methodology which the states would have had to go through to contribute.

Analysing the responses to the questionnaire shows that the contribution of female-soldiers (armed forces or police) in the peacekeeping missions are concentrated on certain specific

“...they demonstrated a proven capacity to communicate with a less authoritarian approach and greater empathy, thus reinforcing the dialogue with the local community, convincing the interlocutor to cooperate rather than rebel”

individual functions which are almost completely unanimous to all the responses to the questionnaires.

The most important of which is surely the sensitivity demonstrated by the female-soldiers towards the needs and aspirations of the local women. They demonstrated a proven capacity to communicate with a less authoritarian approach and greater empathy so reinforcing the dialogue with the local community and to convince the representatives to cooperate rather than rebel.

They gave to the local women a real-life and credible example of role models (for example consider the female-police officers in Timor Est who had enrolled in the local police forces) and for eschewing the masculine culture. The female-soldiers are furthermore the safe and trustworthy contact with half of the population (women and girls). They can be given tasks that in other societies are traditionally and culturally forbidden to men, for example body-searches of female-soldiers and female civilians, the collection of intelligence regarding sexual and physical violence (endemic in post-war situations), which if not absorbed into the process of reconciliation risks sooner or later to undermine any new peace foundations.

But from the debate also emerged a discouraging fact: the increase in the number of

Percentage of female personnel employed in peacekeeping operations (2005-2006)

NATO Source – 2006 member states reports

Belgium	20.6 %
Canada	17.8 % in UN mission 9 % Afghanistan
Denmark	6 %
France	5 %
Germany	3.5 %
Hungary	8 %
Poland	1.27 %
Portugal	Up to 10 % in the Army
United States	11 %

women involved in the peacekeeping process was strongly wished for by almost all the respondents, in which they testify that the employment of women in the theatre of operations would have a positive impact on the successful outcome of the mission and that they represent a fundamental instrument in achieving lasting results in the slow process of stabilization.

However the unanimous consensus expressed amongst the states that are contributing troops and police officers on the necessity of increasing the number of women shows signs of something not functioning seeing that their presence as a total percentage is only 1.7%.

The key reason for such a low number is due to the armed forces and police services of the contributing countries. We can see from the natural reserves of the respective countries, from which they take the peacekeeping troops, that they have within their reserves between 1% and 14% female operatives. And on closer inspection the peace keeping average of 1.7% is much lower than the averages for the total relevant armed forces (8.7%) or police services (5.1%).

This shows that although the countries that were included in the questionnaire had approved resolution 1,325 in reality few or none of the governments had the feasible resources to increase the number in the field of operations. Lying over the conviction for the creation of equal opportunities between men and women willing to enter into a military career must be an automatic precursor for the achievement of an increase in the presence of women in peace operations.

The governments seem until now to have understood the agreed imperative of the resolution for the increasing of such peacekeepers as



A Bersaglieri patrol controlling a town.

a general commitment to improve equal opportunities. But the guaranteeing of equal access to the military profession has been revealed as insufficient in increasing the number of women in uniform, and so it's indeed true that it has made essential a whole series of "positive discrimination" actions (for example adjusting the recruitment procedures) in order to remove the barriers that exist and to attract more female personnel to a military career.

WOMEN IN THE NATO ARMED FORCES

NATO, which is considered an "organization in transformation" received in the Prague Summit in 2002 the request to propose recommendations for the improvement of gender balance within the organization and to adopt guide lines on such problems in peacekeeping operations. The integration of women into the armed forces of the Atlantic Alliance is the core function of the Committee of Women in NATO Armed Forces, a consultant organisation since 1976 that deals with the monitoring and promotion of that aspect. The committee, of which 25 of the 26 NATO countries take part (excluding Iceland) have been working since 2004 on a document aimed at integrating the gender perspective into all aspects of NATO activity. As was announced at the recent Sofia Conference, 30 September 2006, by Colonel Astrid Matschulat, President of the Committee, the document looks to formalise the guidelines in three specific sectors: planning of operations, training and assessment of the female components. 'NATO is much more than a simple military power. We have to win the people's hearts and minds and we cannot increase the trust in NATO without the contribution of women' (6). This document will be distributed amongst member states and will finalised in 2007.

Although all of NATO and the Atlantic Alliance countries have opened the opportunity of a military career to women, what is surprising is the diversity that is characterised by their integration. According to the NATO Women's Committee the number of women in the armed forces had risen by 3,000 (1961) to 288,000 (2001). Denmark and Norway are the two forces most advanced and progressive in this respect. Norway especially who had thought of making military service obligatory for women in order to readdress the gender balance. It is the United States however who can boast the highest permanent percentile (14%). Their ar-

rival started in 1973 with the approval of the All-Volunteer Force Act, a measure by the negative effects of the Vietnam War on recruitment attraction. Today women represent 8.6% of all American peacekeeping troops, more than 11,200 American women have served in NATO operations and a good 37,000 in the Gulf during Operation Desert Storm in 1991.

With regard to this it's worth pointing out an interesting research study by the Portuguese Helena Carreiras (7) who has compared the diverse types of integration of female soldiers in the various armed forces of NATO countries and she calculated

"...the entrance of women into the Army is seen as a shared opportunity, which improves the image of the Service and its organizational capacity without reducing its combat ability"

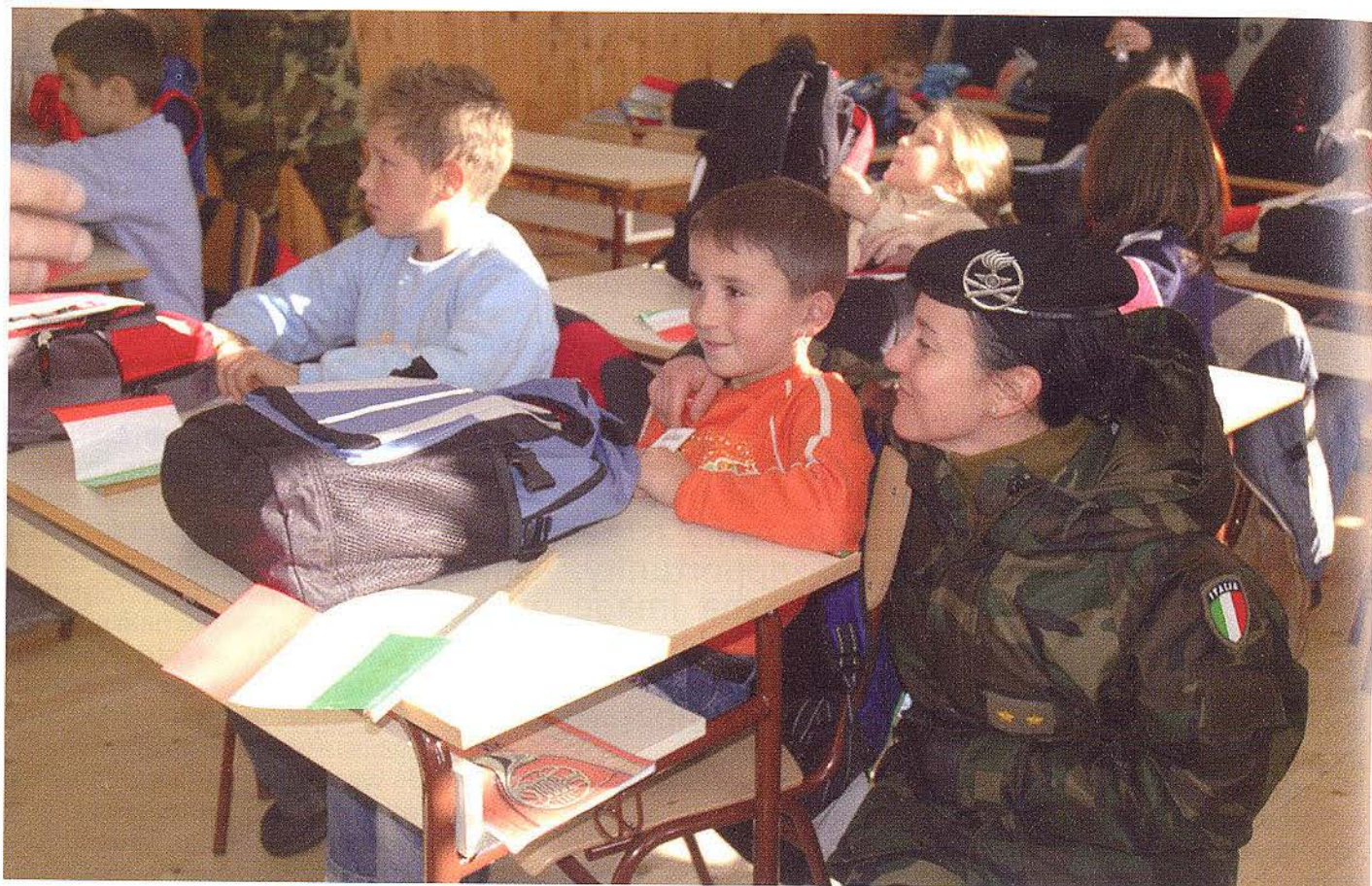
an "integration index". According to the study in the year 2000 about 280,000 women had been in service for NATO, 70% in support areas (personnel, administration, logistics) and only 7% in the field of combat (artillery, infantry, cavalry). As far as ranks are concerned, only 15% are of senior rank while 49% are ordinary troops.

Within the Atlantic Alliance there emerges two types of countries: the first with a strong presence of women among the troops but few amongst the officers (Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Luxemburg, Spain) and the

Percentage of women soldiers in the NATO Armed Forces (2001-2006)

Source: Office on Women in the NATO Forces Country

Paese	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Belgium	7.6	7.9	8.2	8.26	8.3	8.3
Bulgary	-	-	-	4.2	6.0	6
Canada	11.4	11.8	12.4	12.3	12.6	12.8
Czech Republic	3.7	10.0	10.0	12.3	12.21	--12.21
Denmark	5.0	No data	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.3
France	8.5	10.8	11.2	12.79	12.8	13.28
Germany	2.8	3.7	4.4	5.2	6.0	6
Greece	3.8	3.8	3.8	4.2	16.0	5.4
Hungary	9.6	16.0	10.0	10	4.3	17.56
Italy	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.53	1.0	1.6
Latvia	-	-	-	13.5	20.0	--
Lithuania	-	-	-	6.04	9.07	12.5
Luxembourg	--	--	--	--	--	5.71
The Netherlands	8.0	8.4	8.5	8.65	9.0	9
Norway	3.2	3.3	5.7	6.3	6.3	7
Poland	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.47	0.47	0.52
Portugal	6.6	6.6	8.4	8.4	8.4	12
Romania	-	-	-	3.99	5.0	5
Slovakia	-	-	-	6.1	7.06	7.7
Slovenia	-	-	-	19.2	15.38	--
Spain	5.8	9.0	10.0	10.5	10.7	13.47
Turkey	0.1	0.1	0.1	3.95	3.95	3.1
United Kingdom	8.1	8.3	8.6	8.8	9.0	9.1
United States	14.0	14.0	15.0	15.0	15.5	6.27



Pupils in a school in Kosovo.

second with a greater number amongst the officers (Canada, UK, USA). The study shows in a clear way how the growth in gender balance would not happen as a consequence of time automatically with the presence of women in the armed forces but instead must be from actions directed at the problem and would also depend on the support of women in key political positions.

WHAT IS ITALY DOING?

As indicated in the annual report of the NATO Women's Committee (8) is seen to have made some giant steps forward in a short amount of time. The women in military service, first introduced in Italy with the law 380/99, are part of the important transformation of the Italian Armed Forces, centring on the abolition of compulsory military service and the move towards a recruitment system based on voluntary enrolment. 2005 was the last year in which women were recruited through a system that limited their numbers: in 2006 all competitions and all positions were open to all.

In 2005 out of a total of 314,400 soldiers, 5,098 were women (1.6%). A recent research study on

their enlistment into the armed forces, carried out by the University of Padua for the Centre of Strategic Military Studies (CEMISS) showed that a complete integration of this component was reached.

In July 2004 there was additionally the creation of a consultative committee to help the Chief-of-Staff of Defence on the theme of the integration of female soldiers which is in contact with the diverse military areas (schools, missions, combat units and so forth) in which female soldiers are present.

In the recent EURISKO research study, presented to the Army Staff in November 2006 entitled "What do Italians think and know about the army" the entrance of women into the army is seen as an opportunity for all of the following; improves the image of the armed forces (78%), it would improve its organizational capacity (71%) without damaging it's combat ability (81%).

CIMIC

Peacekeeping operations are constantly trying to adopt an ever more multidimensional approach to be successful, through methods more complex and through using ever more actors (military, civil, institutional) present in the theatre. Civil and military cooperation offers the necessary integration within which the multiple individuals and

groups can follow and realise the peace objectives. From the moment 'nation building' 'peace building' and reconstruction became the 'core business' of NATO the civil-military coordination has earned an ever more important role within the Atlantic Alliance.

In this way CIMIC has a dual objective: on the one hand the coordination of various actors in the theatre of operations and from the other the 'unity of efforts' between civil and military actors (10). In this second regard gender becomes a key tool to help the CIMIC Officials to understand and control better the society in which they are operating. Interaction with the female side of society in fact allows the identification of the vulnerability, needs, interests and history of the men and women that make up the local community, that should never be viewed as homogenous at the risk of creating chasms in the community or of adopting measures that would not be accepted by all of the population. The active involvement of women in the post-conflict environment is, therefore, an essential prerequisite of obtaining long lasting peace effects.

In April 2006, in Holland, the Civil-Military Cooperation Center for Excellence organized its first seminar on the theme of "Gender and Civil-military relations: moving towards inclusion?" (11) showing how this topic has grown in current times even in terms of military and civil integration issues.

Direct field experience shows that for the success of a peace-keeping operation the Contingent has the need of the support of all the host community. In particular, through the partnerships for peace, an initiative started in 1994 as an means to obtain the bilateral cooperation with singular countries, where NATO had intended to reinforce the process of involvement of the civil society where it had deployed its troops.

The seminar had identified certain key sectors in which the CIMIC - which contributes in a vital way to the construction of the partnerships for peace - would have to reinforce the gender aspect by increasing the number of peacekeepers and increasing local involvement for the purpose of making the project longer lasting and as per the objectives of the Armed Forces.

The CIMIC Officials would have to accept that at least 40% of the personnel involved in the theatre of operations would have to be women. In order to do this it would be important to maintain a constant dialogue with the local NGO operations and with feminine organizations in order to avoid the possible establishment of "parallel universes"

alienated from the military and diplomatic (still a masculine domain) environments, and to promote an effective participation of women in the project, without satisfying itself with simply a mere numerical representation. In particular it would be the involvement of those marginalized groups in the local society (the war veterans and victims of violence) in the project of sensitisation of the civil society.

An other key operational aspect regarding the promotion of the role of women is that of the planning and distribution of humanitarian aid. As tested by the World Food Programme of the United Nations - the largest humanitarian agency in the world - the distribution of humanitarian aid to local women guarantees a minor dispersion of the aid, and therefore a more secure way of reaching its objectives of assisting the population. The WFP for example adopted action of "positive discrimination" consigning the majority of food aid to women because they were least likely to resell it in order to buy new arms or so forth.

It's important, furthermore, that violence against women - an endemic situation in conflict - is an element that makes the security of all the society fragile. Without wanting to enter into areas that don't concern the military authorities, an increased "ear" towards the victims of violence could help to uncover hidden troubles.

Furthermore, and always more regularly, the direct experiences in overseas missions confirm how important it is to respect the culture, the rules and the values of each country in order to avoid clashes and misunderstandings (for example body searches by the Americans in Iraq using dogs, animals much disliked in the Islamic world, or when body searches were carried out between men and women.). To outrage a woman in fact signifies not only outraging her but also the men of her family.

CONCLUSIONS

Women represent half of every population: and to not take into account in terms of experience, information and conscience means that, for the leaders of the contingent, not being able to penetrate into this half of the population under their control, and therefore, not being to involve them into the peace process.

In the increasing scope of peacekeeping - that is becoming ever more multidimensional and involving more disparate of actors - the inclusion of the aspect of gender is a necessary step of multiple

“Interaction with the female side of society in fact allows the identification of the vulnerability, needs, interests and history of the men and women that make up the local community”

challenges but supplies as many opportunities. Even the annual Conference on women in the NATO Armed Forces, last at Brussels 15-19 May 2006, had debated this theme and decided to therefore include the issue of gender of all subsequent peacekeeping operations.

But international regulations are not enough to change things; there is the necessity of "positive discrimination" in order to transform the issue of gender into a useful tool for commanders. Unfortunately the recent cases of sexual exploitation committed by peacekeepers and of humanitarian workers have often aggravated this debate and shifted the debate on. In order to achieve resolution 1325 the operational synergy of all peacekeeping workers involved is required, in particular, a prominent role must be taken by those countries contributing troops, by the Armed Forces, by DPKO, by the local NGO and by the local population.

Increasing the number of peacekeepers and including the perspective of gender are the two positive actions to adopt for obtaining this objective. The two aspects go hand in hand: it would be so much easier for the Armed Forces to construct

solid partnerships for peace with local women if women are also – but not only – amongst the peacekeepers themselves, being perceived by the local population as less threatening and more sympathetic.

It is first necessary to understand through the historically masculine environment (in terms of military and diplomatically) that gender is a tool that can qualitatively improve the peace building process both at an international level and at a local level, the ultimate tool to get through to the areas that military elements have been unable to penetrate and conquer.

In order to do this it's necessary a rethinking of the concept of gender. One must talk of 'operational effectiveness' of gender, as a means as a tool for the military to achieve its objectives of peace as dictated by the mandate of the resolution.

Another fundamental aspect is that of training and of sensitising people to the subject. Recently the DPKO has included training in some training modules for peacekeepers in a document "The Rules: code of conduct for UN peacekeepers" written in consultation with those states who contribute soldiers/police officers, and also a information pack "Gender and peace-keeping" that should shortly become obligatory for all peacekeepers, both military and civil.

And, furthermore, there is the necessity of a structured mechanism for the collection and

transmission of the lived experiences on the ground from peacekeepers upon return from the mission. In some countries such as Mali and Bangladesh the sharing of experiences by some peacekeepers generated a strong enthusiasm in their colleagues left at home creating a visible increase in demands to leave. With this in mind the organization Genderforce are working on the creation of a databank that will collect field experiences and an information kit to supply to CIMIC Officials giving concrete proof of in favour of actions in favour of gender promotion.

In order to sensitise the Armed Forces on the theme of gender a strategic move could be that of entrusting to some officials the position of gender advisors in the field of operations. They could do a great deal to create an environment receptive to accepting gender issues even in a masculine world such as the military and to move forward the concept of gender until it is included in all of the military planning processes.

Seeing the clear political availability of countries to send females, the DPKO should be more explicit

in their requests to countries to send within their numbers of troops and police officers more female-troops to be employed within the peacekeeping missions.

In Italy one of the resources that the Italian Army could put to good use is the Select Reserve (Riserva Selezionata).

Provided for by the Marconi

law of 1932 it allows the admittance of civilians with specialized competencies to enter as a volunteer into the Armed Forces in the role of an expert that after a training period of 4 weeks would enter at officer rank. To now there has been a total of 245 nominations into the Select Reserve, about 91 women (about 36%); from October 2004 to October 2006, 43 female-officers were employed in peacekeeping missions. Thanks to the Reserve the Army can use this provision in order to achieve the recommendations of resolution 1325 and reach the 40% quota of women amongst their peacekeepers as per the year 2000 resolution of the European Parliament.

Another opportunity is recruitment. In a changing army it's important to demonstrate the employment of women in peacekeeping missions as a personal and career opportunity. In this way we should remember an interesting example supplied by the UK recruitment campaign in 2002. The television advert showed images of destruction in a country soon after a conflict and stated "This woman has been raped by guerrilla soldiers, the

“In a changing Army it's important to indicate the employment of women in peacekeeping missions as a personal and career opportunity”



same that had slaughtered her husband. The last thing she wants to see is another soldier. Unless that soldier might be a woman." (12)

Marina Catena

*Select Reserve Lieutenant,
Special UN Representative in Kosovo*

NOTES

(1) Adoption of Resolution 1325/2000, UN Security Council.

(2) Allen Beverly, "Rape Warfare. The hidden genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia" University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, London, 1996, p26.

(3) "Women, War and Peace" UNIFEM 2002, Elizabeth Rehn, Ellen J. Sirleaf, p17.

(4) India's toughest women gear up for UN Deployment to violence-torn Liberia. Herald Tribune International, 7th September 2006.

(5) "Enhancing the Operational Impact of Peace keeping Operations, Policy Dialogue, Background paper" New York, 28-29 March 2006.

(6) 'Briefing' Colonel Dr. A.N. Matschulat, "Challenges and Perspectives" Conference, 'Committee on Women in NATO Forces' Sofia, 30th September

Kosovar children outside a school.

2006, p.3.

(7) "Gender Integration in the Armed Forces: A cross national comparison of policies and practices in NATO countries" Helena Carreiras, ISCTE University of Lisbon, 26th Annual Meeting of 'Women in Uniform in NATO' May 2002.

(8) "Italy National Report" NATO Women's Committee, 2005.

(9) Women in the Army, "Rivista Militare" no 3/2006, Rubriche, p114, Valeria Giannandrè e Rosa Vinciguerra.

(10) "The relationship between civil and military personnel in operations for the support of peace" CESPI, Working Paper, 19/2005, Silvia April, M.S. Marco, G.Rufini.

(11) "Gender and Civil-military relations; moving towards inclusion?" Seminar (10-12 April 2006) Organized by the 'Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence' Vught, The Netherlands.

(12) "Wanted: a few good women" Gerard J. De-Groot, 'Women in Nato Forces Meeting' May 2002, p4; publicity campaign by Saatchi & Saatchi 2002.



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THE DIGITISATION OF THE MANOEUVRE SPACE: THE FRENCH MODEL

THE DIGITISATION OF THE MANOEUVRE SPACE: THE FRENCH MODEL

The French Army has started a thorough transformation process based on the extraordinary progress of technology in the field of communications and telematic management of information.
A new network-centric concept that can constitute a valid reference also for our Army.

The start of the third millennium has been marked by the advent of new challenges to the security of the international community, which have forced the defence departments of the major Countries of the world to reformulate and transform the concept of employment of the forces called to confront the extraordinary and unprecedented threat constituted by terrorism. The crisis response operations (CRO), carried out on a large scale in the main conflicts, the necessity to face transversal threats more or less unforeseeable in space and time, the increased need to operate together and in close integration within the international coalitions (EU, NATO, UN) constitute the new operational scenario for our Armed Forces, a scenario that requires a boost to interoperability, a greater flexibility and high mobility at all levels.

The careful observation of the extraordinary progress made by technology has prompted the

“Eurosatory 2006, which took place in Paris, is a good starting point for obtaining a complete picture of the French approach to a single interoperable network”

Ministry of Defence and the industries to study and define jointly the new operational and capacitive deployments of the theatre of the future operations and the radical transformation of the battlespace, where the superiority of the information is one of the most effective weapons for preventing and countering the threats. Network-centric approaches become necessary. They consist in channelling the forces, the available capacitive systems and the platforms (weapons, sensors and decision-making centres) towards a single interoperable information network.

This is the sense of the “network-centric transformation” undertaken by the main industrialized Countries and started also by Italy. This conceptual approach is illustrated, with a wealth of details, in a recent publication by the Defence Staff: (<http://www.difesa.it/NR/rdonlyres/9422BO93-9646-41D2-B6FA-ABB4A6018960/0/latrasformazioneintercentrica.pdf>).

It is interesting to analyse and study in depth the programmes started in this context by the Countries close to Italy as regards the dimension of the structure of the Armed Forces and the level of ambition. Any comparison with the advanced and extraordinary progress made by the US Defence system is impossible for any



Title page.

A display of French technically advanced sets and weapon systems.

Left.

The Hon. Parisi, Italian Minister of Defence, during a visit to Eurosatory 2006.

other Nation of the world, owing to the state of the transformation of the military instrument, "Revolution in Military Affairs" (RMA), based on the doctrine of the "Network Centric Warfare" (NCW) and the wealth of financial resources lavished on this enterprise.

The eighth edition of the international show of land, air-land and security defence, Eurosatory 2006, which has taken place in Paris under the patronage of the French Defence Minister, is a good starting point for getting a picture as complete as possible of the French approach, as well as of the progress achieved from the application of the emerging concepts and the results obtained.

France has started a thorough process of transformation of its military instrument of defence, with the immediate objective of a critical analysis of the present capabilities of its land forces. In the near future, the objective will be to find out an optimal organization of the forces and their strengthening, tanks to the extraordinary advancements of modern technology in the sectors of primary interest for the military world, such as that of communications and telematic management of information.

THE «SCORPION» PROGRAMME

The programme launched by the French Army is aimed at modernizing and strengthening the operational capabilities of its land forces. It represents the concrete expression of the process of joint transformation of the French defence, based on the concept of exploitation of the advantages offered by the sharing of information through communication networks. This new cycle of development and transformation of one's own military instrument has been called "infovalorization", a term corresponding to the US concept of "Network Centric Warfare" and/or to the British "Network Enabled Capability".

In a joint environment, at air-land level, France has introduced the concept of "Bulle Opérationnelle Aero terrestre" (BOA) whose objective is the acquisition of "Network Enabled" capabilities. In substance, BOA is based on the ability to control and share information in a typically joint and multinational context.

The DGA (*Délégation Générale pour l'Armement*) has announced that the participation in "Scorpion" is open also to the international co-operation of the defence industries. At pro-

grammatic and executive level, in December 2005, the DGA has notified a contract of 130 million Euros to an industrial consortium including *Thales Communications*, *Giat Industries*, *Sagem Défense et Sécurité*, for a series of activities structured in three different but closely interconnected macro-areas: studies in the engineering of "systems of systems" (ISDS); constitution of an Operational Technical Laboratory (LTO), where engineers and DGA Officers conduct joint study activities on doctrine evolution and system optimization; demonstrator (TACTIC) of the BOA concept applied to a future operational unit engaged in air-land operations through real-time information and combat conduct systems (a dozen armoured vehicles, some thirty soldiers on foot, robots and drones).

THE TECHNICAL OPERATIONAL LABORATORY

In this context, the Technical Operational Laboratory intends to define and manage, through an instrumental process, the development of the SOS (Systems of Systems). It will make use of the instruments and methodologies of the "Concept Development, Modelling, Simulation and Experimentation" and will consist of the following tools: SATG, KIMONO, SENSURPRYS, SIMEC3 and APPLLET.

In view of the use that the DGA intends to make of the laboratory, it is interesting to see how the interaction between the various tools installed at the LTO permits an analysis of the operational concept for the employment of the ground forces, where the SATG tool is going to supply the initial support for the identification and the analysis of the problems connected with



The «Scorpion» programme.

the sharing of the pieces of information during the operations. In this setting, the DGA and the operators of the French Ministry of Defence will be able to decide to make a study at the LTO through a "capability approach". With the employment of the KIMONO tool, one draws the architecture, plans the specific operational scenarios for the missions of the ground forces, defines the optimal operational organization and assesses the C3I to be put in the field. The SIMEC3 tool is employed in support of the organization of operations at regiment/company level on vast and open territories, and the SENSURPRYS tool is employed for the conduct of operations in urban areas. The different lines of action identified by the friendly forces, thus organized, are compared with the enemy party's assumed ones (up to Brigade level) and evaluated with the APPLET tool. The final result consists in the definition of the level of information required during the missions of the land force and the compilation of the relevant operation orders.

Within the "Scorpion" programme, one of the major objectives, which aims at incrementing the operational capabilities of the land forces, is the digitisation of the "battlespace".

In short, the greatest challenges that the land forces have to meet during their missions, vis-à-

vis the changed geo-strategic scenario and the impending threats, are the instantaneousness, simultaneousness and diversity of the activities to be carried out, as well as the exponential growth of the requirements in the sharing and processing of information, as well as the new increased interoperability needs deriving from the level of ambition of France, in its quality of reference leader nation in the engagements of multinational coalitions.

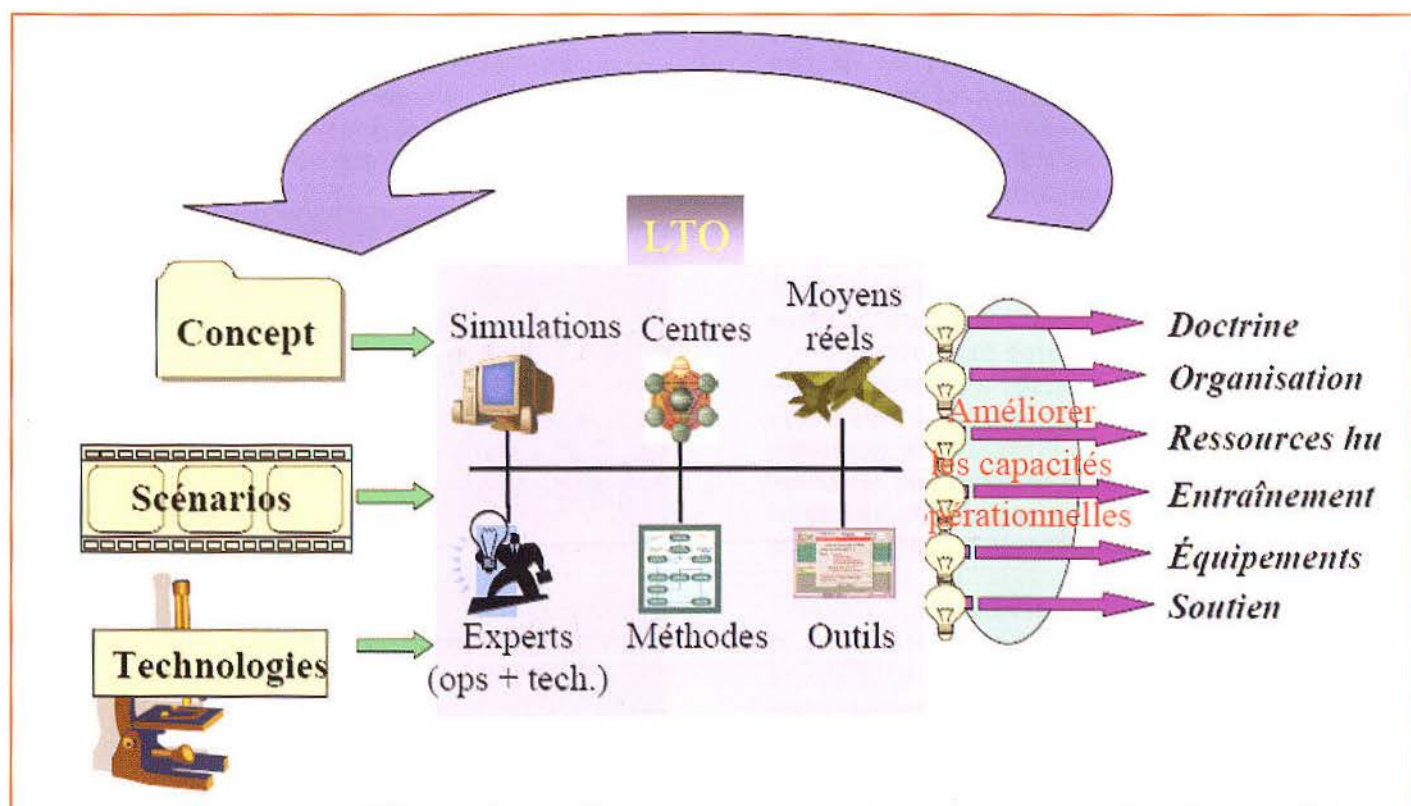
Both priorities pose the problem of the management of information during air-land operations in a general context that demonstrates an extraordinary degree of maturity of the commercial technologies of information and communications.

The French Army is resolutely advancing in the process of digitisation of its projection land forces, with the objective of achieving, by 2009, a combat-ready digitised force constituted by two joint Brigades comprehensive of support, plus a back-up group at Division level. The goal is to complete the digitisation of the entire Service by 2005.

THE «INFOVALORIZATION» CONCEPT

The digitisation process permits a concrete application, both physical and operational, of the "Infovalorization" concept, central element of the "Future Land Forces 2025" French project.

Diagram of the Technical-Operational Laboratory.



The French military network.

This means "optimum exploitation of the information resources, made possible by the new technologies, with the objective of increasing the combat operational capabilities of the air-land forces".

The first phase proposes gaining and maintaining an advantage on the adversary as regards knowledge of the operational situation (knowing more about the nature, position, possibilities of action of the forces deployed, friendly and enemy alike) and facilitate the decision-making process through the automation of the tasks, so as to be the first to act, in the right direction at the right time and with means sufficient and suitable for ensuring the wanted effects while minimizing the losses.

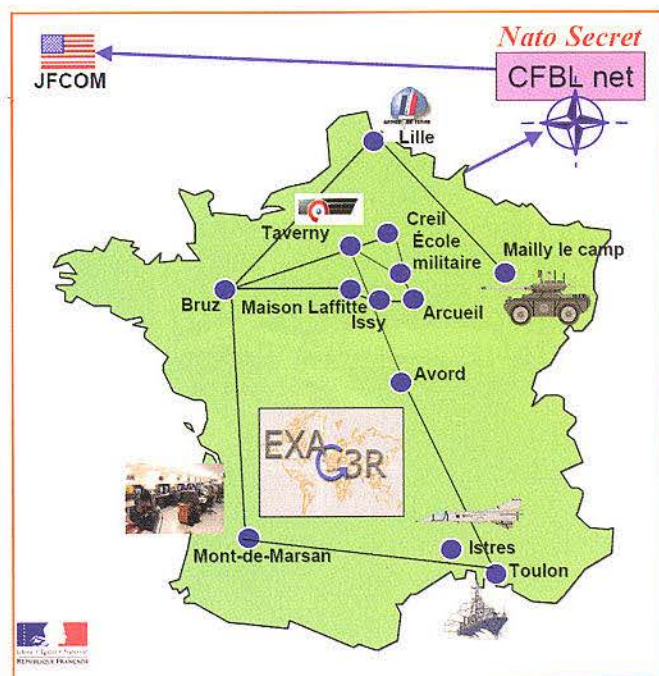
"Infovalorization" will therefore give a surplus value to the operational effects, understood as operational physical effects enhanced by the improvement of their intrinsic performance (increase of the reaction speed when shooting against a sudden threat) or intended as non-material effects (cohesion, decision effectiveness...) or a combination of the two, which should permit a "synergy of the effects". The surplus value will concern also the tactical processes (manoeuvre and support), from which one expects advantages, such as the improvement of the existing processes and, above all, the detection of new processes and organizational modalities. Finally, it will also regard the equipment of the Army, which will have to systematically integrate the concept and notion of "information system" in their definition and practical realization.

The technical-operational evaluations, the operational training exercises and the "lessons learned" in actual operations, permit to foretell several improvements in the digitised conduct of the manoeuvre: rapid acquisition and treatment of information; shortening of the decision-making cycle; anticipation and acceleration of the rhythm of the manoeuvre; increased precision of orders, relations and course of the operation; replacement of the notion of "precision of effects and weapons" with that of "saturation"; reduction of logistics' weight, with an improved economy of materials.

«Infovalorization» means optimum exploitation of the information resources... with the objective of increasing the combat operational capabilities of the air-ground forces»

THE INFORMATION SYSTEMS

In its technical implication, digitisation is based on a complex architecture of different in-



formation systems in the C4I component, all interoperable.

SICF (Information System for Force Command) constitutes the global system of PC (Command Post) information, from Brigade to Corps level. It is the conceptual tool at the Staffs' disposal. Its task is to supply the means for processing, filing and exchanging the information necessary for ensuring the coordination of the inter-service manoeuvre. It permits to prepare and

plan the combat actions in a very short time, prevent their evolution and assure their conduct. It is the equivalent of the Italian programme called C4I Defence (Command, Control, Communication, Computer and Information).

SIR (Regimental Information System) is the elementary digitised cell, which gathers information at intermediate level. It permits to exchange information among the forces on the ground (armoured vehicles, soldiers...) and connects the lower tactical level, constituted by elementary units, with that of the higher Commands. Through SICF, it transmits to the General Staff the requests of artillery support, assembles the reports and keeps the tactical situation updated. The SIR sets of a regiment are installed on combat vehicles and assigned to every company Command Post and to the Command Post of the Regiment. It is the equivalent of the two Italian programmes named SIACCON (Command & Control Auto-



The Terminal Information System.

mated System) and SIACCON MLO (Lower Operational Levels).

SIT (Terminal Information System) ends the digitised chain, making every tank, vehicle, helicopter or soldier on foot an actual sensor in a position to receive messages and send formatted reports, know and indicate its position, show on a screen a map or a tactical plan, and have access to data bases. It is the equivalent to the Italian programmes called SICCONA (System of Command, Control and Navigation).

In the first phase of experimentation and development of the digitisation, the French Army is employing the 2nd "d'Orleans" armoured Brigade and the 6th "Nimes" armoured light Brigade. The results obtained from now until 2009 should permit to proceed with the digitisation of the totality of the Army land forces within 2015, enabling the Country to operate at the highest levels of command of a multinational coalition.

THE DEMONSTRATORS (PEA)

In a joint and multinational environment, France has started the PEA BOA programme, where PEA is the French abbreviation of a demonstrator equivalent of the US ACTD (Advanced Concept and Technology Demonstrator), the bigger programme of technological demonstrator launched by the defence. The objective is to optimise the architectural definition of the weapon and information systems, appraise and demonstrate the technical and operational progress connected with their maturation, and the advancements of the IT technology. The purpose of the LTO works is to interconnect in a network, in a coherent manner, the array of weapon systems employed in air-land combat, "Leclerc" tanks, "Tigre" helicopters, soldiers on vehicles (VBCI) and on foot (FELIN), autonomous systems (robots, drones, passive sensors...), engineer, fire-support, information and communication systems.

In this perspective, FELIN assumes a particular significance. It is a project aimed at pro-

ducing the complete equipment for the infantry soldier, the equivalent of the programme of the Italian Army "Soldato Futuro". It includes: a combat uniform made with advanced materials, suitable for personal protection; a weapon system consisting of a FAMAS assault gun, equipped with an image-enhancing sighting device and a video camera that can transfer images in real time to the platoon Commander or team leader on a wireless local network, which has the advantage of a maximum precision of the position data, thanks to the integration with GPS, a laser rangefinder and digital magnetic compass. Finally, an electronic system consisting of:

- Miniature video camera, positioned on the helmet, which can detect a human target at a distance of 150m and identify it at 50m.
- A wearable minicomputer for managing data coming from, or directed to, integrated systems (imaging sensors, rifle, displays, radio). The minicomputer, equipped with a simplified man-machine interface, enables the soldier to control the whole equipment and act efficiently also in hidden operations (open fire behind a corner or detect targets through obstacles).
- A personal mini-radio for transmitting voice and data. Through the radio, the soldier can transmit operational graphs, images, maps and video sequences to the members of the platoon and to the highest levels. The platoon members will operate in a communication architecture of the "all-in-one" or "sub-network" type, and will be interfaced with fourth-generation radios (PR4G), which ensure the link between foot soldiers and vehicles.

The FELIN communication system presents a remarkable flexibility of employment, also without a connection with a minicomputer: the FELIN platoon has the availability of five networks, four of which act as "intra-squad networks", (three for the rifle squads and one for the antitank squad), always keeping open a continuous "conference" system among the squad members. Each sub-network, in its turn, is separable into two "intra-team sub-networks" permitting, if desired, to control as many operational teams of reduced dimensions. At platoon level, the Command network will connect the personal radios of the squad Commanders, the platoon Leaders, the Commander of the operation, the snipers and the drivers of the personnel carriers.

"The FELIN project consists in improving the effectiveness of the equipment in combat, diminishing the soldier's vulnerability,"

The conceptual definition of the FELIN programme was completed in March 2006 and permitted to start the phase of industrial qualification and order the acquisition of the standard equipment of a first infantry regiment, that will be completed by 2008.

The approach for the development of FELIN consists in improving the effectiveness of the equipment in combat, diminishing the soldier's vulnerability.

The soldier will therefore be able to employ his weapons in a more rapid way, with a longer range, counting on a greater protection from the adversary strikes. As regards observation, he will be able to see at night and in daytime, also in forbidding weather conditions. He will be able to communicate with the higher-level authorities at distances greater than in the past, without interrupting his mission.

THE CAPACITIVE ASSETS

FELIN will therefore have to be interoperable with the main land combat systems, such as the infantry VBCI land combat vehicle, which has been in the qualification phase since 2005 and is based on six prototypes. As far as land armament is concerned, for the first time DGA,

the operational employers and the industry are conducting jointly the qualification of a system according to a fixed programme. This kind of approach enables the operators to familiarize with the system at least three years before the delivery of the first specimen envisaged

by 2008. The VBCI in the VCI version (infantry combat vehicle) will transport a FELIN combat team with all its equipment (9 men including the Commander) with a high level of protection. In its VPC version (Command Post Vehicle) it carries the Command and Control system at SIR Regiment level, which permits the tactical Command, at elementary unit and Regiment level, of the combat formations equipped with "Leclerc" tanks or VCIs.

The production and delivery of the "Leclerc" tanks continue according to a programme fixed by the Army, which within 2007 will have at its disposal the totality of the 406 tanks ordered, organized in eight groups of forty tanks each.

The first "Tigre" combat helicopters in their HAP (support and protection) version were delivered in March 2005. The order for the con-

struction of the HAD (support and destruction) version was sent in on November 30, 2005. At the completion of the programme, the French Army will be able to count on a force of forty "Tigre" tanks in the HAP version and forty in the HAD version: the latter not before 2010. The "Tigre" programme has been a success as regards international cooperation, because it was managed by OCCAR on behalf of Spain, Germany and France and, as regards export, with the delivery in 2004 of 22 aircraft to Australia.

The cooperation in this programme has generated the French-German School of Luc for pilot training. In 2005 the instructors were qualified and the first course for French pilots opened in January 2006, with training on flight simulators and gun and rocket firing at the range of Canjuers. The first German pilots will start their training in the first months of 2007.



The FELIN project for the «Future Soldier».

As far as helicopters are concerned, ten EC725 HUS (helicopters for special units) were ordered at the end of 2002, eight of which assigned to a detachment of the Command of Special Operations (DAOS) for employment in special operations. In order to reduce production costs and time, the aircraft were conceived in a version very similar to the RESCO formerly acquired by the French Air Force. The delivery started in 2005, and the last batch was consigned last summer.

Moreover, the modernization of the French land forces envisages the employment and the integration of the following vehicles and systems: the wheeled self-propelled CAESAR vehicle (seventy-two systems have been ordered in December 2004, and the first deliveries are foreseen for December 2008). This vehicle, spearhead of the GIAT Industries, has already

been a success in the field of exports, with an order for six units from Thailand on March 31, 2006. The last-generation multiple rocket launcher LRM NG, which has marked an important step with the complete success of the campaign of tests of the GMLRS guided ammunition with a European EFCS firing conduct. The AMX 30 B2DT, in a first section of the system, consisting of three 30-ton tanks for demining, radio controlled from a VAB, delivered last May; this is an innovative concept, unequalled in its sector, and the delivery of a second section is foreseen for 2008. The COBRA counter-battery radar: ten units ordered in 2004, delivery completed during 2006 (the COBRA was realized in multinational cooperation with the United Kingdom and Germany). The small PVP protected vehicle, which is in its last operational valuation phase. The contract for its production was notified by the DGA to the Auverland Company, now Panhard General Defence, in September 2004. The PVP is a 4.2-ton (when empty) light armoured connection vehicle that can transport up to four men. The programme envisages the delivery of the first vehicle by 2007 and, at its conclusion in 2012, the Army will have the availability of about nine hundred units. Moreover, the first forty-one VPS patrol vehicles for Special Forces, ordered in 2005, were delivered last year. Finally, last year a programme was launched for the production of a new-conception, polyvalent land transport vehicle called PPT.

As regards the programme of transformation and innovation in the communication sector, the first new-generation SYRACUSE III satellite was launched in October 2005, and the second one last summer. This programme, started for the application of the "Network Centric Operation" (NCO) concepts in external Theatres, includes 540 ground stations for Army users, that go from man-carried sets to VAB integrated stations.

The entry into service of the VS4-IP of the PR4G was announced in February 2006. It enables the PR4G, the fourth-generation radio, to integrate the IP protocol and, therefore, the re-positioning of the Theatre Operational Information Systems.

The contract for the implementation of the new-generation MELCHIOR HF transit and access tactical system was notified to THALES in June 2005. This programme will provide the special forces and the classic Army, Navy and Air Force units with an essential component of tactical communication, secure, projectable in any circumstance over the entire Theatre and interoperable with the NATO systems.

The equipment of the «Future Soldier».

For what concerns the missile systems, the French Army, as regards the ground-air land component of the family of the FSAF future system, envisages the integration of the medium-range, ground-air SAMP-T system, which at present is in the qualification phase. The qualification of the ASTER missile, one of the components of the system, was completed at the end of 2005. Two qualification launchings of the SAMP-T system took place in July and December 2005. The first delivery of the SAMP-T battery to the Army is envisaged for 2008, while the Air Force will be equipped with it in 2010. After its entry into service, this missile system will have a capability of intercepting some types of ballistic missiles with a range of less than 600km.

The SAMP-T is destined to the Army for anti-aircraft defence of the combat forces, as a substitute of the HAWK missiles, and to the Air Force for the defence of the bases. The programme is in cooperation with the Italian Defence, which has the same operational requirements and follows the same times of entry into service.

The Army Staff has moreover adopted the systems of SDTI tactical drones in April 2006, following the acquisition of a new version of the software. SDTI is a system of tactical drones that will enable the French Army to acquire capabilities of battlefield surveillance, observation and designation of targets for the artillery.

At the end of 2004, the DGA has notified a contract for the realization of a drone for ground reconnaissance (DRAC). The first deliveries are envisaged for the beginning of the summer 2007. The programme's main objective is to provide the Army with a simple system to be employed for short-distance observation, a system that can be assimilated to "mobile binoculars" that permit to view in real time, day and night, in-flight images taken by the drone's sensor.

INNOVATION AND TECHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH

As regards innovation in the sphere of the air-ground forces, the French Ministry of Defence assigns to the preparatory studies preceding the development of the systems a determinant and indispensable value, and consid-



ers them the principal vector of innovation. This concept is reaffirmed and emphasized in the *Plan prospectif a 30 ans* issued by the Ministry, which considers the studies an important preparation in view of creating a fundamental technological reference for the defence industry in the development and implementation of the future systems.

The intense activity of technological research in the air-ground sector was conducted, mainly by the DGA, already in 1998 through demonstrators or PEA. The economic and financial effort, which

has been kept on an average of investments of 80 million Euros per year, has increased 20% already in 2006. The substantial increase in the investments is a sign of the DGA determination to renew the air-ground component of the French defence and to support the defence industry, maintaining it on a technological level of sure competitiveness

in the specific sector. Thanks to the constant effort in the sector of Research and Development, several innovative technologies have found practical applications in numerous programmes of armament development, such as the 40mm CTA ammunition, Active Protection, the Ginseng and Caladiom programmes, the development of Terahertz technologies, microdrones and nanotechnologies. These programmes will be briefly illustrated hereafter.

The realization of a demonstrator of a radio-controlled turret, equipped with a weapon system with 40mm CTA munitions, was started in 2003. This medium-calibre system, the result of French-British cooperation, employs a telescopic ammunition (the projectile is included in the cartridge), which, for its ballistic performance, pres-

“ The system of SDTI tactical drones will enable the French Army to acquire capabilities of battlefield surveillance, observation and designation of targets for the artillery ”

ents remarkable advantages compared to the past as regards overall dimensions. Integrated on a radio-commanded turret, this innovative technology permits to optimise the problems of mass and volume, offers a noticeable improvement in personnel protection and will find operational application on future armoured vehicles.

The Active Protection programme is based on the principle of intercepting/neutralizing a threat on a vehicle, or on a site in general, before the impact occurs. The "Hardkill" project, fruit of a French-German industrial cooperation, has permitted to develop an innovative technology that allows the optical discovery of the threat, the calculation of the point of interception, the instant of the activation of the countermeasure and, finally, it permits to launch the countermeasure based on an effect of reinforced blowing, without collateral effects. This system gives a considerable improvement of protection with a minimum mass surplus, also for very wide angular sectors of pro-



A VBCI armoured vehicle.

tection. The efficiency of the "Hardkill" system has been experimented and demonstrated on a wide variety of threats (hollow-charge projectiles, rockets and antitank missiles), also on short-range firing.

A study was concluded in 2004 regarding the management of information within a combat group on foot called "Ginseng". In particular, there has been the valuation of the necessary technologies to be applied to the future man-machine interfaces, such as data fusion, boost of visual restitution, three-dimension sound restitution or voice synthesis. The requisite for the soldier's helmet was defined on the basis of this study, and a first evaluation was made through the interaction in a virtual environment.

The DGA, with the "Caladiom" programme, has recently started a study for a long-autonomy finding sensor, which exploits the recent progress

made by the research on the artificial retina, on energy management and image processing. There has also been the realization of a demonstrator for observations in the visible spectrum, with an optimum autonomy and an intelligence that permits to make observations on programmed targets and sensitive systems in areas of interest. At the end of the valuation cycle, the sensor will be experimented in the infrared spectrum.

Also the Terahertz (THz) Technologies have aroused a remarkable interest in the sectors of defence and security. Actually, the electromagnetic emissions in this frequency band present characteristics of excellent capability of penetration through materials opaque to the normal optical frequencies, such as clothes and some plastic and building materials. In addition, various composite materials interesting for the defence, such as some explosives and biochemical agents, in a THz environment present a specific spectral marking that should permit their detection and identification. Obviously, one of the most interesting applications of the THz technologies could be that of visual systems for discovering all kinds of explosive devices, even rudimentary ones, to be employed to protect sensitive sites or itineraries. The DGA is planning a cycle of studies and experimentations aimed at deepening the knowledge of such technologies, and finding out their military application, considering especially the interaction between THz radiations and materials, and the optimization of the THz sources and discovery sensors.

The proved efficacy of the employment of microdrones handled by a single soldier during the phases of combat in urban areas, has led the DGA to draft a programme of studies and experimentations, with the purpose of capitalizing the significant technological advancements made in this sector, in order to assess and define the characteristics of the systems of this class to be acquired during the 2005-2015 decade. In view of this, the tests of the "Hovereye" drone, built from 2004 by the French company BERTIN, continue, while the MAVDEM (Mini Aerial Vehicle Demonstrator) programme, financed by EDA and which witnesses the industrial cooperation of France, Italy, Norway and Spain, should lead to the first demonstrations of stationary flight and capability of rapid shifts of a high-technology microdrone in 2007 and 2008. Studies on this futuristic type of UAV have been assigned by the DGA to ONERA (Office National d'Études et de Recherche Aérospatiales), in collaboration with various French universities. At least thirty projects are being defined, and some have already been patented.

The General Direction of Armaments supports some explorative research in the field of nan-

otechnologies; some are aimed at the realization of demonstrators, others at in-depth conceptual investigations. The list of the possible applications of nanotechnologies in the air-ground sector is rich and promising, and goes from micro-drones to microdevices for the optimization of fluids flow; from micro sensors of physical magnitudes (pressure, temperature) for controlling the aircraft pilots' state of health, to the nano-filaments of semiconductors or carbon nano-tubes for the ultra-sensitive detection of biological agents; from the micro- and nano-systems applied to the elaboration of gyrometers and accelerometers, to porous materials nano-structured to be made furtive; from hydrophobic materials, to the components of nano-pyrotechnics for devising miniaturized security devices for ammunition priming.

THE FUTURE TRENDS

In view of this, the future efforts in the field of French defence will be oriented towards the areas concerning the programmes of Research and Development envisaged for the immediate future (2007-2009), especially in the area of protection of the forces, transformation, raising the industry's level of technological excellence and, finally, of European cooperation and synergy with civil research.

A study and the construction of a demonstrator on the neutralization of remote-control trigger devices for the protection of personnel was started already in 2006. In the optoelectronics sector, research was done on a demonstrator aimed at assessing the real capabilities of the emerging technologies, such as the fusion of the IR spectrum with the visible one and the management of hyper spectral images for disguise and camouflage.

There have also been the first results of the works regarding the ambitious programme of the demonstrator of the "*Bouffe Opérationnelle Aéroterrestre*" and the Technical Operational Laboratory, in support of the "Trasformation" requisite issued by the Defence General Staff, with the experimental demonstration of the feasibility of connecting in a network the air-ground forces and the assessment of the advantages that could derive in terms of capacity. The BOA demonstrator and the LTO instrument plan to transfer, in a federate manner, the technological innovations already examined in the classical domains, towards architectural structures such as the "System of Systems", in order to find, among them, the ones

worth implementing in the current and future programmes.

CONCLUSION

The process towards the digitisation of the air-ground forces is an inevitable step for the modernization of the national armies. At the dawning of the farseeing national programme of the "Integrated Land Force" which, between 2020 and 2025, will introduce the significant modernization and the radical network-centric transformation of the Italian air-land forces, the French example can be a valid reference in terms of procedural approach.

The management of the development of the future capacitive assets, according to the architectural principles of the "Systems of Systems" engineering, is at the foundation of the new policies of the French Defence.

To achieve a "Digitised Force" constitutes the common objective of most Western Countries.

“To achieve a Digitised Force constitutes the common objective of most Western Countries. The enterprise is complex and multifaceted...”

The enterprise is complex and multifaceted and, as such, the concerned parties must deal with it in a synergic and coordinated manner. France, following in the wake of the United States and Great Britain, has given to the venture of digitising its air-ground forces the characteristic of an objective to be achieved through the com-

munity of intents, to be shared in close cooperation with the industrial section since the first phases of the programme.

The development and the ripening of the operational requirement, the updating of the organizational and doctrinal elements, the identification and planning of new developments of capacitive assets are carried out in a common environment, the technical-operational laboratories, where representatives of the defence and of the industries work together permanently, having at their disposal the powerful instruments of modelling and simulation made available by commercial technology.

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FUTURE COMBAT SYSTEMS

TECHNE

FUTURE COMBAT SYSTEMS

A programme destined to revolutionize the US Army as regards approach to combat, vehicles and logistics, cannot but be the object of animated discussions. Therefore one should not be surprised if the opinions on the future "system of systems" of the American land forces are at the centre of a harsh contention.

The US Army replies to one of the most critical studies, published last August by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), which questions not only the financial aspects but also the saving of time and assets for the redeployment overseas of a Brigade Combat Team. The Army denies the operational effectiveness of the solutions proposed for reducing the costs of the programme by deploying on the field only a part of the weapon systems being developed within the "Future Combat Systems". In particular, the Army contests the fact that no analysis has been made of the scenarios of the 21st Century, where the Service will have to operate and the ensuing operational requirements, which the plans of partial (in some cases very partial) modernization proposed by the CBO do not meet. On one scale pan the Army places the greater efficiency of the Brigade Combat Teams (BCT) equipped with FCS systems, which will entail a cutback of logistic personnel, especially those assigned to the maintenance of the vehicles, all based on the same hull, vis-à-vis an increase of operational personnel: in practice, the number of mechanics will be reduced by 50% in comparison with that of today's heavy Brigades and, on average, a BCT FCS, vis-à-vis of force of 500 soldiers less if compared to a current heavy BCT, will be able to deploy twice the number of riflemen in the infantry squads. The reciprocal objections brought up in turn by both sides, about the rightness of each one's theses, could fill many pages. A result similar to the one that could be obtained by analysing the various positions about the main air or naval programmes, an inevitable effect when the discussion is about programmes that have a financial

impact of over 120 billion dollars, which is the total cost envisaged for the FCS.

The US Army's slogan regarding the FCS is that it is not a single system, it is actually 1+1+18 systems (1): the last ones are precisely those being developed within the programme, with the addition of the network and the soldier himself. Therefore the allocations, which in the acquisition phase should be around 10 billion dollars per year, approximately up to 50% of the entire budget of the Army, are justified by the fact that, by the end of the programme, the entire combat component of the land force will be completely modern and integrated. Actually, on the budget of Defence for 2007, we find that 3.7 billion dollars are allotted to the FCS. A figure that comes immediately after that for the JSF but is the only one, among the 12 most expensive programmes of the US Defence for this year, assigned to the Army.

Historically, the FCS programme was born in the mid-nineties when, following the first Gulf War, the Army Science Board developed a plan to meet the need for a greater rapidity of deployment, better protection and an improved

Title page.

A «Bradley» Infantry Fighting Vehicle. Box: A "Stryker" wheeled vehicle.

Right.

The Future Combat System network.





Above.
The first JTRS radio kit for the FCS.

Right.
An operator making a Class I UAV Demonstrator ready for use.

effectiveness of the land units. At the beginning, the deadline for the entry into service of the system was fixed for 2015. In 2002, DARPA (Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency) and the US Army chose as Lead Systems Integrator a team formed by Boeing and Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC). Prompted by the US Army Chief of Staff of the time, General Peter J. Schoomaker, the Army decided to move faster. Thus, production would start in 2012, to reach initial operational capability (IOC) by 2014 and full operational capability (FOC) by 2016, for a first FCS BTC. As a matter of fact, in relation to the programme's advancement, it was later decided to introduce the first systems with a spinout approach, setting the stages for 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2014.

A common factor of all elements is the network that permits to exchange data and information among the various systems, so that the Army can revolutionise its operational and organizational concepts, enabling them to meet the new threats in a flexible way. The network is based on five "levels" called "Standard" (Transport, Services, Applications and Sensors, Platforms), which, combined, ensure the necessary adaptability and management functionality that will enable the Brigade Combat Team, engaged in a rapidly changing scenario, to see in advance, understand in advance, act in advance and conclude the conflict decisively to its own advantage. The Standard Layer provides the reference to which the other layers must conform, in terms of flexibility and of distributed and adaptable information environment (Global Information Grid). The Transport Layer includes all that concerns transmis-

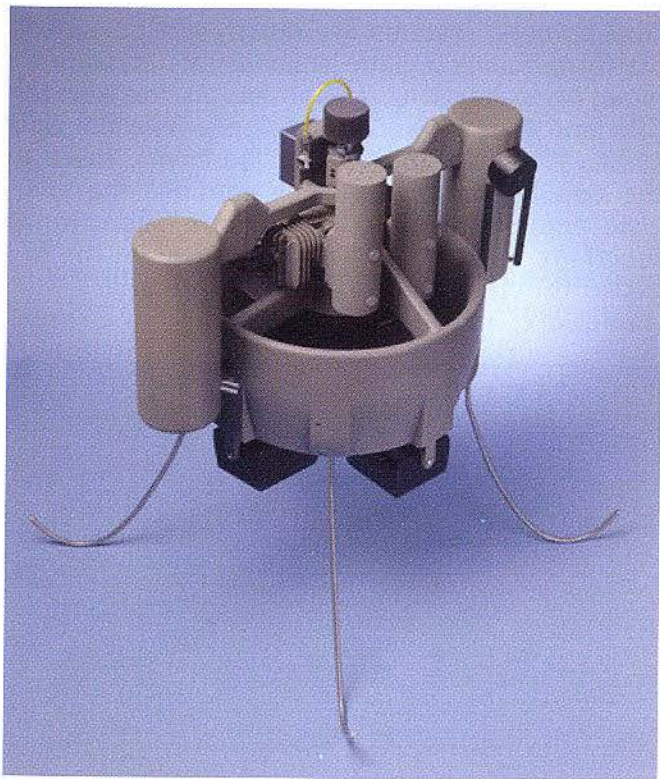
“on the budget of Defence for 2007 we find that 3.7 billion dollars are allotted to FCS...”

sions, whose systems are mostly placed on the platforms, allowing the transmission system to move together with the units. In the Service Layer we find the services, for example the web services, e-mail and others. Moreover, there is the Application Layer, which contains the specific applications for the various operational functions. Of remarkable importance are the logistic functions, integrated within the C4ISR framework, and the ones for training in a simu-



lated environment, both individually and collectively. Finally, on the higher level we find the Sensors and Platform Layer, where there are the various weapon systems that depend on the network. According to the CBO, when the FOC is achieved, the software of the network will consist of at least 34 million program lines, about twice the JSF's, while according to the data now available, by the end of the current year the first release in charge of the systems of the first spinout should have at least 5 million lines.

In this first phase, to be realized in 2008, three systems are going to be tested right away by the Evaluation Brigade Combat Team, a unit created at the beginning of the year at Fort Bliss, Texas. In June it will reach a force of a little less than 1000 elements and start its activity of evaluation of the systems developed within the FCS programme. The first is going to be the system called Unattended Ground Sensors (UGS), which is divided into two main subsystems, Tactical-UGS (T-UGS) and Urban UGS (U-UGS). The T-UGS is formed by ISR-UGS (Intelligence, Surveillance, Reconnaissance) and by CBRN-UGS



A mock-up of the Class I UAV, particularly suited for operations in urban environments.

(Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear). The ISR-UGS consists of three components: the ISR Sensor Node, a suite of multimodal sensors that can classify a target and detect the direction it comes from; the Electro Optic/IR Node, equipped with a panoramic warhead with day/night capability; the Gateway Node, which coordinates the activities of the various ground sensors, orienting, for example, the optronic sensor towards the threat located by the multimodal sensor, and transmits to the higher-level FCS operator the relevant data and images almost in real time. Together with the CBRN sensors, the T-UGS could be employed for surveying particular zones, for the acquisition of objectives in ungarrisoned areas and the perimetrical defence of zones occupied by friendly forces. Tested during the "Joint Expeditionary Force Experiment 2006" of last July, in the first spinout the sensors of the T-UGS will possibly be deployed manually, while, eventually, during the third spinout they could be disseminated by aircraft, such as airplanes, helicopters or UAV. The U-UGS will also consist of a Gateway Node, optronic sensors, and intrusion detectors, specifically developed to operate in urban environments and inside buildings. It will be possible to position them manually or by employing robot vehicles, which, besides providing a better knowledge of the situation during the action, i.e. when placed on points of forced passage, both inside and outside buildings, will permit to know the situation also after the personnel have

left the area at the end of the operation.

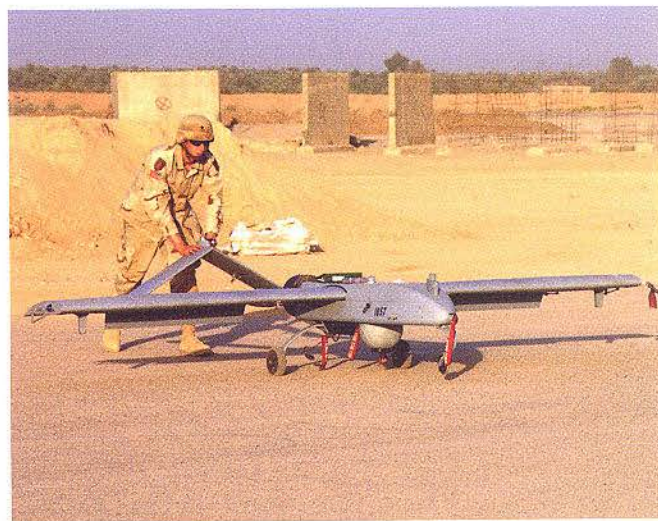
The second of the 18 systems envisaged for the first spinout is the Non-Line of Sight Launcher. It is a vertical container/launcher with 16 cells, 15 of them occupied by missiles, while the sixteenth houses the command system and the radio link that connects the system to the NetFires net; the module is transportable on a HMMWV and can easily be embarked on a C-130. Within the SDD (System Development and Demonstration) phase, a single type of ammunition is envisaged: the 40km range Precision Attack Missile (PAM), equipped with infrared sensor, semi-active radar and multifunction warhead, effective against soft and hardened targets, although its primary role will be the engagement of armoured targets identified by the IRS chain. The target data will be inserted before the launch and updated if necessary, but it will be possible to employ the PAM also against targets illuminated by laser designators. However, the development of the Loitering Attack Missile (LAM), which could be operated from the same launcher, remains active. This type of ammunition has a range of 70km and will be able to orbit above the area of the objective for about 30 minutes; it is equipped with a laser radar (LADAR) sensor, and will send images of the zone, permitting, for example, to assess the damages caused by previous attacks. Its employment is envisaged against objectives of remarkable importance.

The third of the systems that will be deployed first is the IMS (Intelligent Munitions System) (2). It is a network of sensors and munitions that permits to interdict a zone non garrisoned by friendly forces, by activating and deactivating the system by remote control, for example to allow the transit of our units. The system's lethal or non-lethal munitions exploit the "attack from above" profile, and every IMS module, which can be positioned by just two soldiers, contains four munitions. The system is constantly under man's control: in fact, an operator sets the rules of engagement and activates and deactivates a part or the whole system, or modifies its data. The IMS is equipped with a self-destruction system and therefore does not become a danger at the end of the hostilities. Its entry into service, in 2010, coincides with the date of the foreseen US ban on mines.

The second spinout, whose system should start the evaluation tests in 2010, concerns the unmanned aircraft, which are envisaged in four

different classes. The smallest system, Class I, vertical take-off and vertical landing, has a total weight – two aircraft, control system and accessories – of 16 kg, so that it may be carried by a single man. The aircraft alone weighs around 7kg and can operate in an urban environment and in the jungle. It can provide information at platoon level and could also have a limited function of radio link. Also the Class II will be a vertical take-off aircraft, but will be carried by a motor vehicle and its autonomy will be twice that of the preceding one; it will be assigned at company level. The tactical UAV envisaged for an RSTA battalion has a range of about 40km and an autonomy of 6 hours and, besides the usual reconnaissance, it should be able to carry out missions of NBCR reconnaissance and mine detection, serve as a radio link and provide weather information. For objective acquisition and designation, it will be able to cooperate with the NLOS battalion, to illuminate the targets for PAM missiles. In comparison with the Class IV aircraft, the preceding one has the characteristic of being able to take off and land on unprepared ground. As regards larger aircraft of the HALE (High Altitude Long Endurance) kind, which can operate above the enemy threats, the choice has fallen on the MQ-8B Northrop Grumman helicopter, which made its first flight last December. This unmanned helicopter will have a payload of about 300kg and an autonomy of 8 hours. The payloads will enable the aircraft to supply a broadband radio link on distances over 150km, to carry out NBCR reconnaissance missions, with on-board data processing capabilities, while the flight control system will allow it to fly together with the fleet of piloted aircraft. On last January 9 the US Army announced the realignment of the programmes regarding the development of the UAVs: the decision envisages to continue the programmes concerning the Class I and Class IV aircraft and to set aside, for the time being, the Class II and III while, for the intermediate roles, the systems now in line and employed in operational theatres, i.e. the “Raven” mini-UAV and the “Shadow” tactical UAV, would remain in service. This does not mean that the intermediate UAVs of the FCS programme have been definitively cancelled, but only that the investments are postponed so as to reduce the economic impact of the programme, at least in this sector. The Army honours its commitment of developing a mixed fleet of manned and unmanned, and looks for a possible community

“...the US Army announced the realignment of the programmes regarding the development of the UAVs...”



A «Shadow» UAV. This aircraft will remain in service owing to the postponement of the Class II and III UAV programme.

between the Class IV and the helicopters already in service, and plans to line up the new UAVs of the FCS programme, either with the envisaged spinouts or as a programme for introducing technology, in order to be able to further accelerate their operational capability.

Also the spinout of 2012 will regard unmanned systems; nevertheless, in this case, they will be ground systems with both combat and logistic tasks, all equipped with the same system of autonomous navigation based on GPS and LADAR sensors. The first ones, called ARV (Armed Robotic Vehicle) (3), will have the same hull with a weight, in combat order, of around 13t and will be available in assault and RSTA versions. The first will be armed with a medium calibre gun, for flat-trajectory fire support, and with missiles for indirect and antitank fire. It will be able to disseminate the

sensors of the T-UGS and U-UGS systems and will ensure a reconnaissance function thanks to its own sensors. Tasked with this role, and therefore equipped with more sensors mounted on a telescopic pole, the reconnaissance version is destined to provide IRS and acquisition capabilities, especially in urban environments. These robots, with their clear operational function and now tendentially oriented towards a tracked solution, will be flanked by the MULE (Multifunctional Utility/Logistic and Equipment) family, based on a 6x6 wheeled chassis, with a combat-order weight of about 2.5t; the vehicle can be hooked and transported by helicopters of the



Above.
The three versions of the MULE, a medium-size robot of the FCS programme.

Right.
A Pakbot of the IRobot, employed by the US Army in Iraq and Afghanistan.

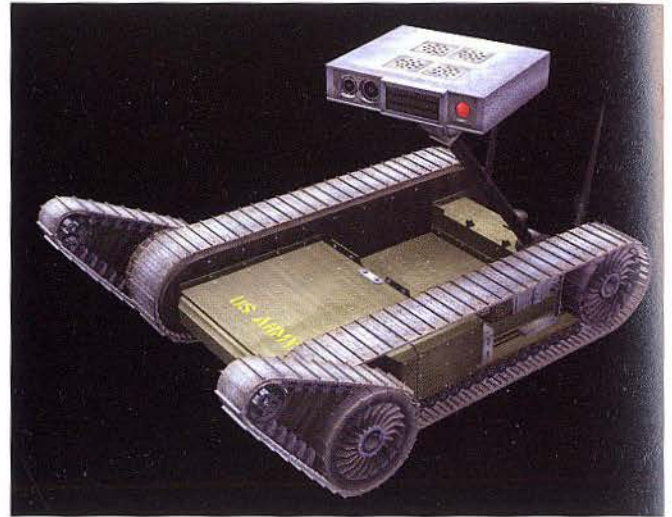
US Army. The MULE will be developed in three versions: ARV-A-L (Armed Robotic Vehicle - Assault - Light), MULE-T (Transport) and MULE CM (Countermine). The first one will be essentially armed with missiles, besides a machinegun, and will have sensors suitable for both arms control and target-acquisition functions for the infantry on foot. The transport version will lighten the task for the infantry squads by transporting loads of more than 1 ton of backpacks, munitions, water etc. Finally, the countermine ver-



sion will be capable of spotting the presence of mines thanks to its GSTAMIDS (Ground Standoff Mine Detection System) sensor and permit to open passages in enemy minefields without risking the soldiers' life. The smallest land robot, not totally autonomous but guided through an optical fibre cable, will be the SUGV (Small Unmanned Ground Vehicle); it is an advanced version of the PakBot, largely employed in Iraq and Afghanistan by the US Army. With its weight of less than 15kg, the UGV can be deployed at minimum levels, and will be equipped with sensors for surveys or for detecting chemical weapons or toxic chemical substances of industrial origin.

The last spinout, planned for 2014, envisages the deployment of the entire system, which, at

this point, lacks only the family of manned vehicles, consisting of as many as eight versions. Before illustrating them in short, we have to make some considerations, particularly in connection with their weight and size. The initial intention was to have them weigh 17t, in order to transport them on the C-130s of the USAF,



so as to deploy the vehicles easily also in zones lacking landing strips fit to receive bigger aircraft. A further objective was the adoption of an entirely electric propulsion system, which could also feed the weaponry if necessary, and was to consist of laser or rail-gun type systems. Since the ripening of these technologies has marked time, the same as the one capable of assuring a

Left.
Chassis of the UGCV, a development model for a vehicle with independent wheels.

Below.
A Talon, a robot employed by the Marines' EODs in Iraq.





Above.
A «Paladin» self-propelled gun.

Right.
An NLOS-C self-propelled gun.

protection equal to that provided by the heavier combat vehicles, the armament has gone back to conventional, while for propulsion the choice has fallen on a hybrid solution. As far as weight is concerned, the accepted limit has gone up to 24t, i.e. one third of that of the Abrams' most recent versions and three fourths of the Bradley's. Remains to be seen how the threat of the IEDs and the RPG's hollow-charge warheads, that the GIs who operate in Iraq and Afghanistan have to face every day, can raise this limit. Even if it is true that the capabilities to survive a threat are not only related to protection, but also, for example, to one's awareness of the situation, a lot will depend on how reliable the new technologies will prove to be in opposing these threats and permit to limit the employment of passive armour, which is a large part of the vehicles' weight. According to the industry, the parts that the various versions of the FCS manned vehicles will have in common are 70-80 percent, with a remarkable impact on the reduction of development costs, if compared to those of eight systems different from each other, in addition to the logistic ones, both as regards consumption as well as management of stocks and technical personnel. According to US Army reckonings, in fact, a FCS BTC's fuel consumption will be between 10 and 30 per cent less than that of a present-day heavy BCT. Furthermore, the former will employ only 50 percent of technical personnel.

At present, of the eight vehicles, the one in the most advanced phase of development is certainly the self-propelled gun known as NLOS-C (Non-Line-Of-Sight Cannon): the need to replace the

“...the capabilities of surviving the threats are not only connected with protection...in any case much will depend on the reliability of the new technologies”

self-propelled guns because of the consecutive failures of the past programmes, which have kept in service the systems of the M-109 family, albeit updated to the “Paladin” standard, have induced to accelerate the development of the NLOS-C, whose prototypes, different from the production



version, should be delivered in 2008. The substitute of the new weapon system, delivered in September of last year, consists of a 155mm gun and 38-calibre barrel, which weighs about 1 ton less than the piece of the superlight howitzer M777, used on the technological demonstrator that has already fired over 2000 rounds at the range of Yuma, Arizona. The NLOS-C will be able to hit the target simultaneously with several grenades and, thanks to its high automation, its crew will be of only two men.

The M-1 Abrams is going to be replaced by the MCS (Mounted Combat System), which will keep as main armament the smooth-bore 120mm gun, which, thanks to its new guided ammunition, can reach with indirect fire a range of more than 8km. The CBO denies the possibility of re-deploying a FCS BCT more rapidly than the present heavy BCT, but it is also true that in the initial phase of an intervention one can deploy a greater number of MCSs and ICVs (Infantry Carrier Vehicle), the tracked vehicle that is going to replace the Bradley, since, as we said before, both have a weight decidedly lower than the current ones. The ICV is going to be armed with a 30mm turret gun, carry a team of 9 men besides the crew, and will also replace a part of the M 113; in this case the weight balance is unfavourable, since the new vehicle weighs twice the old one, although the performances of the two systems are hardly comparable. The same is true also for the M 113 mortar carriers, which are



Above.
The M1 «Abrams» combat tank weighs more than 60 tons.

Right.
The MC5 combat vehicle is going to replace today's tanks.

ground the UGS sensors, the SUGV robot and two Class I UAVs. The panoply is completed by the C2V (Command and Control Vehicle) Command Post, equipped with C2 advanced systems, developed for the FCS programme, two versions of the tracked medical vehicle MV-E and MV-T (Medical Vehicle Evacuation and Treatment). The first is destined for front-line



going to be replaced by the NLOS-M (Non-Line-Of-Sight Mortar) armed with a 120mm mortar, with an automated firing system that can employ precision-guided shells with a crew of four men.



Above.
The ICV is going to replace the «Bradley».

Right.
The NLOS-M tank, armed with a 120mm mortar.

The place of the M3, reconnaissance version of the Bradley, will be taken by the RSV (Reconnaissance and Surveillance Vehicle): its sensors, mounted on a telescopic pole, permit to automatically locate, track, classify and identify the targets. It is also equipped with an ESM suite and NBC sensors, and can re-deploy on the

support and the second for more in-depth medical interventions; both can make use of telemedicine techniques. Finally, the logistic vehicle FRMV (FCS Recovery and Maintenance Vehicle), with a crew of three men and space for another two. The FRMV can perform operations of recovery, repair and maintenance.

The opinions about the future of the programme are discordant enough, but both the US



Army and the industry underline the fact that the programme is proceeding according to the estimates, to the point that a demonstration is envisaged for the beginning of February 2007 where some new systems, such as the micro-UAV and the NLOS-C will be called to operate with systems already in line, such as the Apache. If the programme is entirely implemented, the US Army is



Above.
The RSV is the reconnaissance-and-surveillance version of the future tracked vehicle.

Right, above.
The CP version of the C2V.

Right, below.
The Evacuation and Treatment Medical Vehicle.

going to make a substantial step forward, especially as regards network-centric operations, since all the systems of the FCS are conceived precisely in that perspective. In order to keep the maximum possible level of interoperability with the allied Armies, the United States is about to sign a Memorandum of Understanding with Great Britain and Australia, while, within NATO, discussions are under way about the signature of a possible agreement with France, Germany, Great Britain and Italy. The discussions are taking place at government and military level, but concern directly also the industry that provides supplies

The Recovery and Maintenance vehicle, a recovery version for the FCS.



technical support. Besides, the US Army and the American industry, and particularly the Boeing-SAIC integrator system, are discussing the possible modalities for selling abroad the FCS components that enable the allied ground forces to operate jointly. Army and Industry are going to become the preferential interlocutors for those Nations that decide to integrate their digitised manoeuvre spaces with that of the United States.

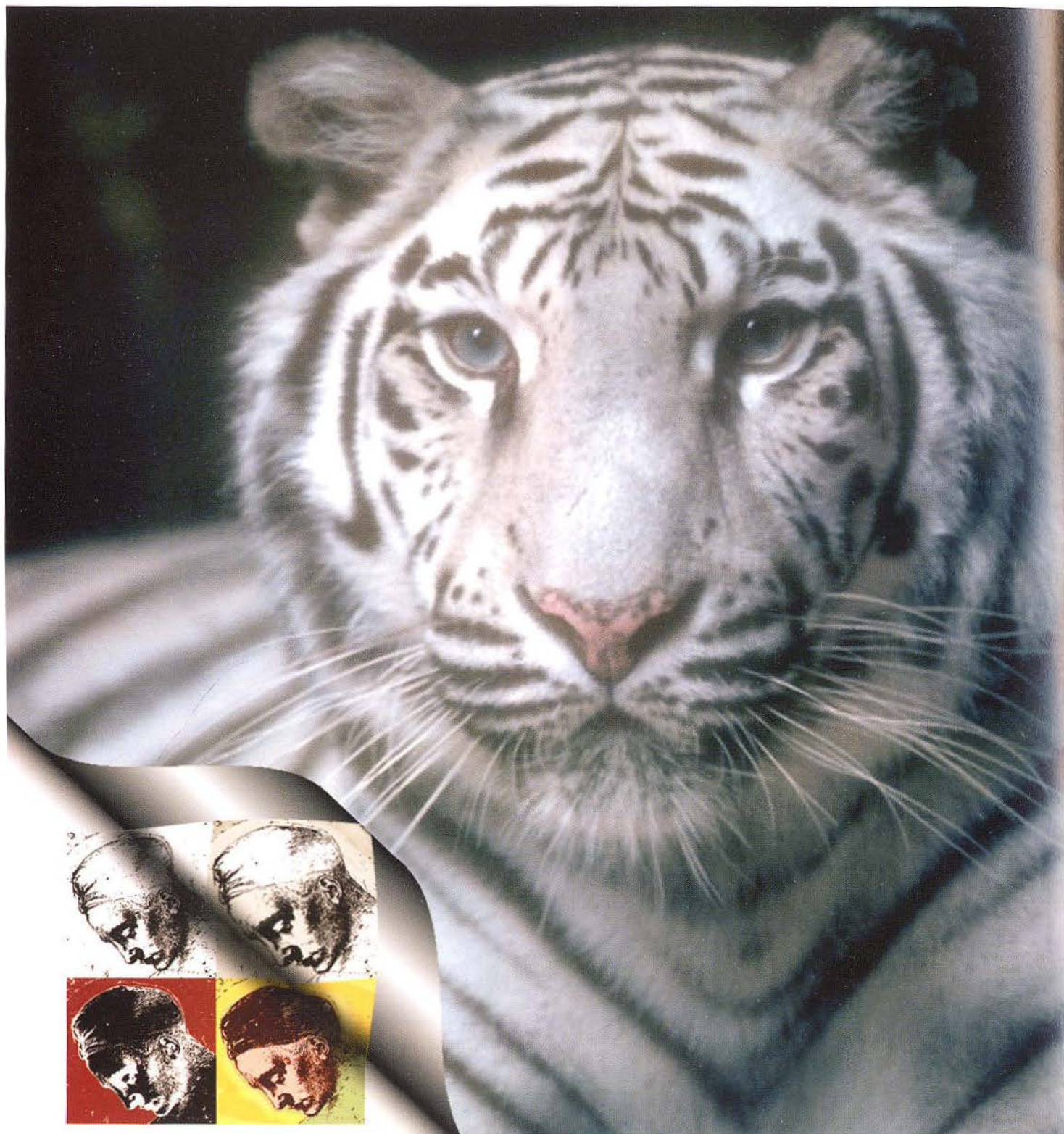
Paolo Valpolini
Journalist



NOTES

- (1) With the decision of postponing the development and the acquisition of four systems, the FCS has changed into 1+1+14 and the acquisition of the 15 Brigades has been extended from 10 to 15 years.
- (2) The decision to review the FCS programme, made at the beginning of February, has led to separate the development of the IMS from the other systems.
- (3) The deferment of the development of the ARV sub-system should be offset by the acquisition of a larger number of light robots.

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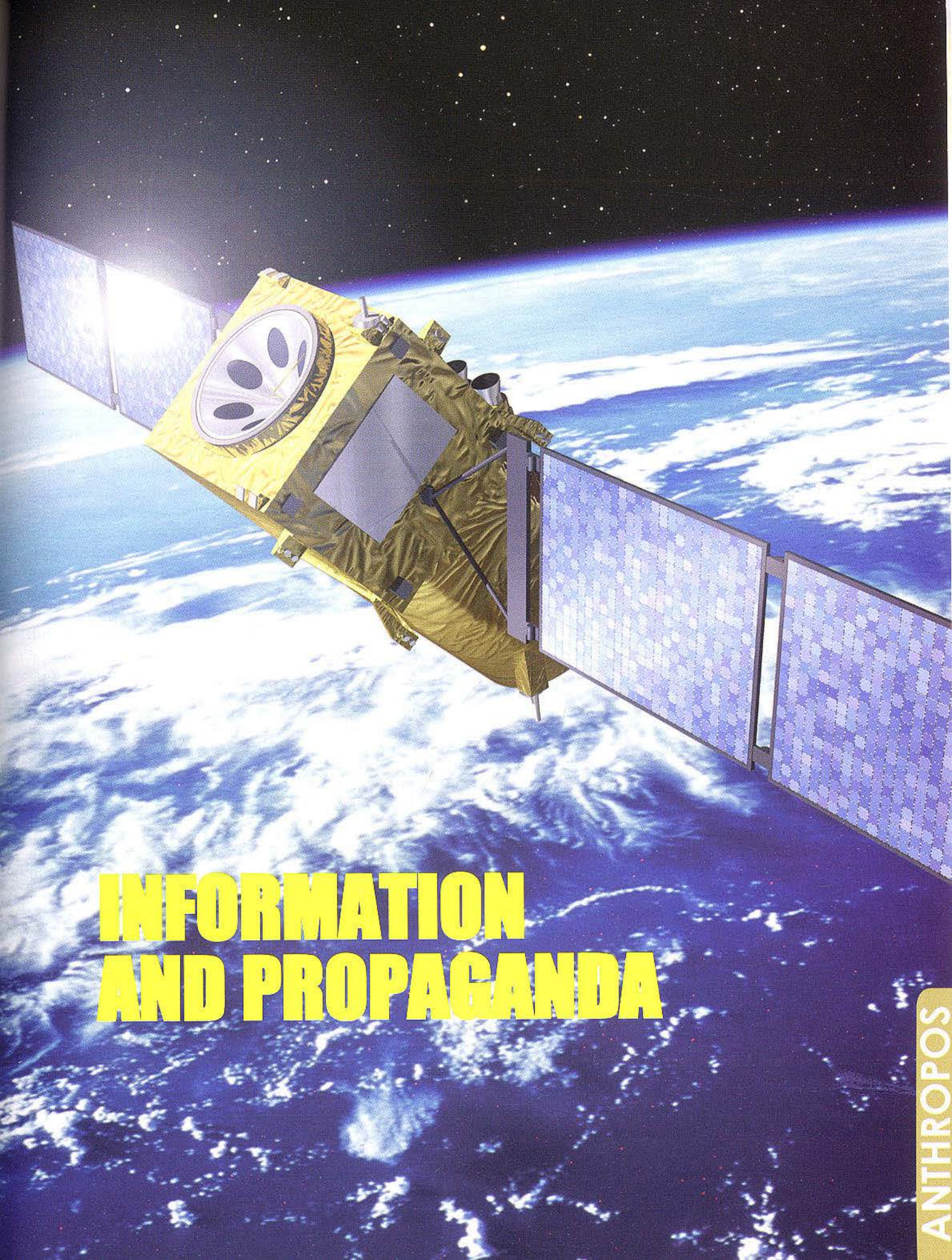


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INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA



INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA

Today, in the era of terrorism and asymmetric war, these traditional strategic instruments for acquiring and maintaining consensus represent the global weapon of communication and persuasion par excellence.

Communication performs an important strategic function which dates back to the dawn of history. Tyrant Pisistratus used the same means as we do today to achieve a consensus among the Athenian citizens. The strategy that Augustus adopted to exert control over the media is similar to the policy that the big publishing groups of today pursue. In the ancient world, some people passed false documents off as authentic and emperors and Popes launched into furious diatribes against these facts during the Middle Ages and the Modern age. Similarly, some documents have caused lots of scandals and attracted bitter international criticism in recent years. In modern times, the media have been often used for propaganda purposes making the historiographic work difficult and exciting at the same time.

The face of war has changed in the last decades. Wars are characterized by «asymmetry» and are radically different from the past conflicts. A constant feature of modern and ancient conflicts is represented by communication. Information and propaganda have always constituted an asymmetric element of conflicts.

They have always been used as instruments for shaping public opinion. This question needs to be examined carefully because public opinion is growing in importance today. It constitutes a «second front» considering that our society has acquired a global dimension. This dimension is not virtual but anyone can access it through the media which cancel space and time limits and provide a continuous flow of information to the public who have apparently the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process and the international events. In this new dimension it is imperative to learn how to handle and manage the process of communication to reach consensus. Hence the need to pursue old objectives with new technologies and to practise «old semantic alchemy» using powerful instruments that are able to

reach the world populations: in other terms, leaflets have been replaced by talk shows, false news with pseudo-events, town criers with satellite television networks and Internet.

The current situation is more complex than in the past because there are new actors either in the international context or in the Italian one. The idea of «belligerent State» does not make sense any more. In fact, just a few States are perceived as a real threat to international security today whereas the danger comes from those people who are able to act without any trouble and depart from the mould of conventional war and law.

Clausewitz talked about a violent conflict between States, which would take place in a geographically defined area and it would involve the use of conventional instruments in order «to force the enemy to bend to our will», destroying its military strength and conquering the country. This idea has been replaced with a quite different image. New actors have appeared on the scene recently: terrorist groups, industrial and financial powers, posters of drug dealers, private military and paramilitary companies as well as that anarchic-nihilist galaxy which operates within the Network. All of them provoke large-scale violence and use lots of propaganda tools which are able to compete with those used by institutions. Violence towards market and finance does not leave a trail of blood behind itself self-evidently, but its destructive power is equal, and sometimes, superior to that of a traditional war. Exactly like in a war they use propaganda as an offensive weapon when they execute their manoeuvres in the international market.

As well as the change of the face of war actors, we should consider two other factors carefully before examining the crucial issue concerning contemporary propaganda: the lack of a geographical component that is easily recognizable with regard to war and the perceived threat and the change of offensive instruments. Both of them create a feeling of growing global uncertainty and affect public opinion significantly making it an important instrument for countering this threat and consequently a key target to reach.

The escalation of international terrorism and the repressive actions that have been taken by the governments to combat it have undermined collective security. Western public opinion is lulled into a false sense of security during the period 1980-1990. Suddenly, the man in the street has found himself in a critical situation where, as Liang and Xiangsui have written in the essay «War without limits», the concepts of length, width and height, as well as those of earth, sea, air and outside space no longer have any meaning. Everyday life has changed into a potential battlefield which extends from the underground (on which people usually travel to go to work), to the supermarket, to the plane they take to reach holiday destinations and to the disco at weekends. At the same time, war instruments have radically changed. The concept of conventional weapon is replaced with a new one: all objects we use during the day can change into destructive instruments by which people can invade others' privacy or destroy the economy of a country; a means of transport can be turned into an explosive device; even a common bottle of mineral water could contain poisonous substances. Once again, referring to the two Chinese Colonels, we can talk about a «War without limits», where the world of war overlaps that of «non-war».

It is clear that all these factors shift our attention from a military context to a civil context. They transform the whole world into a setting of potential war and, consequently, each individual into a potential victim of events that often do not concern them directly but undermine collective security, with potential and insidious threats perceived as real.

Public opinion feels involved in these events that are perceived as «war dynamics». People are terrified of these new threats and are easily manipulated by any source of information that can provide them with a sense of security and remove the uncertainty surrounding their world. The audience can be influenced by different sources: the government that launches terrorism campaigns, political movements that warn people about international conspiracy, newspapers that exalt «strong men» and intellectuals, currents of thought that call for strong measures and others that call for dialogue. Propaganda tools have distinctive features but they use the same language, instruments and channels of communication. The one who wants to reach consensus knows that if public opinion is in crisis, it will tend to choose their guide according to the same parameters and motivational reasons that lead it to prefer washing-up liquid or a soft drink.

There is another important element that requires full consideration: public opinion, the «internal

front». In the age of globalization, this concept loses its «national» connotation and becomes the opinion of the entire world population. World public opinion is shaped by widespread propaganda that is able to exploit the latest technologies in order to spread news in real time without any limits on space. Radio and television stations, satellite channels, Internet, even mobile phones, and newspapers provide events with worldwide coverage and become another place of global war. The military see them as a forth weapon and use them as strategic instruments for reaching and maintaining consensus and also as means of communication for sending terrorist messages to their enemies.

According to Noam Chomsky, the function of the mass media is to convey messages and symbols to the population. They have to entertain and inform but, at the same time, they have to inculcate people with values, beliefs and codes of behaviour in order to integrate them into social institutions they belong to. The media is the modern foundation of the process of acculturation through which it is possible

to convey models and stereotypes to the public in order to develop a collective consciousness, an ideology, a way of seeing things that is common and shared.

The first thing we must consider is the real strategic meaning of communication and media information because the media are able to penetrate collective consciousness and to affect the public perception of reality and its world view. People are no longer

able to check this reality directly because of space and time limits. Therefore, video images enable them to live through the events and make their interests much wider and more diverse. The media «replace» the five senses or, even better, as McLuhan said, they are an «extensions» of our human senses. Consequently, the public, who are unable to experience reality directly, perceive the «real images» that are broadcasted by television as «real».

At the same time, taking manipulation of images and news to extremes, with the consequent floods of information that inundate the public, and being unable to assess the reliability of one's sources encourage the adoption of different strategies aimed at achieving consensus. In this area the machine of propaganda works through the spread of false news, the «newsmaking» and the creation of false events that exist only because they are based on false but realistic information according to the stereotypes that are required and accepted by public opinion.

Public opinion uses information and the media according to the rules of the consumer society where everything is turning into a show without distinction

“...a constant feature of modern and ancient conflicts is represented by communication. Information and propaganda have always constituted an asymmetric element of conflicts,”



A rifleman armed with a «Minimi» on a VM 90.

between sports news, gossip, crime news, international politics. People are more and more interested in a particular type of information that is called «infotainment», which derives from the union of two words: «information» and «entertainment» where appeals for international solidarity alternate with a performance of ballet, authoritative political remarks with a cabaret show, the marriage of a famous football player hits the headlines in exactly the same way as a terrorist attack.

Propaganda aims to affect the perception of reality. Alejandro Pizarroso Quintero describes it as full control over the flow of information, leadership of public opinion and manipulation of behaviour and, above all, of patterns of behaviour. He sees it as the management of information that is aimed at promoting persuasive ideas to shape and manipulate public opinion deliberately. The spread and management of false news and the transmission of information and images, which aim to «build a reality» fit for one's purposes, represent a key factor in the age of communication. Paraphrasing Pirandello we can say that reality perceived by public opinion is not actual reality. Reality is what is believed to be reality. Consequently, it is important to build an ad hoc reality which seems «truer than reality» and allows the public to see into a piece of information what they want and have to see.

False news must be based on an emotional component that is able to impress the public playing not only on their feelings, desires, hopes but also on fears and qualms of guilt. The spread of news aims to arouse strong emotions and stifle rational thinking. The structuring of a message will depend on what kind of information they intend to give: it will be

positive if it refers to one's actions, commitment or ideology, it will be negative if it refers to a real or potential enemy. An effective method consists of the creation of plausible stories that are corroborated by accounts that the public will never be able to check and that convey negative messages rather than reassuring images.

In order to get powerful and strong messages across to the public it is necessary to select effective and striking images that are able to corroborate the news and give the story several shades of meaning.

The media show people ideal images according to the objective they pursue. The logic process underlying their strategies is elementary and easy to explain: they aim to provide public opinion with a positive and reassuring image of themselves and their actions in order to reach consensus; to provide the opposing public opinion with the same reassuring image in order to lead them to change their opinions; to hit the enemy psychologically feigning calm, determination and self-confidence and looking certain to achieve consensus. In addition, it is necessary to point out that these images are often at odds with others that are not shown and are submitted to the board of censors in order to prevent them from

“ Public opinion is used to employ information and media according to the rules of the consumer society, where everything is turned into a show, without distinction between sport, news, gossip, crime and international politics ”

compromising the public consensus, on the basis of irrational behaviour. Providing the media with «prepacked» information and images, the so-called *photo opportunities*, constitutes a good strategy of *news management*. It is aimed at manipulating news or creating false news through a flood of information. This results in a situation of confusion which apparently guarantees transparency in their work. In fact, in view of this large flow of information even accusations of censure

are demolished: they usually damage the harmonious relation between standard procedures and the need to guarantee democratic information, which lets the audience know events, military operations, political issues, in time of war and peace. Similarly, negative messages about «adversaries» will be conveyed. What do we mean by the word «adversary»? This term refers to all those people who will be described as very bad and dangerous through powerful propaganda weapons: messages must be strongly negative and, according to traditional techniques of psychological war, they must be aimed at demonising adversaries, who will be presented in a negative light, as supporters of wars and of unpopular and corrupt regimes. Propaganda will aim to emphasize the cruelty, unreliability (with particular reference to interna-

tional law) and total absence of ethical values of adversaries as well as the tendency to think only of their own interest. This will be presented as being at odds with their own goals of promoting peace, development, friendship among peoples and democracy. Propaganda tools allow them to create a wide range of situations that arouse the public's morbid curiosity and indignation because they refer to people that are considered weak and defenceless: women, children and old people. Sex and violence play a key role because they contrast with dominant and shared values and catalyse the public's morbid interest filling them with disgust. This will lead public opinion to express its disapproval and ask for justice which could easily result in revenge. This is the so-called «black propaganda» where both sources and messages are indefinite and sometimes they are deliberately camouflaged.

Propaganda tools become stories, images, accounts from pseudo-reliable sources, baseless rumours that are circulated to the media and are hyped up to cause a sensation. Public opinion is unable to establish the truth of news and this makes it easy to affect the perception of events and stories and to spread false news through specific sectors of Public Relations: «newsmaking» and «news management».

Analysing news is extremely difficult because it is impossible to separate the massive amount of information from its propagandistic significance. The enormous number of communication systems makes it difficult not only for the audience but also for those who want to carry out a thorough and professional analysis to find one's way. As mentioned above, public opinion is unable to establish the truth of news. How can we recognize the pseudo-events that are planned cunningly to be spread across the world? How can we pick out the real news from the mass of facts?

Internet, which has been defined as «a web that is as big as the world», has distorted the parameters of the media producing a disproportionate amount of information and creating a virtual reality that has cancelled the concepts of social relations, space and time.

Traditional media represented a link between individuals, society and events. The Net transforms a virtual place into a place of total information, where everything is accessible and everyone goes through a sort of pseudo-democratic intoxication of possible and available information. Since everything is available, the Net «emphasizes» the redundancy of infor-



A patrol on surveillance duty on the "Tampa" Main Supply Route, near Nassiriya.

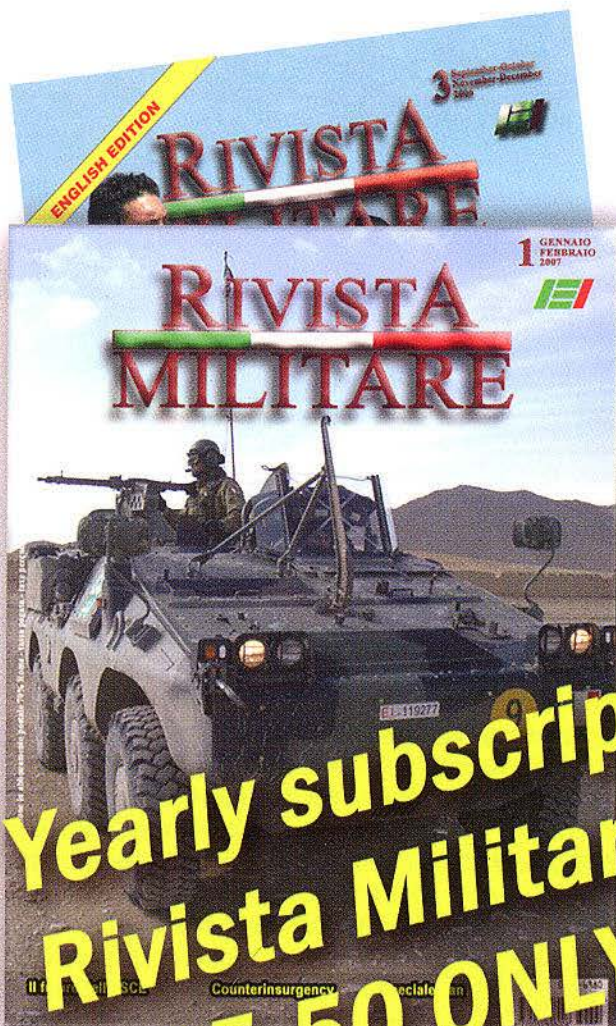
“Providing the media with prepacked information and images, the so-called *photo opportunities*, constitutes a good strategy of *news management*. It is aimed at manipulating news or creating false news through a flood of information ”

mation mentioned above and highlights the «schizophrenic» feature that characterizes self-referential communication where a quality selection of sources and of secondary channels of communication is not possible. We cannot assess the reliability of information. This is a distinctive feature of the Web whose virtuality makes it possible for everyone to spread unreliable news. White, black and grey propaganda become mixed together in the Web where the identity of «the producers of contents» is so evanescent that they become abstract entities that act behind a cloak of fictitious authoritativeness. On the Web not only can news be falsified and represent propaganda material but it poses a problem for all people who want

to interpret it because of the uncertain nature of its producer. Black propaganda acts in this sector: acronyms, organizations and groups hide behind real anonymity and become means of soft propaganda conveying powerful messages and, sometimes, pretending to belong to the same groups that they oppose. Assuming a false identity and using it to convey information pose a serious danger to the quality of information and this could exert negative effects on public opinion. Besides, Internet represents a new instrument that is used by those who implement propaganda strategies. Even if it is used regularly for more than ten years, this instrument is still able to catch a lively interest thanks to its limitless potential. It is the global weapon of communication and persuasion par excellence.

Massimo Chiaia
Journalist

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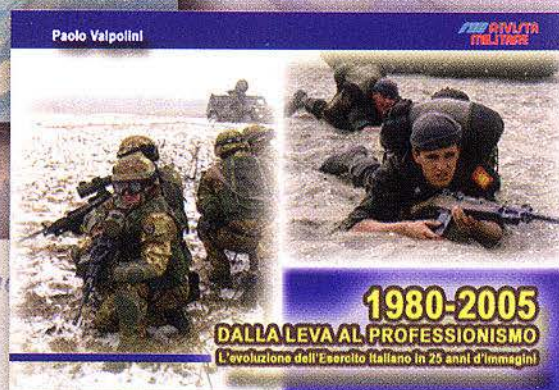
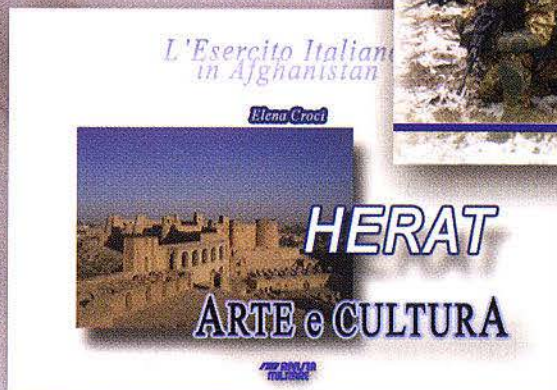
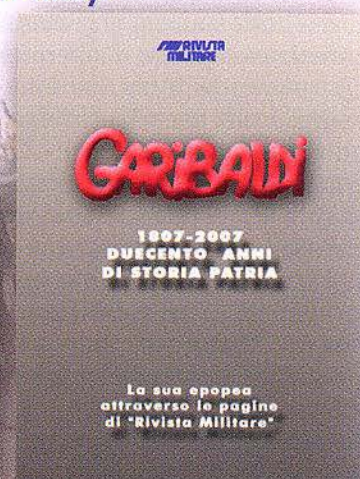
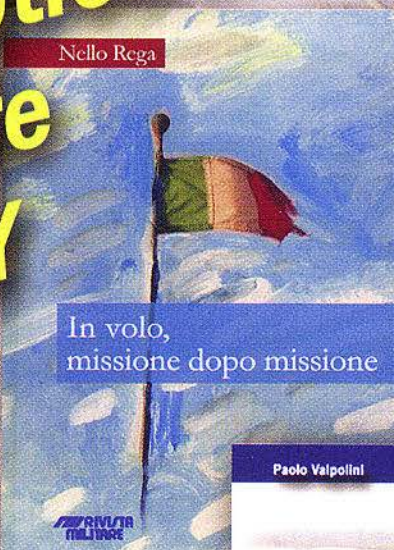


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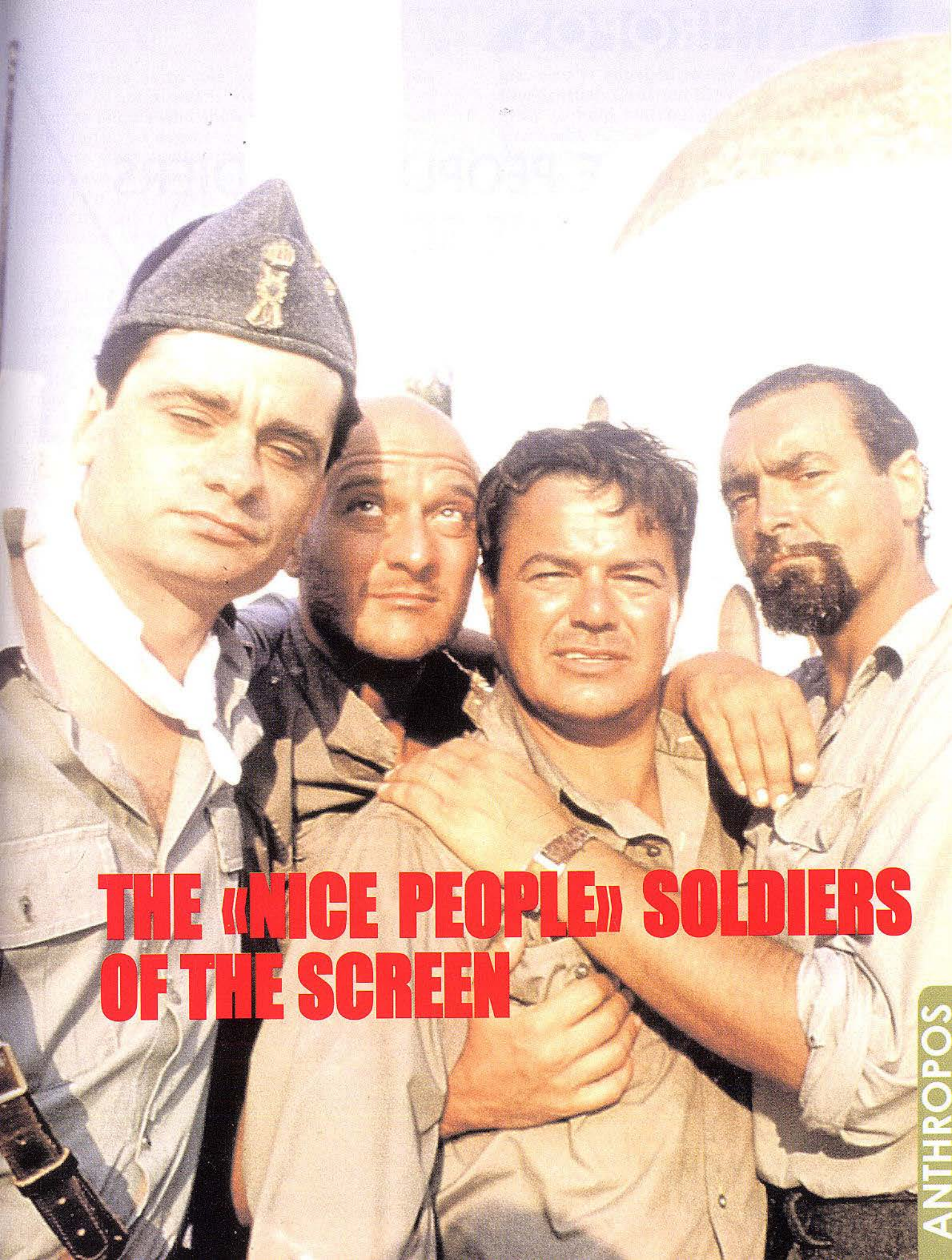
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THE «NICE PEOPLE» SOLDIERS OF THE SCREEN

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From «Captain Corelli's Mandolin» to the recent Italian picture «The Roses of the Desert», the cinema, be it an Anglo-Saxon or an Italian production, propounds a strongly stereotyped image of our soldiers, tending to underline the human qualities of the "good-hearted" soldier rather than his military valour.

«*Love, Live and Laugh*»: this is the formula of Italian style according to Hollywood. It is no coincidence that it is the title of one of the first American movies which was shot in Italy and starred Italian actors in the Twenties.

In fact, since the birth of cinema the movies that have represented the Italian identity on the American big screen (so many that they have been regarded as a genre apart) have built up some stereotypical images that have become immediately recognizable to the public, as time has gone by. According to Hollywood, Italians love pasta and have a genetically beautiful singing voice; the gestural expressiveness is seen as a common characteristic of the mannerism of Italian males; in addition, they are unable to resist feminine charm, they court all women but are in love with their mothers; their houses are full of crucifixes and even if they themselves are decent people, at least one of their relatives is involved with the Mafia. Another recurring theme running through Anglo-Saxon movies is that of passion, but it is considered as a surrender to emotions and a propensity to melodrama: our characters fall head over heels in love; they are easily moved and blinded by jealousy exactly as they are not able to control their anger. So, despite there are more and more directors and actors of Italian origin in Hollywood, the Yankee films remain faithful to the stereotype of four «M», which was so called by Paola Casella in her book «Hollywood Italian»: mother, macaroni, mandolin and mafia. This has influenced the film image of Italian soldiers that are represent-

ed in this way even in Italy. A careful analysis of some famous recent movies, which have represented our soldiers on the big and the small screen, allows us to spot some recurrent clichés which reflect, on a macroscopic level, the preconceptions about Italian identity that emerge from the Anglo-Saxon cinema. In any international operations Italian soldiers are depicted in the same way: they are cunning cowards but they are nice; they are not often combative and prefer having talks and negotiating with the enemy to using weapons; they are romantic and nostalgic, they court women and miss their mothers; they do not detest the enemy and do not like the German allies; they hate the war where the fascist regime has led them. On the whole, what emerges is a picture that highlights the human qualities of «good-hearted soldiers» rather than the military virtues of brave soldiers. It is no surprise that Hollywood continues to have an ambivalent attitude towards Italian characters especially if they are soldiers. However, it comes as surprise to see that even the Italian cinema creates a distorted picture of Ital-

Title page.

Some characters of «Mediterranean».

Right.

Nicholas Cage in «Captain Corelli's Mandolin».



ian soldiers as people who are moved to pity (which in Latin means «to suffer with») rather than as people who show values such as honour and faith. So even the «made in Italy» films project stereotypical images of Italian soldiers that have been built up abroad and sometimes they do it so well that they win prizes. «Mediterranean», which won an Oscar a few years ago, sets a perfect example.

CAPTAIN CORELLI 'S «MERRY BRIGADE»

«Captain Corelli's Mandolin» gives you lots of examples of what I mean. It is an Anglo-American film which was produced in 2001 by Miramax (the branch of Disney Corporation that works on production and distribution of «art movies») and made by the English director John Madden, who received lots of awards.

It was inspired by the homonymous novel, which was written by Louis De Bernier, and became a British best-seller in 1994. It deals with a love story that unfolds during the tragic events of Cephalonia, where the «Acqui» Division was massacred in September 1943.

Doctor Jannis (played by the English actor John Hurt), who is a respectable doctor in a village of the uncontaminated Greek island, leads a quiet life together with his daughter Pelagia (Penelope Cruz), to whom he teaches the medical profession. The quiet of the island is shattered by the

Italo-German occupation after the capture of Athens by the German troops. Thanks to the German help and despite the defeat in the Albanian front, our soldiers take control of Cephalonia. Among them there is also Captain Antonio Corelli (the Italo-American Nicholas Cage), who is a

bizarre Official and is keen on the mandolin and opera. The local population does not look with favour on the arrival of these foreigners: *I would rather surrender to the dog of a German Officer than to an Italian Officer*, the mayor of Argostoli (in the centre of Cephalonia) hisses at the patient invader Corelli, who shows a compassionate sense of humanity and a slight sense of military dignity, hastens to summon the closest German Officer (played by David Morrissey) for the surrender. With the passing of time, the relationships between the locals and the Italian soldiers start to change also because our soldiers do not show a combative behaviour and bring joy of living to the community despite the impending world conflict. Even the lovely Pela-

gia, who is engaged to the fisherman Mandras (the Scottish Christian Balw) who has joined the army to help his countrymen during the war, succumbs to Corelli's charm when the Italian Officer moves to her father's home for logistic reasons. In the meanwhile, Mandras, who has come back to island, joins the partisans and goes into hiding. In 1943, after the armistice of September 8, Germany asks the Italian allies to lay down their arms and surrender as a necessary condition for their repatriation. Since no agreement is reached, the conflict is inevitable: Corelli and his men line up along with the Greek partisans to defend the island, but the Wehrmacht, which is numerically superior and supported by Stukas, destroys the Italian defence. After the surrender, Hitler orders to kill the prisoners. Also Corelli's soldiers are surrounded and shot in an isolated field before the old ally and German friend Captain Weber. Only the protagonist will save himself, thanks to the heroic act of his friend Carlo (played by the Italian actor Piero Maggì) who shields him with his body. Since he had to face the violent reality of war, the Officer accepts Mandras' help and leaves the island and the woman he loves.

Although the film does not purport to describe the massacre of Cephalonia in detail and focuses on the love story between two characters from two different and rival nations, «Captain Corelli's mandolin» contains all those hack-

neyed elements which have affected the public

perception of Italian identity. In the film the island of Cephalonia seems to be populated only by odd characters: emancipated girls and wise fathers, passionate and naughty lovers, dramatic and resolute mothers, bad German people. With regard to the Italians, the picture that Mad-

den has constructed reflects the Anglo-Saxon stereotype. The soldiers, who are under Corelli's orders (they are the only Italian members of the cast, together with Robert Citran, who fleetingly plays the part of General Gandin), are happy and nice Latin lovers who undergo the experience of war as an unfortunate set of circumstances that do not affect their real interests: good music, food and beautiful women. They are some sort of tourists who are more inclined to conquer the local women than to take up arms. In a good part of the film they seem to be indifferent to the imminent threat of war and are busy basking in the sun on the beach, having parties and building up their «Club of Opera», which is restricted to the arias that Luciano Pavarotti has

“The Yankee films remain faithful...to the stereotype of the four «Ms», mother, macaroni, mandolin and mafia”

made popular in America,

Their philosophy can be summarized in the following expression: «Pretty little girl at two o' clock!». In this way Captain Corelli orders his soldiers to make a salute at the sight of Pelagia, while landing on the island: besides playing down the Italian manoeuvres, this expedient reveals the American habit of using the hours of the dial to point in the direction of the American Air Force and of the Italian army. Besides, the only military action in the first part of the film has a «circensian» meaning: the soldiers find a bomb of the First World War, which has been washed ashore by the tide, and decide to set it off. The «merry brigade» transforms the event into a show for the inhabitants of the island. But this show will turn out to be a disaster for the soldiers of Captain Corelli. Since they are not used to «military life», they end up in infirmary under the puzzled and compassionate eye of the occupied. Besides, as a Greek girl pontificates: «A brave Italian is a freak of nature!». And even Captain Corelli agrees with her. «We are Italians: we sing, play and make love», he says to a Nazi Officer wearing a smug expression as his companions in arms amuse themselves with some prostitutes. There are also lots of hypertextual elements: the Italian soldiers are caught as they are wearing undervests. This is a cliché that reminds us of the so-called «picciotti» of lots of Hollywood films about the Italo-Americans. They have got long and well-groomed hair: this style is not suitable for soldiers in war (it was different from the high layering that was fashionable in those days), but is rather reminiscent of the Latin Don Juan of American films. Even the exaggerated gestural expressiveness that portrays our soldiers in the films is emblematic. It is seasoned with all those faces that in the collective imaginary represent operetta masks rather than infantrymen in a theatre of operations.

There is the cliché of good food: in lots of scenes the soldiers are portrayed as they are sipping good wine in crystal cups! But one of the most exhilarant scenes of the film (which is, however, considered dramatic) is when the news of the armistice comes and the soldiers jump for joy. These are the words the Commander utters: «I'm looking forward to eating a plate of spaghetti with mussels and a dish of pasta with sausages and mushrooms in Piazza Navona». Probably, he was unaware of the fact that in those days Italy had been reduced to famine.

“Some sort of tourists who are more inclined to conquer the local beauties than to take up arms and, in any case, are reluctant about war”

Eventually, the men of Captain Corelli really die not as a consequence of their conscious actions, but as a result of a series of unfortunate and unforeseeable circumstances like an earthquake that hit the island just before the end of the film. The only one who redeems himself is the fellow soldier who saves Corelli's life, and it is no coincidence that in the film he is called «Marco» without mentioning his rank.

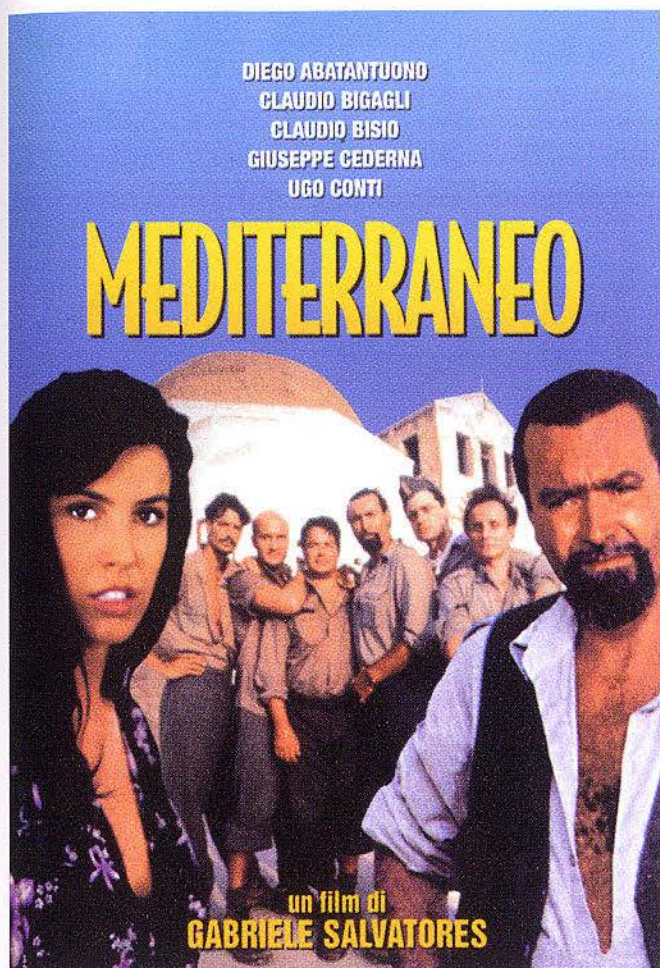
As far as the protagonist is concerned, Captain Corelli is stereotyped as carefree and mad about music. It is the same Nicholas Cage (who for the second time has played an Italian Officer, after «Time to Kill») who describes the character that he plays in an interview he gave to «FilmUp» on the October 9, 2001: «Captain Corelli loves life, music and peace. He is a soldier but he does not believe in Fascism and war. He is a simple man, like many other Italians who were forced to take up arms and fight by Fascism, I believe that his-

torically the Italians have not been good fighters, it is not in their nature to be aggressive. For my part, I have tried to debunk this stereotype that has been created by many films which depict the Italians as violent people, gangsters and ready to kill for the slightest thing». His words are symptomatic of the precon-

ceptions the «mecca» of cinema has about «the Italianism», but anyway it is difficult to regard Corelli as a hero. The Greek partisan Mandras can be considered as a hero for his bravery and ideals. Depicted as a simpleton and childish fisherman in the first part of the film, his character gains a certain depth during the film as a consequence of the experience of war, differently from the Italian Officer who, after the massacre of his men, is portrayed as a shocked man who is unable to pick himself up. He can see no other way out than fleeing to Italy. Anyway, as director Madden has said at various times, the aim was not to ridicule the Italians, who nevertheless are the good guys of the story, but «to highlight the brotherhood that developed between the Italians and the Greeks on the island». This brings to mind an Italian film of a few years ago. This movie was given a prize by the Academy Awards in 1992 as the best foreign film: «Mediterranean».

MEDITERRANEAN: IN SEARCH OF ONE'S ORIGINS

Even in this case the story is about Italian soldiers who, during the Second World War, dis-



The cover of the DVD «Mediterranean».

cover the Garden of Eden on the Greek islands which are marine heavens with pines and rocks in perpetual contrast to the fury of nature and of the men which destroys everything. Even in this case the conflict remains in the background: it is a war that is not waged and it gives the director Gabriele Salvatores a chance to explore a theme he is fond of: the journey. In the movie there is a quote from Henry Laborit («these days the flight is the only means to remain alive and continue to dream») and it is underlined by the final caption: «Dedicated to all people who are fleeing». This dedication sounds strange and rather provocative, but it helps to interpret the values the film revolves around: the conflict between the desire to escape and the desire not to go away any more; the metaphor of the journey as a walk through one's thoughts and of the escape as emigration to a new form of interiority.

In the spring of 1941, a handful of soldiers of the Italian Royal Army was ordered to garrison a remote island of the Aegean Sea. «Strategic importance: zero», this is the com-

ment that the narrator of the story, Lieutenant Montini (played by Claudio Bigagli), makes at the beginning of the film as he looks at the Italian flag disconsolately. At his Command there are «men who have been caught here and there, survivors of lost battles, stragglers of regiments that have fallen apart, a platoon of soldiers, like me, who have been recalled and have survived by chance». There are eight soldiers and a mule who are, in the first scenes of the film, on board the Garibaldi. They are presented as odd characters: there is Elio Strazzabosco (Gigi Alberti), a mule driver who fought at war bringing his mare he loves like a person; the brothers Muranon, Libero (Vasco Mirandola) and Felice (Memo Dini) and two mountain dwellers who face the sea for the first time and of which they are afraid and to which they are subjected. There are also Sergeant Nicola Lo Russo (Diego Abatantuono), who has attained the rank of Sergeant first class during the campaign of Africa, and the wireless operator Luciano Colasanti (Ugo Conti) who lives in the shadow of him and almost in symbiosis. Finally, there is the deserter Corrado Noventa, who is tracked down on the border between Albania and Yugoslavia as he is trying to go back to his wife who is pregnant, and the orderly Antonio Farina (Giuseppe Cederna), a young Alpino who is shy and clumsy: «he is always ready to carry out any orders», Montini says as he is sipping a good Italian coffee Farina has brought to him. The hypertextual element of coffee is accompanied by a dialogue which reinforces the stereotypes of the Italian soldiers we can find in the film: they have never distinguished themselves by their bravery, they are indolent and are not very keen on taking up arms, but they are human and good. «Will we need to shoot?» Farina asks his Commander before landing on the island. «I hope not» Montini answers.

The soldiers turn out to be completely unable to do any military activities: the landing is «clumsy», the fear of the two members of the Italian alpine troops, who cannot swim, and the presence of Strazzabosco's mare, whose name is Silvana, make it funny. The first things they see are the crosses in a graveyard and a threatening inscription on a wall: «Greece is the grave of the Italians». But this will not happen: the island seems desert. The platoon is disoriented and finds refuge in a ruined monastery. From there they watch the Garibaldi sinking. Completely isolated (the radio, in the meantime, is made down by Strazzabosco. Since he is seized by pain and is angry because of the loss of his mare Silvana, which has been killed by mistake

by his brothers in arms, he hurls it at a boulder), without any order and any news, little by little the platoon loses every military connotation: Tenent Montini begins to paint, Farina reads poems and the wireless operator acts as a cook. Some of the inhabitants of the village come out of their hiding places because they are sure of the peaceful intentions of our soldiers and go about their daily life. Women, children, old people and a sharp Pope, who have escaped the deportation that the Germans had inflicted on the male adults, as time has gone by they have come to sympathize with the occupying force. «We do not like the foreigners on our land – the Pope says proudly and maliciously – We know the Italians very well and, and they are the lesser of two evils». This is the beginning of an endless holiday for our anti-heros: the Tenent restores paintings in the church of the village, the brothers Munaron amuse themselves with a young shepherdess, Strazza-bosco finds another mare, Farina seeks his origins in the myth of Omero and Noventa writes to his wife. They lead a normal life, which is enlivened only by football matches and by friction caused by the prostitute of the island who is at the platoon's service but whom the orderly Farina falls in love with. As time goes by the soldiers remove their uniforms, renounce their ranks and surnames, learn sirtaki. Time passes in total oblivion from the reality and the war until an Italian reconnaissance plane is forced to make an emergency landing on the island. The pilot (Antonio Catania), surprised to see that the Italians on the island are in the dark about everything, fills them in on the end of the war and informs them that everything has changed: there were the events of September 8, Mussolini has been removed from office, the enemies have become friends and vice versa. It is necessary to go back to Italy, rebuild one's life and reforge one's identity. «There are lots of ideals at stake», the pilot says. However, he reveals his own philosophy of life that seems to be rather materialistic and adds: «We can make lots of money».

After having warned the Command about the presence of the platoon, an English ship reaches the island to repatriate our soldiers: the contrast between the white and impeccable uniforms of Her Majesty's sailors and the civil, dirty and colourful uniforms of our men is carried to excess. Just one thing has remained

constant: «are we sure that they are friends now?» Lorusso asks himself worriedly.

Although the film is Italian (from the cast to the production, from the director to the scriptwriter), the selection is rich in clichés about the Italians' behaviour which the director draws from and from which his international success derives: from the good coffee to beautiful women, from the arts to religion, from football to family, from the authoritarian model of senseless actions to the laziness of bureaucracy and so on.

Lieutenant Montini has got long hair and wears eccentric sunglasses which make him look like an artist rather than a soldier. He is totally unfit for command and soon abandons all his duties and responsibilities to give one's all to his real passion: painting. He tells the Greek Pope: «You know, father, this is the first time I have been away from my home... and I

feel very well». The religious gives her a knowing and approving answer: «Lieutenant, you are an odd customer. You do not even seem like a soldier».

His orderly Farina fits the stereotype of the romantic Italian man who loves poetry and is not inclined to fight a war: he is not able to handle

tension and, in the only scene of danger of the patrol of the village after the landing of the Garibaldi, he becomes terrified when he sees a chicken and he narrowly misses being killed by his brothers in arms, who are no better with regard to self-control. As he himself says reciting an old Greek verse: «What is the most beautiful thing on earth? Some people say it is a horde of cavalrymen, some of them say it is a horde of infantrymen and others say it is a fleet of ships. I say it is the woman I love». At the end he will desert and remain on the island, without any scruples: «They have forgotten us», he explains to his friend, Lorusso, «and I want to forget them».

Even the character, who is played by Abatanuono, the only one who seems to have military values, does not distinguish himself by positive qualities: we can talk about «soldierly ambitions» which are dotted with «funny braggings». He loves music and uses it to keep the troops' morale high: «Cheer up you'll get over it», he says in the film. He is sexist and confesses without reservation that he misses his mothers. He is sad because he cannot enjoy the splendid views of the Greek sunsets with her. He is faithful to the regime and often

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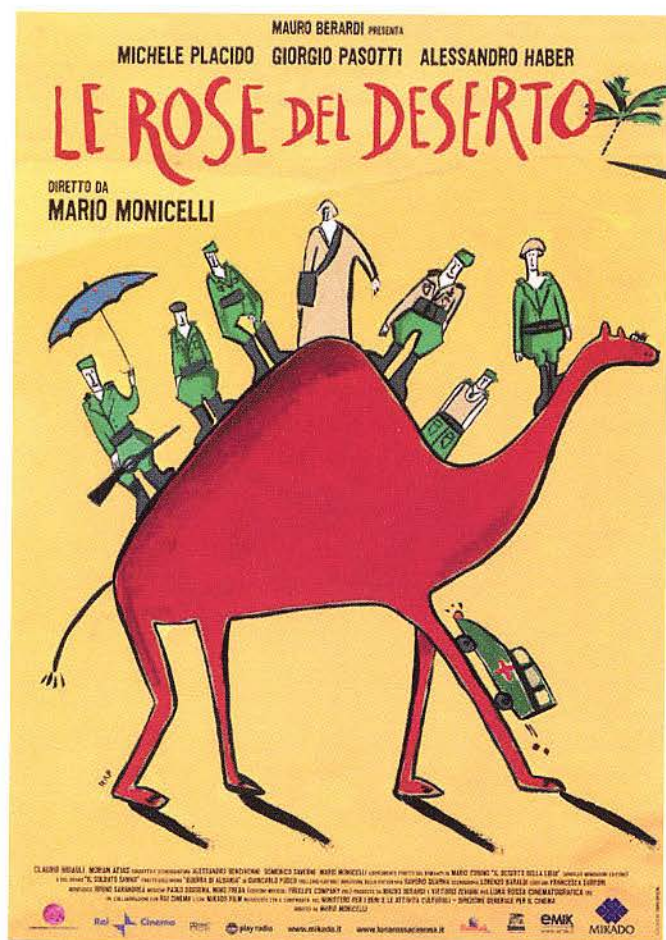
A scene of «The Roses of the Desert».

quotes its regulations to which he adheres out of self-interest. He takes advantage of his superior ranks to allow his soldiers to meet the prostitute of the country. He is the only one who is anxious to be in the first line, but his attitude is more of a mantra than anything else. The possibility of reaching the homeland has been offered by the visit of a Turkish merchant: the brothers Munaron catch sight of the fishing boat and give the alarm showing not only their own panic but also their ignorance. In fact, they do not know where Turkey is and whether it is an allied country or not. Instead of inquiring about the course of war or commandeering the boat, our soldiers-tourists ask if it is possible to buy carpets, smoke hashish and finally they are robbed of their own arms. The only one who has scruples is Lieutenant Lorusso: «We are here in an out-of-the-way spot, we do not know how long we have been here, we do not know what is happening around us. I would say, don't you have an ounce of curiosity? Let's return to the front line. Let's return where something is happen-

ing». However, his exhortation succumbs to the majority's decision to remain on the island and his determination fades into oblivion.

«THE ROSES OF THE DESERT»: A RAGTAG ARMY IN AFRICA

As the American actor and director Stanley Tucci (a big name in the world of cinema for movies such as «The Pelican report» and «Men of honour») has highlighted «in a family the ethnic stereotypes can be very different. It is important that the context is that of parody and the main thing is to enrich the characters giving them a bit of humanity». This phrase is fit for Mario Monicelli's latest film, which has recently been released: «The roses of the desert». The film is based on the novel by Mario Tobino «The desert of Lybia» – on which Dino Risi based the film «War idiot» – and on the passage «The soldier Sanna» from Giancarlo Fusco's book «War of Albania». The story is about the misadventures of a wild and bizarre medical Brigade of the Royal Army, which has made camp in a remote oasis in the Libyan Desert, during the Second World War. Soldiers



A poster of the film.

and non-commissioned officers are sure that they will remain there for a short time: ten days, one month at the longest. Soon, they will conquer Alexandria and will return home. The camp cannot be defined as martial: there is a relaxing and lazy atmosphere of holiday: there are people who play draughts, some look up at the stars and others take pictures. There are people who write to their wives and others fantasize about the Arab women: they dream of meeting them and going through experiences like in «The Arabian Nights». The real enemies are the hot weather, the thirst, flies, dirtiness, diseases, homesickness. The quiet life of the camp is enlivened by an Italian friar, who has organized a school for children who live there and gives the local populations some help. He demands that the Italian doctors nurse his men and he turns to them in an abrupt way. The soldiers offer themselves and they are so willing to help that their work seems like a humanitarian mission rather than a military operation.

War seems to be far in that lazy oasis, it is something abstract about which they learn

some information through the bulletins coming from different fronts, which are rhetorically reassuring. Then, the situation changes abruptly: the war in North Africa drags on and the Royal Army pulls back in front of the enemy instead of advancing. The camp is invaded firstly by the soldiers on the run and then by the injured: the hopes of a quick victory fade and those brothers in arms, who for the first time face war becoming victims and protagonists, cannot return home. Despite the cruelty of the events, «The roses of the desert» avoids any dramatic effect: there is no tragedy in that war; it is a farce where each character plays a role that has been assigned without any real reason. It is Monicelli himself who claims the soft style, which has always been his narrative heritage: «This language and this tone – the director has explained in an interview – does not spring from «The roses of the desert». Whenever it has been possible and I have been able to do it, I have always loved the comedy tinged with bitterness and tragedy. It is the Italian comedy». «The roses of the desert» is about human misery that the conflict exaggerates: ignorance, credulity, vanity, meanness and the necessity for compromise. The film uses them to highlight the cliché of a nation that is obliged to bear the disorganization (the protagonists of the story that unfolds in Libya receive the Christmas packages that are addressed to the Alpini in Albania), to suffer the arrogance of the nazi ally (who is more cruel and well-equipped) and the farcical ineptitude of his superiors. In fact, from the first scene the film shows the mutual tendency to offload the responsibility onto the others within the military hierarchy. In addition, there is the grotesque figure of General Pederzoli (played by Tatti Sanguinetti). He is a neurasthenic and obtuse Colonel (he seems like General Lion of «Men against» by Francesco Rosi and the monk Zenone of the «Brancaleone Armada» by Monicelli), who travels by sidecar earning in this way the nickname of General Roar. Since he is vain and capricious he forces his men to build a graveyard for his Armada in order that he can make a good impression on a rival General. (At the end he says with a smug expression: «The graveyard has been built. Now we have to fill it»).

With the directors of his cinema, satire and grotesqueness, Monicelli describes a microcosm where there are odd characters. Each of them has its dialect and particular expressiveness and describes social vices and virtues: politicians and the High Commands are arrogant and incompetent; the Officials are de-



Above.
Vittorio Gassman and Alberto Sordi, the unforgettable protagonists of «The Great War».

Below.
A poster of the film.

scribed as a well-educated class that is used to rhetoric; the private soldier is mediocre and ignorant, he is in the street and tries to survive by using cunning but he also shows extraordinary generosity.

Alessandro Haber plays Major Strucchi, who is the antihero par excellence: he is apathetic and dreamy, he is obsequious ad nauseam and has a linguistic twitch. In fact he often says: «how much love I feel for you»; he loves literature and poetry; he prefers reciting Omero and writing love letters to his wife, who is distant and who he believes is in love with him, to giving orders. Giorgio Pasotti plays Lieutenant Salvi, who is a simple young man, moderately good and rational, who has enlisted as volunteer in order to discover the world, with a Laika slung over his shoulder, as if he were a tourist. His father, Domenicano Simeone (played by Michele Placido) is a leading figure in the camp: he has an impulsive character, he is unorthodox and pragmatic and will become a leader.

A small community of «Italians, nice people» (it is no coincidence that it is the title of one of Giuseppe De Santis' films, which was released in 1964 and is about the Italian campaign in Russia), who are poorly educated and badly-equipped, try to survive the horrors of war quoting poems, thinking about women, cracking jokes about *rimmel* and Rommel and getting killed while trying to give a loaf of bread to starving children.

THE ANTIHEROES OF THE ITALIAN COMEDY

The folly of war, which becomes a farce, had already been described by Monicelli in one of his cult films, «The Great War» of 1959, which won the Golden Lion at the film festival in Venice and lots of people consider to be his masterpiece also because it has made him famous abroad.

This time the context is that of the First World War, from the difficult life in the trenches to the resistance on the Piave, which is seen through the eyes of two characters who are not very keen on serving their country: Oreste Jacovacci (Alberto Sordi), who is a wily and idler Roman, and Giovanni Busacca (Vittorio Gassman) a gruff Milanese who has a heart of gold. They are very different especially if we consider their origins. However, they are united by the same attitude: they do not want to do anything, let alone fight in the front line. After having tried to evade military service they find themselves enlisted and are forced to face the misfortunes of the front. They are in the front line only for one reason: avoiding any kind of problems. However, in part the comradeship and the friendship, which develops between the two protagonists and after





the tryst with the prostitute Costantina (played by Silvana Mangano), make up for the absence of comforts. The character of Costantina reminds us of «Mediterranean» but, in this case, it injects a note of cheerfulness into the context and softens the desolate setting of death created by the conflict. One day the division is ordered to advance in the front line. Even in this case, the two protagonists are able to avoid being involved in the battle but they are selected and commissioned to carry a message to the Italian outpost because of their inefficiency. Their mission accomplished, Gianni and Oreste decide not to return immediately because of the rain and spend the night in a stable: «Anyway, we have done our duty, haven't we?» Sordi says. But their awakening is rude: their shelter has been seized by the enemies. They try to flee clumsily wearing the Austrian coats but they are caught and taken to a haughty Official to be interrogated. They are threatened with death but then they are offered an opportunity: they will spare their life if they give them information about the strategic plans of the Italian army, or to be more precise, news about a pontoon bridge on the Piave that Oreste lets slip. The

idea of being shot as spies leads them to tell the truth. As Gassman is about to reveal where it is, the Official says harshly that the only guts the Italians know are those used in the cooking of Veneto. Since he has gone straight for the jugular, Gassman changes his attitude and in a new burst of pride, he turns to the enemy and says: «Listen to me. Seeing that you say this, I





Facing page, above.
A scene from «The Great War».

Above, and facing page, below.
«The Two Enemies» with Alberto Sordi and David Niven.

Right.
A scene from «El Alamein. The line of fire».

won't tell you anything!». Both of them will be shot keeping the secret on which the Italian victory depends. After having done everything possible to save their own skin, the two inexperienced soldiers die as heroes. But the ending is bitter: Sordi dies begging for mercy: «I don't know anything. I'm a coward, everyone knows it». His sacrifice will not leave any mark in the story. The film ends with a sarcastic joke by Oreste and Giovanni's superior during the defence of the stronghold of Zonin's house: «Even this time those two lazybones have got away with it...».

The cliché of the Italian soldier, who finds his own dignity of a fighter only when his collective identity is reviled, is represented in another film of those years which, maybe more than any oth-

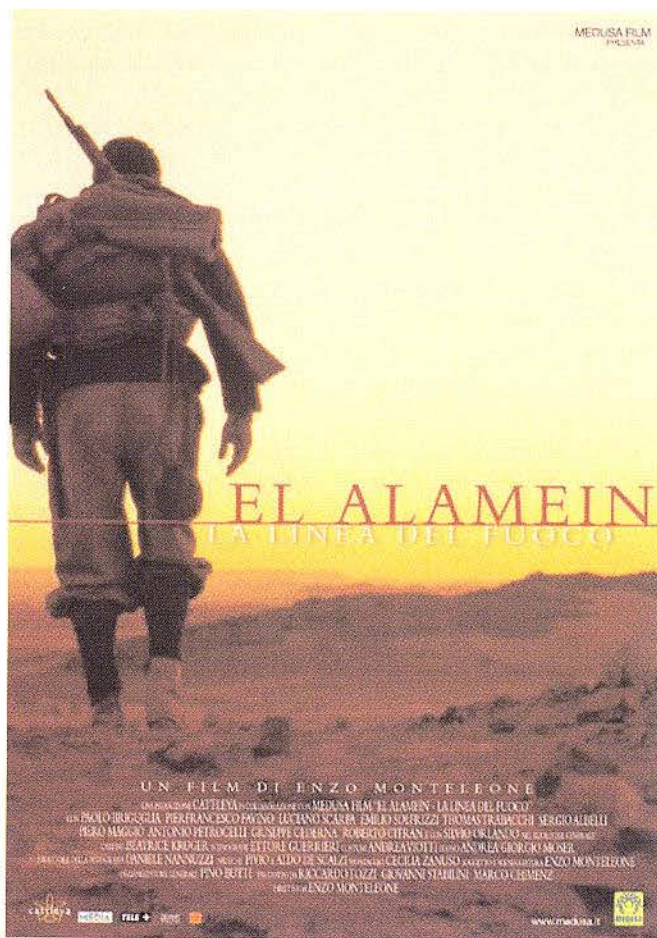
er, builds its plot on the stereotypes: «The two enemies (1961) by Guy Hamilton, who is the director made popular by the successful series «007». The film deals with the topic of honour and the protagonists are two actors who are emblematic of the paradox the film aims to highlight: on the one hand the ice-cold David Niven, on the other hand the irrepressible Alberto Sordi; the former plays an English major who is captured during the Second World War in East Africa by an Italian division which is commanded by Captain Blasi, who is played by Alberto Sordi.

The film focuses on the personal duel that is fought by the two Commanders: it is a sort of war within the war, where two stubborn men struggle against each other because of their exasperated sense of dignity and pride: the English aplomb against the Italian impulsiveness. This contrast is made exhilarant by a series of hypertextual elements (on the one hand the spaghetti of the Italian rations, on the other hand the tea that the Officials of Her Majesty's Army drink in the middle of the desert) and



commonplaces («I don't know what nerves are» Niven say; «Is it possible to fight a war against one who has such a moustache?»).

The film traces back all the clichés mentioned above, which are made explicit by the English, who make fun of the Italian soldiers, who do not «look» very cruel, but they recognize they are good at singing. In addition, they criticize their inefficiency but recognize their fantasy and their wits, in a word the art of fending for oneself.

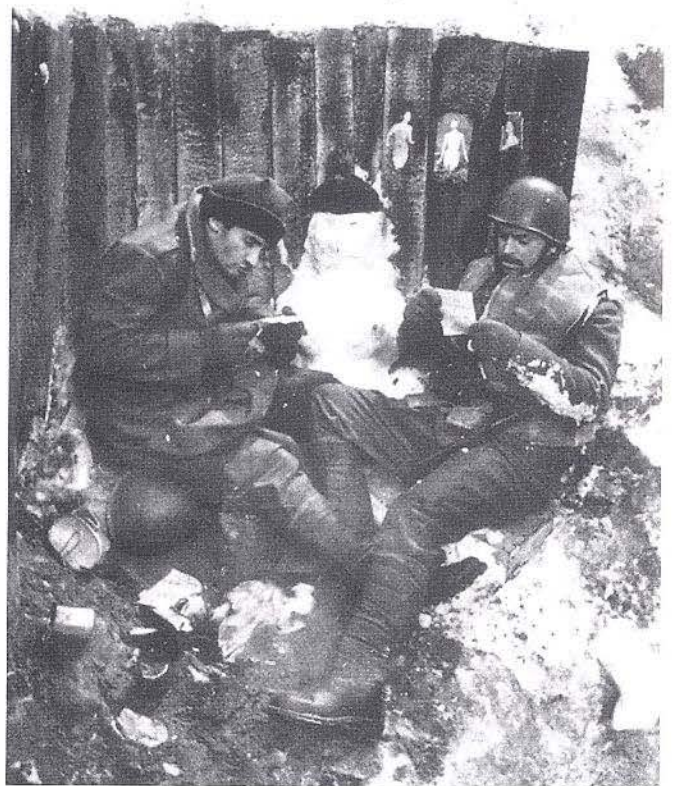


Above.
A poster of Enzo Monteleone's film.

Right.
«Italians, Nice People», with Riccardo Cucciolla, Raffaele Pisù, Peter Falk and Andrea Checchi.

chance to satirize the ingrained evils of the Italians, exactly as the Italian comedy does, but it can become the place where to celebrate memory, as recently the Italian director Enzo Monteleone tried to do with the film «El Alamein. The line of fire», which was released in Italy in 2002.

This time the conflict is not used as a peg to represent human vices and virtues, but it is the central theme of the film: although it does not have the spectacular impact of the American epic film, this movie aims to trace an episode of the Italian military history focusing attention on the most devastating experiences the individual can go through. They are not the combat with the dead and the injured, but the endless wait that worsens hunger, thirst and dis-



As far as the Italian is concerned, to explain how they perceive the English identity we should mention the answer Captain Blasi gives to Captain Richardson about the British self-respect: «Of course, self-respect is yours, but it is so yours that you have forgotten to respect the others. You believe that there is only one system for doing things: the English system. No, there isn't! I'm Italian and I do things as an Italian!». So, whereas the English repeat ad nauseam: «Remember, we are English soldiers», Sordi explains his philosophy through his wife's words: «I don't want him to come back as a hero, I want him to come back».

«EL ALAMEIN. THE LINE OF FIRE » AND « RADIO WEST»: WHEN WAR IS NOT A METAPHOR

As we can infer from the analysis of the films we have examined, war movies give us a

eases. Fighting on the front line with the possibility of dying without having seen the enemy is nerve wracking. The first part of the film unfolds between the arrival of the English and the everyday facts: from the snipers to the lack of water, from the difficulty of washing to the attention to the different whistle of bombs in order to save oneself and to reflect on one's miracles. («Each of us can benefit from three. After that we can expect anything» one of the infantrymen explains). The second part is about the desperation of the fighting which does not assume an epic tone: the soldiers of Monteleone are not pervaded by war fury. They

are doleful but not violent. The battle is full of noises and shots in the dark, which takes place in the night like a nightmare. The third part of the film is about the withdrawal that turns into wandering aimlessly in the desert, without return for some people. There is no scene that portrays desertion or flight: even the run of the four brothers in arms towards the sea is a way to save a moment of happiness from the horrors of war. The director uses an oxymoron when he describes the episode of the soldier Rizzo, who is taken prisoner by the English: «For a soldier being prisoner is humiliating. It is a non-life. The duty of each soldier is to fight and that of each prisoner is to flee. And I have fled». The theme of determination is expressed by a phrase of one of the infantrymen of the troop: «We are the stones: we are still, motionless and planted».

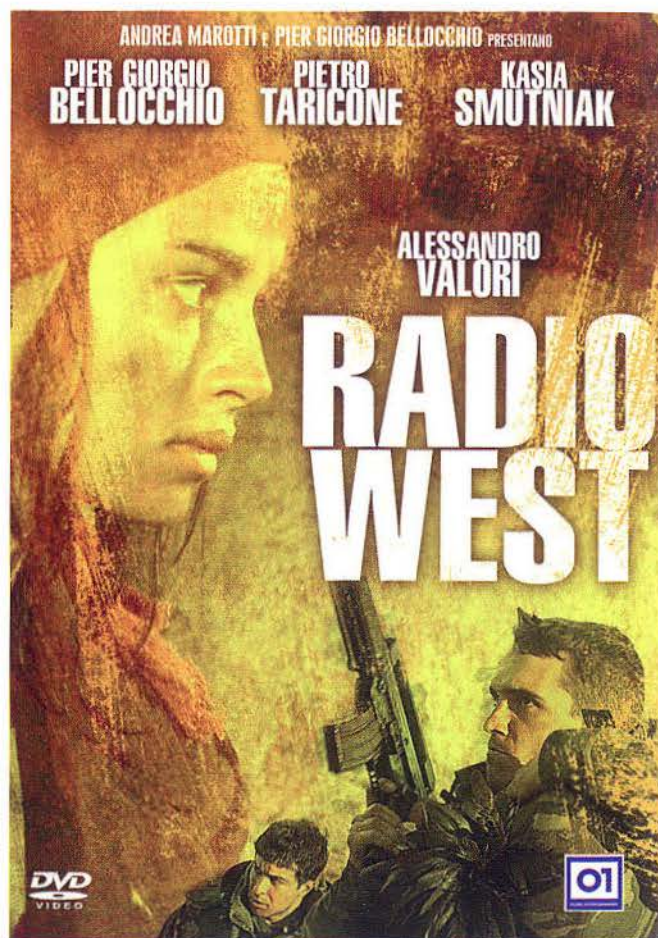
There is the cliché of the journey considered as a walk through one's thoughts and through the narrator's soul: the journey of the young volunteer Serra from the rhetoric of war to the uselessness of all conflicts. «War is fascinating only in the school books» – he says – «in life it only arouses pity, it is horrible and stinks».

In this brief excursus we should consider the film of the Italian budding director Alessandro Valori, «Radio West» (2004), whose title is borrowed from the name of the radio that was installed and managed by the Italian soldiers in Kosovo. The director's attention is focused on the soldiers: their thoughts, their moods, how they express the feeling of fear. It is shot with light digital video cameras, which are dirty and always on the go: it is an action movie. What confuses you is the absence of a declared enemy: the film revolves around this; it revolves around the difficulty of being forces of interposition, even though the humanitarian character of the mission reminds us of the model of «Italians, nice people» that is necessary to balance the model of the good soldier with that of the soldier who is good.

With regard to the image of the soldier that is created by the small screen and by television films, we should refer to the occasional and unconvincing screen appearances by the army both in the Anglo-Saxon films (from the uniformed lawyers of J.A.G. to the special agents of the US navy N.C.S.I.) and in the Italian stories of priests, magistrates, doctors and detectives.

CONCLUSIONS

This synthetic overview of films, which have been chosen for the sake of argument accord-

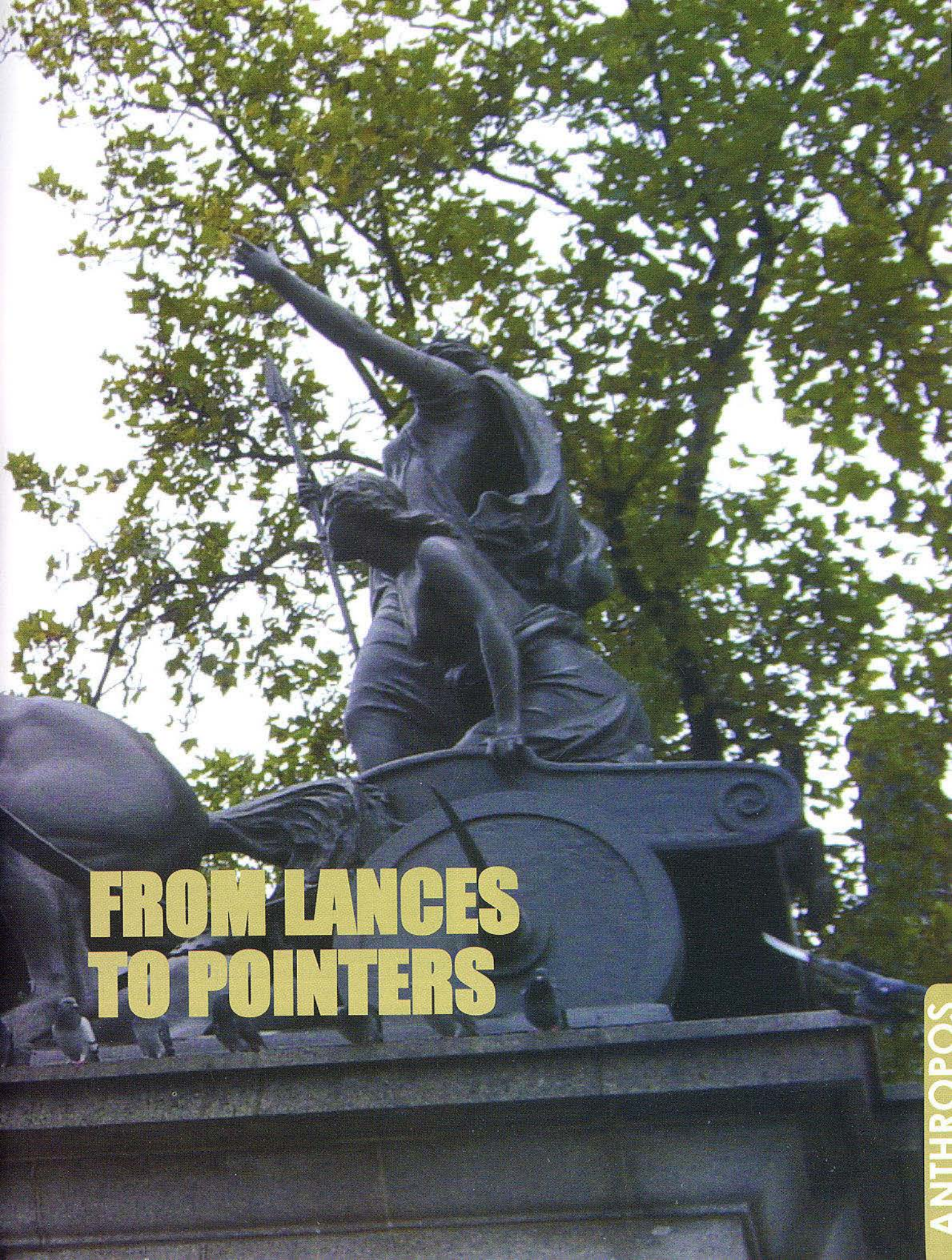


«Radio West» was one of the last films on this subject.

ing to the success they have had and their emblematic value, has stressed that since the end of the Second World War the Italian cinema has reinforced the stereotype of the Italian soldier (which is a constant theme running all American films) that aims to highlight the unwarlike nature of the Italian soldier, who is genetically cowardly and, at best, unreliable, but anyway he is deeply human and, for this reason, he is very nice. This connotation is distinctly different from the epic connotation that the Anglo-Saxon cinema gives to its soldiers and is welcomed positively in our country. This image fits the stereotypes that are given prizes by Hollywood, but it is very distant from the knowledge public opinion has of its army and of the activities it is involved with, as recently a survey conducted by Eurisko has highlighted, whose results have shown that the army is perceived positively as a reality which provides our country with a valuable service.

Sabrina Carreras
Journalist



A low-angle photograph of a bronze statue depicting a woman and a child. The woman stands behind the child, her right arm raised high, pointing towards the sky. The child is seated or crouching in front of her, looking down. They are positioned on a large, ornate stone pedestal. Several pigeons are perched on the ledge of the pedestal. The background is filled with the dense, green foliage of trees, with some branches reaching into the frame. The lighting suggests a bright, sunny day.

FROM LANCES TO POINTERS

FROM LANCES TO POINTERS

From the moment we wake up until we go to sleep our day is a fast succession of indications supplied by the plethora of pointers that surround us.

They all originate from a common ancestor: they don't kill us anymore, but they always condition us.

A quick glance around the cockpit of any military aircraft to notice its most eye-catching characteristic: a mass of instruments and indicators of various styles and sizes but in principal all the same look. They signal the level of fuel or the level of electrical energy produced by the generator, the temperature of the heating circuits or the pressure of the lubricants, don't hide their distinctive characteristic: a round graduated dial on which swings one or more pointers.

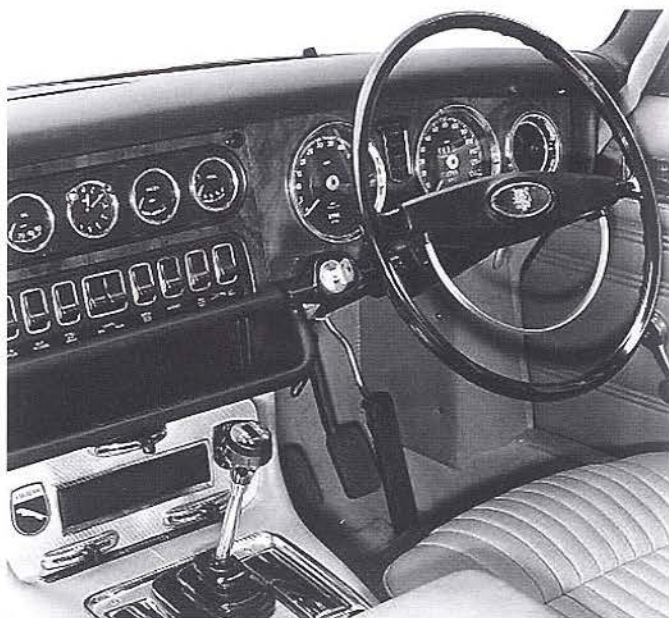
From the initial wonder at how it is possible

plethora of amulets and miraculous talismans fending off bad luck and magic that has been replaced by this modern fetish that, in perfect accordance with superstitious beliefs, is made better by being made more?



Opening pages.
Big Ben, London.

Above and right.
The cockpit of an AB 212 helicopter and the dashboard of a vintage Jaguar.



And reinforcing this, the sensation felt by the normal daily motorist: how many of these instruments generously dished out on the dashboard are really necessary? How many, instead, would be considered superfluous accessories solely for the gratification ordinary drivers on ordinary journeys, or are they mere "technological placebos"? It can, also, be noted that today even on the most banal white household good we are blitzed by at least one panel with the ubiquitous flashing lights, strengthening our propensity to organize the modern world once again into miracles. A latent need that during the troubled rise of the scientific culture, a victim of its own success, there is now the blind faith not in the power of the spear, the lance, but the arrow, the indicator!

to read all these instruments, to dutifully follow all the possible warnings, to make the smallest emotional response rational: is everything totally necessary or is it just an exaggeration of a fantasy, the manifestation of a technological over lording? In other words, can the alleged protection previously promised by the

Where were the prodromes, when the archetypes of these round dials first emerged and started their relentless advance, and, above all which of these various dials were watched?

Paradoxically the answer, which one would think is related to the last two centuries is in reality of a much longer story. Going right back to the mythical age of Alexander the Great. And, without being metaphoric, it



Archaeological find from Antikythera: general view.



Archaeological find from Antikythera: various fragments.

emerges from the waters of the Aegean, pulled up from its sandy resting place at the start of the last century.

In the spring of 1900 in fact, some sponge fishermen discovered near the island of Antikythera, for us Cerigotto, in the canal between the Peloponnese and Crete, the remains of an ancient boat. It had been transporting

statues of marble and bronze, which once recovered, dated the wreck to the second half of the first century BC.

Amongst the many small pieces that were transported there was also a small metal fragment. It was very corroded, fixed to rotten wood. Once dried and cleaned it showed a series of teeth for a cogwheel, similar to those that are seen in modern watches and clocks, infact an exchanger. The remains of an old watch from who knows what ship from who knows which journey and without reason to end up there. For the sake of scrupulousness it was sent to the national museum in Athens, where it remained amongst all the curiosities of the past.

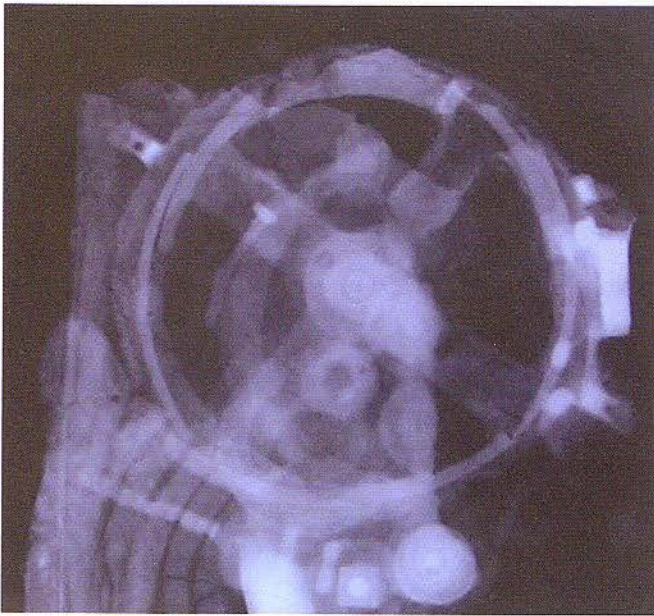
Truthfully doubts were not lacking and the incongruity thankfully which was all too easily applied meant that for fifty years any connection was denied. At the start of the 1950's Dr Derek J. De Solla Price, starting with the preposition that it wasn't a watch but a contemporary naval device, started to study it. A more careful cleaning confirmed his intuition



Detail of the graded scales.

was correct when he found some inscriptions in ancient Greek, as well as concentric graduated dials upon which it's easy to imagine moved needles.

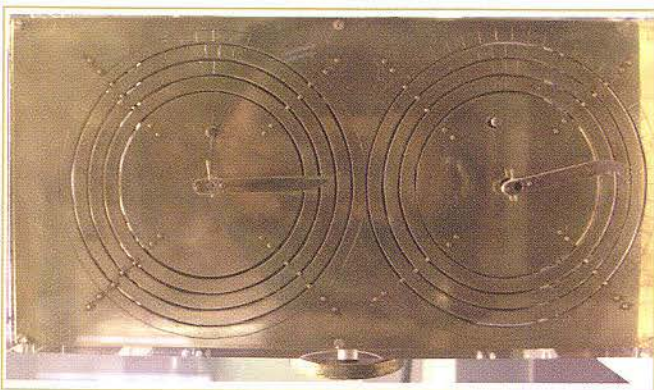
These significant indications convinced the researcher that he had found the front of an instrument for astronomical calculus, similar to mechanisms of our own era, with a similarity to the much lauded and reputed mechanism in Rhodes from that epoch. Finally in 1958 he was able to expound in detail not only the formal characteristics of the enigmatic wreckage piece but also its function in that sophisticated



X-ray of the archaeological find.

device. Thanks to a series of x-rays he was in fact able to establish the existence of other cogs and their relationships to each other and consequently the workings of the device.

According to the reconstruction by Dr Prince the contraption was based on a sort of perpetual calendar, that allowed the calculation of phases of the moon in the past and in the future, in relation to the sun's movement. Obviously, with due interpretations some initial data emerges, related to tides as well as the latitude that it could be even at night. In practice, a train of gears moves the cogs indicating the solar movement and another indicates the movement of the moon, according to the relationship 254 sidereal revolutions of the moon

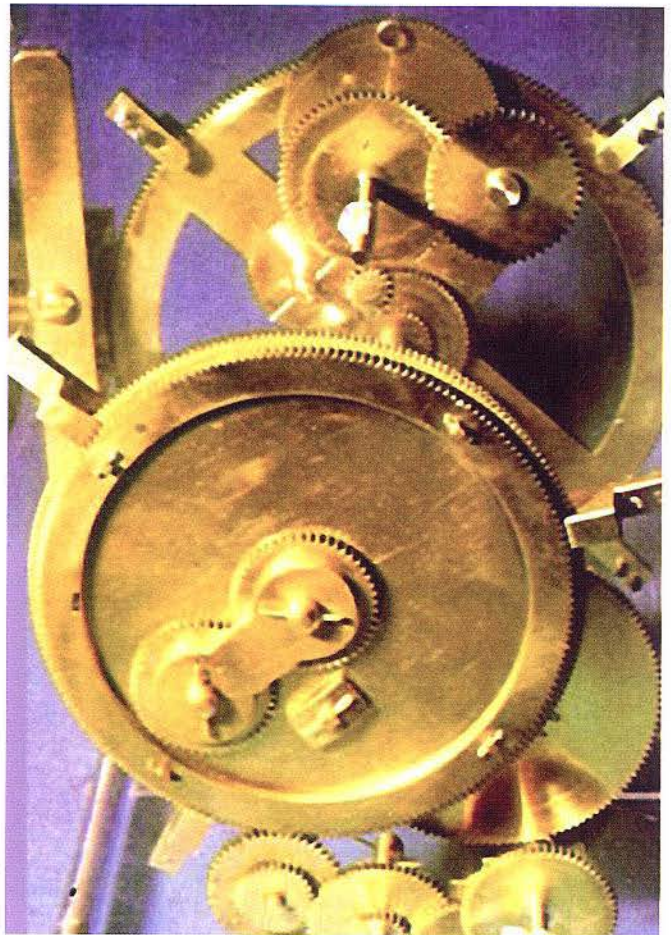


A realistic model of the find.

for every 19 solar years. At this point there was enough to make a working model which

then earned the name the Antikythera Calculator.

From a technological point of view the most amazing characteristics are at least two. The first is, without doubt, the complexity and the accuracy of the cog system, made in bronze with multiple triangular teeth and in fixed positions. The second, perhaps even more incredible, is the presence of a differential gear, meaning the capacity to produce an exit rotation speed that is different to two different entry rotation speeds. It would be another 15 centuries before the likes of Leonardo would create something of a similar ilk and another three more before a differential gear was actually produced. In our daily lives millions of such gears are found in motors in order to



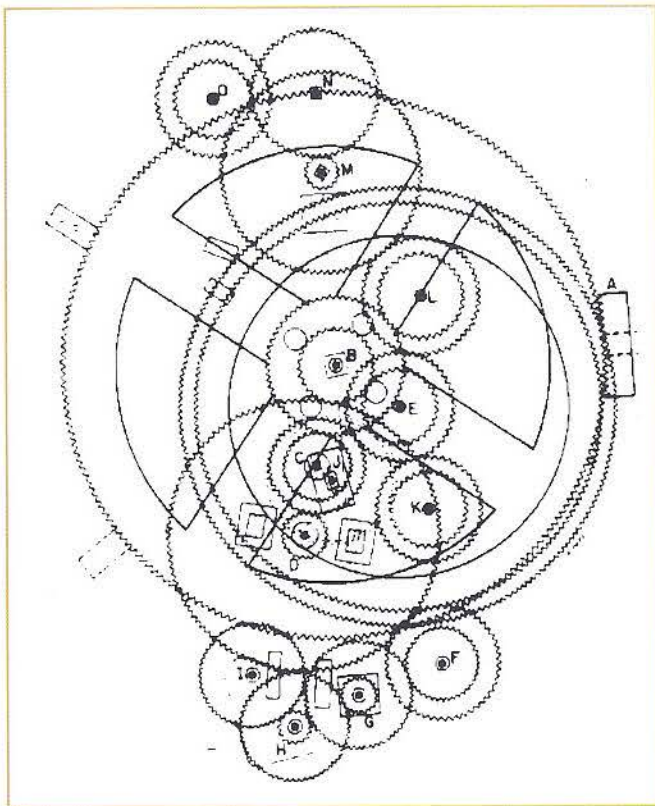
Detail of the differential gear of the Antikythera Calculator.

transfer and change the speed of incoming gears and outgoing gears.

In the Antikythera Calculator the small differential gear serves instead to calculate the lunar sidereal months, required to subtract from the solar movement that of the lunar sidereal.

Nothing of such a type, until that time, amongst all the myriad of archaeological findings and only a dissolving reference in the original piece to the existence of a mechanical device that would be able to measure the astronomical motion. Instruments, incidentally, not just as playthings for the rich and idle or ingenuous toys for layabouts but working tools able to transport along a route without the comfort of land as a guide. Navigation like this was unusual for merchants but was used by the military, in particular for crossing the Mediterranean, and not by radar, as well as the North Sea, by astronomic means.

Logically, as in all such cases, the model conclusively constructed by Prince doesn't convince all the scientific community. Even if there is the working reconstruction. Without wanting to enter into specifics, that which seems certain and objective, thanks to a miraculous conservation, is the system that is suitable for the production of certain data.



Reconstruction of various graded scales.

It concerns the four cogs most central to the system at the opposite sides of the device, bearing with unusual precision the notches of the precise grading scale, similar in substance to an electronic analogue tester. The notches appear neat and not dissimilar to the present



Detail of the loading clip of the find.

day goniometric circles that technicians use and of similar precision, suitable therefore to a precise reading of the indicator. This fact alone about the instrument supposes, hints at, an even older origin of dials and needles.

A further reflection on dials and needles in fact dates back to their recorded 'debut'. The description left by Vitruvius, who in turn drew his description from a previous author, of the water watch of Ctesibio which clearly shows the era in which the great scientist was living was about the first half of the third century BC, the same time as Archimedes. It was treated as a revolutionary historical glimpse for pure and applied science that required for the first time an exact determination of what was the extent of knowledge of measuring time. It would have needed a dependable measuring device, constant and precise, a device able to mark the days and, above all, the night.

This ultimate reason would have made it of interest to the Roman Army, in which the same Vitruvius served as an engineer, for the necessary making and setting out for their grand *castra* on the territory. And also indeed in their daily duties they needed the opportunity to perform their tasks precisely with obsessive regularity, in every moment of the day and



Detail of the concentric scales. Right: A detail of the gears.

night. From wake up, to close order exercises, from lunch to the care of clothing and arms, to the silence of watches along the battlements. Every function had to be carried out with the maximum precision, in every time of the year. The problem, however, came with the irregularity of the length of the day during the year juxtaposed to their required regularity, in particular for the night watches of the guards, the *vigiliae*.

The Romans like us subdivided the day, or more accurately between the two dawns into 24 hours. Of these twelve gave the day, twelve gave the night. But if the duration of the day was constant throughout the year it was not so for the length of daytime, very short at winter solstice and very long at summer solstice. Consequently the Roman daytime was short in winter and long in summer, with a limit of about 30 minutes between the extremes of what is an hour. Symmetrically, obviously, the same was mirrored in the length of the night. Only in two days of the year was day and night the same length, March 21 and September 21, and hence the same as ours.

To stabilize the structure of the hours they would have had to make use of a meridian, leaving to the sand and hourglass the night.

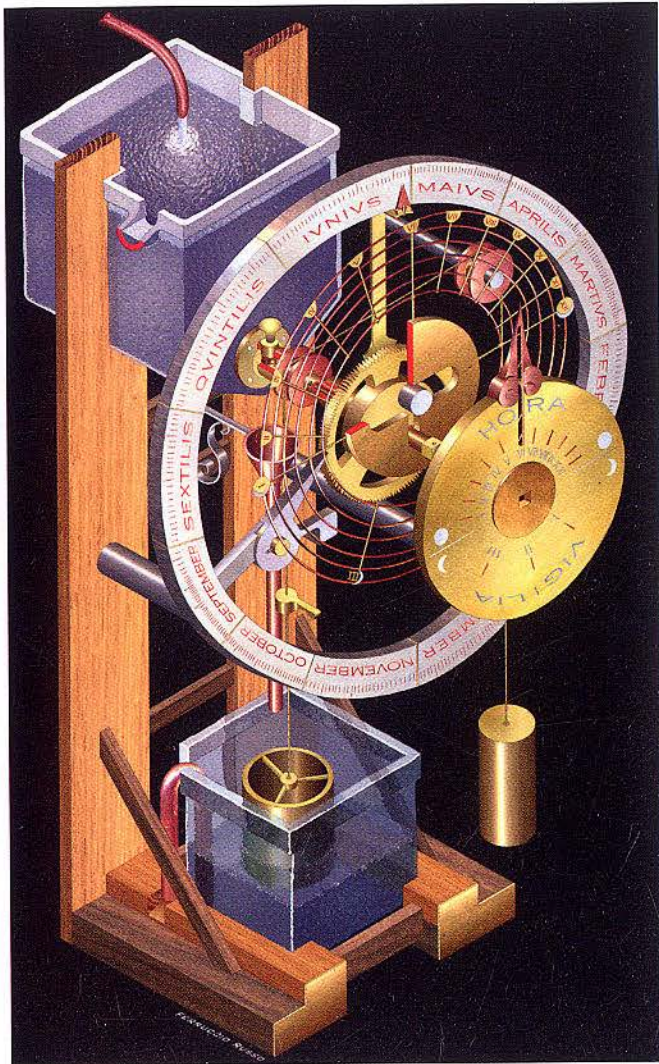
It's indication was rigid, excellent for defining an interval, or the pleading of a lawyer, or the favours of a prostitute but not useful for measuring continual time. The usage of four watches during the night could not be effectively carried out with the same hourglass an equal number of times, because of the seasons. In summer the night watch would go on for too long, in winter it would finish in the dark of the night.

To measure in a manner proportional to the season it would need a device that would vary the length of the hour, day after day, increasing for six months and then decreasing for the next six. The solution came thanks to Ctesibio, one of the greatest scientists in the Library of Alexandria: a water clock. It was observed that "hourglasses" etymologically defined something that reduced water, or rather a chronometer of water and not partially full of sand.

In detail, the Ctesibio's hourglass functioned by the steady dripping of water higher tank to a lower receptor. The level of the water in the tank was kept constant through a constant supply in order for the pressure, and therefore the speed of the drips, to change. A siphon instead emptied the collection receptacle every 24 hours. The receptacle had a special float inside, it was connected to a suitable counterweight by a chain, connected in its turn to a rotating index. The raised level of the water

which raises the float creates a rotation of the index, measured by a little arrow, in proportion to the passing of time. At every corresponding cycle it completes the turn, successfully completing a circle.

This was achieved with six concentric circles, subdivided into 12 segments for the day and 4 for the night, these being reserved for the turns of the watches, and are on the outer



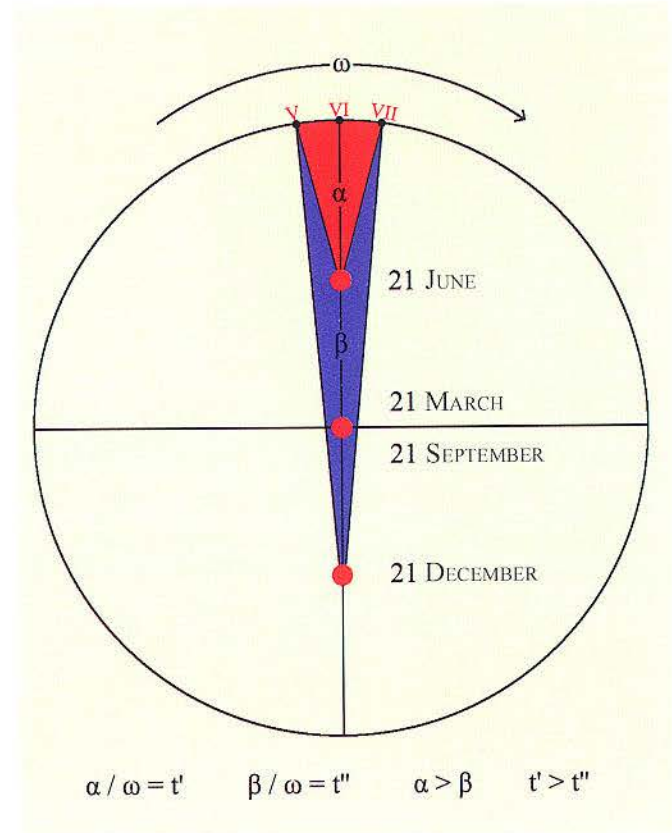
Ctesibio's clock.

ring. There were also indications for each of the twelve zodiac signs and for the 365 days of the year.

The variation of the length of the hour was resolved by having the position of the needle shift dependant on the day. As the year passed the needle would from a different pivot position within the index be able to give a constancy to the turning of the dial and hence solve the problem of changing year.

At this discovery Ctesibio created a mechani-

cal device that would automatically, in the arc of six months, shift the pivot point of the needle from near the base to nearer the top,



Geometric functioning scheme.

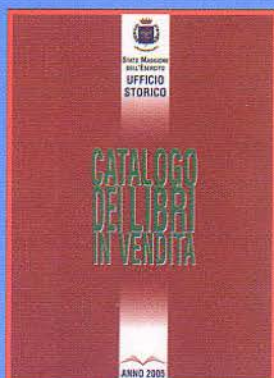
therefore providing a variation of the angle from the centre from a minimum to a maximum. Caused by a rotating cog of 365 days, shifting every 24 hours as per the activity of the float and the dripping water. The device made the hour in the year vary from a 75 minute hour in summer to a 45 minute hour in the winter, simulating the changes brought by the passage from summer to winter solstices before returning to summer. The water-clock also needed two different speeds for changing the days to correct the hour timings and one for being to check the years and correct their variances. Ctesibio even considered adding to the 365 cog two further cogs that would indicate with its slower motion the day and month with a second needle.

According to current knowledge it was that debut of that gave the needle the shape of the arrow because it had to hit the precise point of the dial.

Flavio Russo
Historian



Army General Staff - History Office



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LE REGIE TRUPPE IN ESTREMO ORIENTE 1900-1901



ROMA 2005



STATO MAGGIORE DELL'ESERCITO
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Maria Gabriella PASQUALINI

L'ESERCITO ITALIANO NEL DODECANESO 1912-1943 *Speranze e realtà*

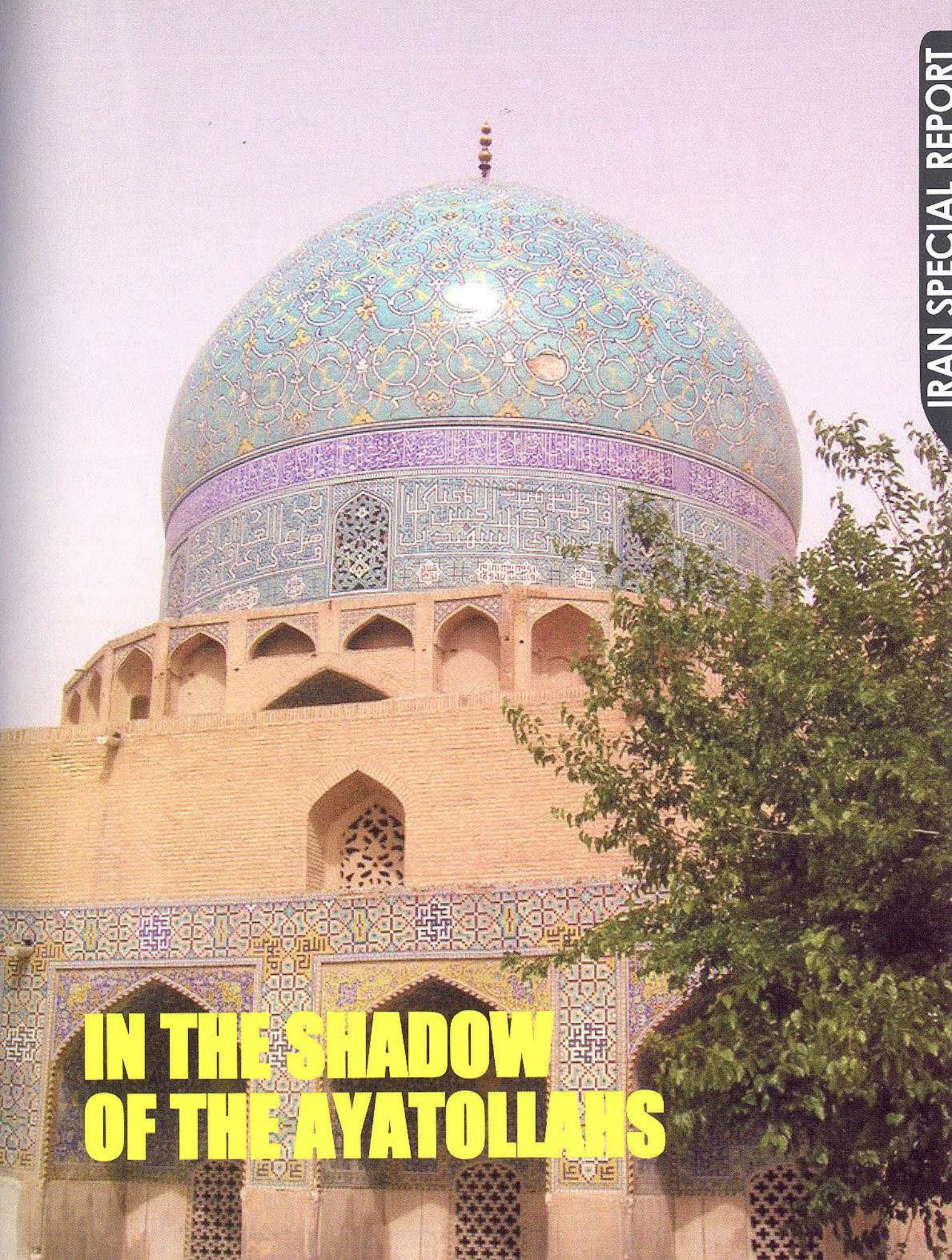
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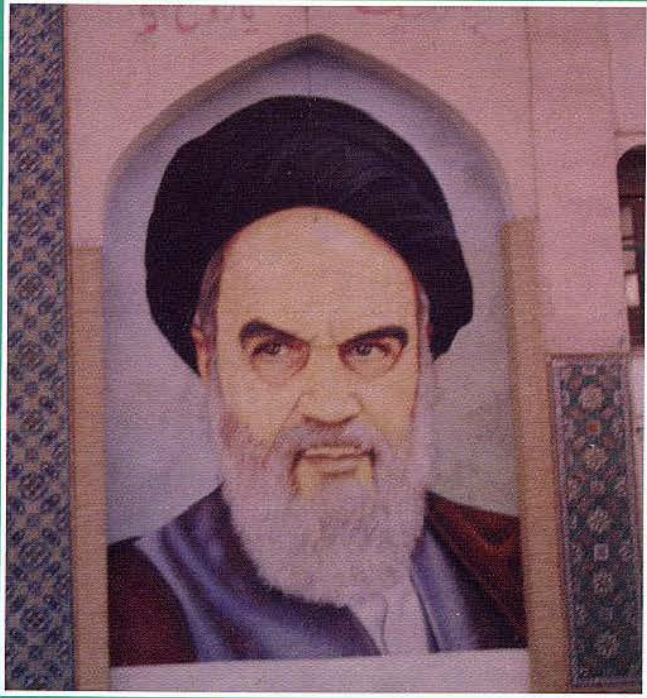
The volume follows the events of the presence in the Aegean of the Italian Army between 1912 and 1943, on the preparation of the expedition for the conquest of the Dodecanese to the loss of the islands. In addition, the work thoroughly analyses the role that the Dodecanese had, or could have had, in the Mediterranean politics. There is also a detailed study of the various plans devised for the defence of the area, for a better understanding of the war events in those islands, until their occupation by the Germans after the armistice of September 1943.

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IN THE SHADOW OF THE AYATOLLANS

THE THEOCRATIC REGIME



THE REGIONAL CONTEXT

Iran has recently celebrated the triumph of the theocratic regime – and the control over all the national institutions under its supreme guidance” – and is now in desperate quest of a geographic position in the complex area that ranges from the Middle East to Central Asia.

This Country of high strategic importance, which intends to obtain the status of “Regional Power” within 2020, is at the same time conducting a contradictory and dangerous policy, marked by distinctly anti-West attitudes.

After Khomeini’s advent in 1979, the Country unsuccessfully tried to work out a geopolitical alignment with Iraq and Saudi Arabia, counting on the support of a significant Shi’ite minority living in those Countries, which should have constituted the necessary bridge for exporting the Islamic rev-

olution and the fall of Riyadh’s hated Wahabite dynasty.

Besides the mistrust shown by the wider Sunni hemisphere, not even the long and bloody war started by Iraq in 1980 did allow Iran to set itself as the leading power in the region of the Persian Gulf, for its only political ally in the region had remained Syria.

Nevertheless, the Ayatollahs’ diplomacy soon sensed that the stage of international policy could be won, in terms of admiration and consensus of the Muslim world, also through the development of a more intransigent and combative attitude towards the United States and Israel. In fact, an approach to Russia, China and North Korea (the only Countries that had favoured Iran’s reconstruction and rearmament after the war against Iraq) would, in case, constitute an effective front in the fight against the corrupt Western world.

Even if the spotlights of international policy have been lit up on Iran after the recent war between Israel and Hizballah, is the Middle East, objectively, the most appropriate geopolitical place for ancient Persia?

The Islamic Republic of Iran is not an Arab Country and its history and traditions do not coincide with the political aspirations of the Countries of the area – Palestine included – but would actually appear more aligned with the States on its eastern borders, such as Afghanistan and Pakistan, which – despite great cooperation difficulties – could allow Iran to identify more precisely its coveted objectives as a “Regional Power”. Nevertheless, it remains substantially an isolated Country. Besides its sectarian Shi’ite character that conditions the weight of its possible regional, political and strategic position, the contingent problem is the encirclement that the United States has realized after the Gulf War, i.e. the presence of its armed forces (Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait) and its intelligence (Turkey, Azerbaijan, Pakistan and Qatar), that leave Iran with scarce manoeuvring possibilities. In the geo-strategic context of the region, Russia’s ambiguous foreign policy as regards the sharing of the energy resources of the Caspian sea, NATO’s aspirations in the area and Turkey’s hegemonic ambitions are certainly no less important, without considering that part of Iran’s terri-

Title page.
Detail of a mosque.

Above.
Mural of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.



tory, precisely on the borders of Afghanistan and Pakistan, is controlled by criminal drug trafficking organizations of clear Sunnite imprint. All in all, these are all elements of serious instability in the region, even if the Constitution of the Islamic Republic designates the Countries of the same faith as its preferential Allies, as regards both economy and political matters, and limits Iran to a mere sphere of influence that regards only the historic-cultural aspect, certainly not to the advantage of a significant political leadership.

In the recent institutional history, the Rafsanjani and Khatami presidencies have not produced substantial changes in the Country's foreign policy (apart from the ephemeral consent of the Western world to Khatami's timid overtures and Rafsanjani's lack of pragmatism as regards a "Chinese brand" policy). This has entailed for the Islamic Republic an objective incapacity to adjust to the process of international globalization and limited its political expressions to guaranteeing the ideological policy of the Iranian people and to ensuring their defense against possible invasions of the national territory, which have always been perceived as an imminent danger.

Until the summer of 2005 it seemed that the only practicable way for the Islamic Republic had been the reformist one: the only option that could bring back Iran into the international consensus through a national policy of reforms and a foreign policy of dialogue – more or less constructive – with the European Union and the United States.

The sudden and unexpected appearance of Mah-moud Ahmadinejad, the new leader of the Islamic

The politico-religious leaders. From left to right: Hojjat ul Islams Ali Akbar Ashemi Rafsanjani, Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei and President Mahamoud Ahmadinejad.

world on the international geopolitical stage, revolutionized the expectations of the democratic Countries, compelling the West to face up to a new and dangerous variable that can condition the already difficult present and future strategic scenarios.

SHI'ISM

Iran's Shi'ism is the second largest branch of Islam. Although it originated in Iraq, its greatest diffusion took place in Iran about four centuries ago and, in a lesser proportion, in Lebanon, Syria, Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Shi'ite (from *Shi'a* "Party" and *Ali*, i.e. those who followed Ali) acknowledge as legitimate Mohammed's successors only Ali, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, and the descendants of his marriage with Fatima, Mohammed's daughter.

According to the Shi'ite, Mohammed – before his death – initiated to the deepest secrets of Islam only Ali, his cousin and son-in-law, who transmitted them only to the members of his family and, in particular, to his sons Hasan, who died in 669 and Husayn, who died in 680. Ali's tomb at Negef and that of his son Husayn at Kerbala are places greatly worshipped by the Shi'ite world. Therefore only

Ali's direct descendants are considered Imams, i.e. "Guides" who possess the true wisdom of Islam, since their authority is unquestionable, precisely because of their direct line with the Prophet.

Also within Mohammed's progeny, the Shi'ite are divided into three main currents: the Zaidite, who acknowledge five Imams, the Ishmaelite, who acknowledge seven Imams, and the Imamite, who acknowledge twelve Imams, and for this reason are also called Duodecimams.

Ahmadinejad belongs to the most widespread current of the Twelfth Imam, who, in the name of true Islam, is trying to assume the world leadership, to the Wahabite's detriment (they are the ones that in 1801 conquered Kerbala and destroyed Husayn's tomb) who dwell in adjacent Saudi Arabia and are the upholders of Sunnite Islam.

The twelfth and last Imam, "the Hidden Imam" (a very strong theological and spiritual conviction of Iranian Shi'ism) has been in a "retreat from the world" (disappeared) since 874 and will reappear to judge the sins of mankind and lead his followers towards Islam's final victory over the "infidels". Ahmadinejad is convinced that the day of the Imam's arrival is approaching (a few years) and, during his mandate as Teheran's mayor, introduced a proposal (later dismissed) to clear one of the main avenues of the city from buildings and car parkings in order to facilitate the entry of the twelfth Imam into the capital.

Even during his speech, as President of the Islamic Republic, at the UN General Assembly, in 2005, he publicly expressed his convictions: "Oh God Almighty, I pray to You that You may hasten the coming of Your last repository, he whom You promised us, that perfect and pure man who will lavish peace and justice on the world".

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND THE WEST

With the advent of Ahmadinejad to the Presidency, relations with the West were brusquely interrupted. Moderate President Khatami had timidly started them with his "dialogue among civilizations", in order to try to obtain the exit of Iran from the dangerous isolation to which it had been relegated since Khomeini's revolution.

A cautious policy of détente towards the United States had induced US Secretary of State Colin Powell to appreciate these efforts and state that the US could re-open the dialogue with the Islamic Republic, considering the "encouraging attitude shown in recent times". In fact Khatami's reappointment to the Presidency (2001) had permitted to foresee not only a greater opening to international relations, but also a



more important and meaningful internal process of democratisation.

But it were precisely the declarations of the Clinton administration (acknowledgement of American responsibilities for the fall of Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadeq during the Eisenhower Administration, the political support to the Pahlavi regime, despite the harsh repressions against political dissent, and the substantial aid given to Saddam Hussein during the conflict against Iran) that fired the Ayatollahs' anger and resentment, who were ready to emphasize the historical ditch of diffidence and hostility towards the United States, without considering Iran's introduction into the so-called "Axis of Evil" proclaimed by President Bush after the dramatic attacks of September 11, 2001.

And even if the circles close to Khatami's reformist policy (people with higher income and students more sensitive to the attractions of the West) had already demonstrated at the end of 2002 against the broken promises of the President, for the ultraconservative Shi'ite clergy it has been an easy game to win the parliamentary elections (February 2004) and the presidential ones (June 2005), always under control of Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei, "Supreme Guidance"



of the Islamic Republic of Iran, ready to declare that these victories were the consecration of the Islamic mission against the Western oppression of the Muslim peoples and against the imperialist ambitions of the United States.

With Ahmadinejad the contours of the Iranian foreign policy assumed immediately a rather well defined quality: fight against the United States, Israel and the entire West. Immediately after his election, in his first broadcast message to the Country, he stated that *"our first objective is to create a powerful and modern Islamic nation, which should be an example to the world. We have checkmated our enemies.* This seems to be the answer to the American encirclement, to the requests of the International Agency for Atomic Energy and the (never abandoned) expectations of the Shi'ite clergy to export the Islamic revolution: *Iran is an Islamic Country and its leaders must follow Islam also in foreign policy,* thus sealing the intransigence of his leadership, that of a "tough" militiaman that wants to make his Country a "Regional Power" without bringing about internal reforms, without a policy of dialogue with the European Union and without reckoning with the United States - or better, raising the price more and more. And what political (and not only religious)

A demonstration in support of the regime.

consent would be greater than that obtained by the new Koranic leader with the destruction of the last democratic and Western model present in the Middle East, i.e. the State of Israel?

Besides his persisting verbal threats, Ahmadinejad has personally met in Damascus, on January 20, 2006, Khaled Mashaal, political and military leader of Hamas, after having promoted an official meeting in Teheran with the "Supreme Guidance" Khamenei and a visit to the Headquarters of the *Pasdaran* at Bandar Abbas.

Together with the well-known relations with Hizballah (emerged clearly during the last conflict against Israel), Ahmadinejad has managed to consolidate a politico-military front (Palestine, Lebanon, some "Warlords" in Afghanistan and the large Iraqi Shi'ite community) that can resist any pressure from the United States and the European Union, (from respect of human rights to the nuclear programme). But Bin Laden's terrorist organization, with its "Holy War", without distinction between Sunni and Shi'ite in fighting against Israel and the West, is it not marching side by side with Teheran and Damascus?

AHMADINEJAD AND THE OPPOSITION AT HOME AND ABROAD

In order to win be elected, Ahmadinejad levered on the "*Mostazafin*" ("Outcasts of the Revolution") i.e. on the families of the men fallen in the war against Iraq and on the loyal supporters of the "Supreme Guidance", followers of the Shi'ite orthodoxy, who had somehow been excluded from the social prosperity – a mix of consumerism and personal liberties – despite their decisive contribution to the national cohesion and unity. Certainly a pragmatic choice, which has raised the flag of the traditional values always shared by the Shi'ite community: social justice, fight against corruption, sobriety of costumes and strict observance of Islam, behind which the *Pasdaran* and the *Basiji* have been very happy to line up. But dissent has distant roots: the long and bloody period of clashes that followed Khomeini's revolution (with harsh repression made by the Shi'ite clergy through the Security Forces, the new "*Savana*" that replaced old "*Savak*") had not completely subdued the ethnically inspired political forces – besides those of a democratic, socialist and communist nature – even though they had all contributed to the Shah's fall and to the triumph of theocracy. Among the latter the notorious terrorists of MKO (*Mujahiddin e Khalq*), initially responsible for having fought the monarchy with the assassination of two American advisers of the Shah, and after for having declared war on the Ayatollahs with a number of attacks that killed President Ali Rajai (1981), Prime Minister Javad Bahonar and over seventy ministers, members of Parliament and senior officials of the Islamic Republic.

With the characteristics of a religious sect (blind obedience and absolute loyalty to the leaders) this group maintains, up to this day, the original Marxist ideological root, which envisages, besides the obligation of divorce and abandonment of the children, a rigid "terrorist" discipline, including the need to keep in one's mouth cyanide capsules that can be taken out only when eating.

This formation has always pursued the objective of freeing Iran from the Mullahs' dictatorship (in 2000, the *Pasdaran's* headquarters were hit by six 60mm mortar shells and the Police Chief, General Reza Seifollahi, escaped an attack by a miracle) and went so far as to participate in the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, with its dead buried in the Kerbala cemetery. In 1991, under the orders of Saddam Hussein, they fought against the Kurdish people (they were told that the Kurds were *Pasdaran* disguised as Iraqis) and the organization achieved a fairly good level in heavy

artillery and armoured brigades. At present, about a thousand militiamen reside in the Ashraf region (if not prisoners of the American coalition).

Even if they have been "amnestied" by the Teheran Government ("They have repented and collaborate with the Islamic justice"), their leader Masud Rajavi is at the moment untraceable and his wife Maryam is now under house arrest in Paris, a potential thorn in the flesh of Teheran's political organization.

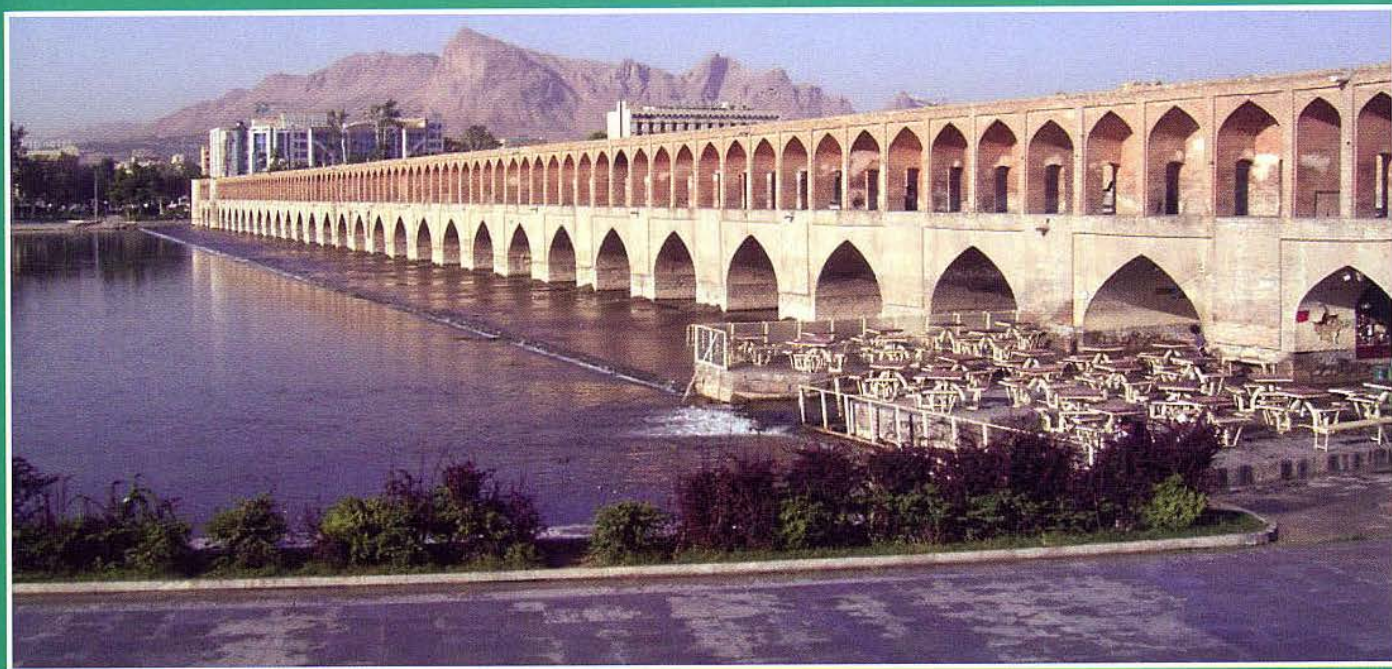
Meanwhile, the United States thinks of using them against Iran, with a financing of 50 million dollars (Senator Sam Brownback, *Iran Democracy Act*) granted to MITV (*National Iranian Television*), the most important Iranian satellite TV in Los Angeles.

In fact, in Los Angeles lives a large Iranian community (about one million exiles that left Iran after the revolution of 1979) that finds its point of reference in this private television, which, through the cooperation of five more radio stations, can reach between 15 and 20 million sets, i.e. about 40 million Persians scattered inside the Islamic Republic and in the rest of the world.

Despite the continuous efforts to black out the satellite signals, made by the Iranian Secret Service, (recently Cuba's signal was jammed for two weeks) and the scarce interest in politics shown by the young Iranians, NITV and Radio KRSI manage to give their audience not only the most important international news, but also those coming from inside Iran, which otherwise the Iranian people would never know.

This network is apparently connected with NCRI, the National Council of Iranian Resistance, which in the name of a free, secular and democratic Iran, today constitutes the most significant group of the Iranian resistance, even if its dominant faction is constituted precisely by the "People's Mujaheddin", the extremist element that the European Union and the United States have placed in the world list of terrorist groups. Although they have always played an ambiguous role in the regional context (an independent Armed Force, the terrorist attacks and the cooperation with Saddam Hussein), these extremists believe that their alienation is the outcome of a present given to Teheran by the West, within a disastrous policy of continuous compromises and mediations.

Although they oppose an American intervention against Iran and favour a new secular and republican regime, their statements continue to give rise to perplexities: *We only ask you to stop helping Teheran's regime and let us act. Iran can very well be taken care of by the Iranians*".



The bridge on the Isfahan river.

Of lesser importance are the monarchic groups linked to the heir to the throne, Reza Cyrus Ali Pahlavi, who lives in Virginia and says: *the people are refusing this regime in its totality.*

Within the Country, the opposition to Ahmadinejad's new ultra conservative regime seems to have multifaceted options. Already during the second ballot with Rafsanjani for the presidential elections of June 2005, a political front had consolidated against Teheran's major. The front, although consisting of reformers, moderates and conservatives, found its most significant expression in the consent of several *Ayatollahs* of the holy city of Qom. Among them, Yusef Sane'i, the religious point of reference for hundreds of thousands Shi'ite scattered also between Iraq and Lebanon: *Pray for us, we are at a crossroads between democracy and a religious dictatorship. Against the Shah we could protest, but against someone that shields himself with God's word we remain powerless.*

When the alliance between the Orthodox clergy and the less fortunate social classes favoured Ahmadinejad's victory, Rafsanjani's reaction was violent and furious: *but until when this powerful and ambiguous politician, who since the revolution has dominated the life of the Country, will remain only standing and looking? Where did the most restless and heterogeneous part of the Iranian people, the university youth, who have always been upholders of reformatory and democratic requests, end up?*

Another important dissenting voice comes from lawyer Shirin Ebadi, the first Moslem woman awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 2003. She has always been involved in the de-

fence of the rights of women and children and has been awarded the prize "for her efforts for democracy and human rights" and is at present opinion leader of a large movement for the defence of writers, intellectuals and persons charged with opinion crimes. But the real "red alert" went off with the murder of judge Massud Moghadassi, the terrible scourge at the head of the Section for the "Correct Religious Orientation" of the Iranian people, under direct orders of the "Grand Inquisitor", Said Mortazavi, Teheran's General Prosecutor.

After having performed his functions with a particular iron hand for many years – arrest of lawyer Ebadi, raids into private parties and sentences to twice the number of lashes for alcohol consumption and improper use of the Islamic veil – he had recently hit the international headlines for the harsh sentence inflicted to dissident writer Akbar Ganji, for an article in which he accused the regime of the murder of Iranian intellectuals and writers.

On August 2, 2005, while judge Moghadassi was about to take the wheel of his car, he was mortally hit in the head by two bullets shot by two men on a motorbike, who were never found.

The traditional colour of Iran, the black of the Islamic veil and of oil, has been mixed with the red colour of blood.

Daniele Cellamare
Lecturer
of History of International Relations

THE MILITARY INSTRUMENT



T55 tanks with reactive armour.

It is difficult to foresee how long it will be until Iran produces its first atomic weapon, but clearly the Country is aiming at a strategy that should allow it to place itself on the threshold of a rapid production of nuclear weapons, thanks to the plants for producing fissile materials and to the necessary know how. The West should accept the fact that it is practically impossible to stop this strategy: it is better to try to achieve direct and less strained relations with Teheran, in order to soothe its strategic worries and induce it to reflect on the advisability of equipping itself with its own nuclear capability. For a serious and informed discussion on the Iranian intentions, it is nevertheless necessary to take a closer look at Iran's nuclear evolution.

TECHNOLOGY AND POLITICS

The technical control of the cycle of civil nuclear fuel does not necessarily mean that a nation intends to produce nuclear weapons. The decision to

develop such programme depends on political and military will. However, once the decision is made, a nation must have the necessary technological means.

The technology of uranium enrichment and plutonium reprocessing (the fundamental elements of the nuclear-fuel cycle) provides the means necessary for producing the fissile material (highly enriched uranium and plutonium), i.e. the essential ingredient for producing nuclear weapons. The Iranian government, since the end of the fifties, has been trying to make self-sufficient its programme of development of civil nuclear energy. In 1957, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi signed an accord of nuclear cooperation with the United States. The King nourished great ambitions, which envisaged the construction of several nuclear power stations for producing tens of thousands megawatts of electric power. The Islamic revolution of 1979 put an end to the programme of development, and

subsequently resumed it in the mid-eighties. Since then Iran has constantly tried to develop its own knowledge in every phase of the cycle of nuclear fuel.

Up to now there is no clear evidence of any Iranian military nuclear programme; nor is it likely that any will emerge, because Teheran will try to adopt a strategy of "nuclear hedging" (to place itself on the threshold of nuclear power). This choice shows a strategy that consists in keeping open (apparently, at least) the possibility of equipping the Country with nuclear weapons in a relatively short time, tanks to an autonomous capability of producing them rapidly, in a period that goes from some weeks to several years. In the most advanced version of the plan, Iran envisages to construct plants for the fuel cycle that can produce fissile materials (through uranium enrichment and/or plutonium separation), as well as to acquire the know-how necessary for transforming them in a nuclear explosive charge.



*Above.
Ballistic missiles on mobile launching pads.*

*Below.
A Mig 29.*



To this end, Iran has invested considerable resources. Starting from the mid-eighties, during the debilitating war against Iraq, it set in motion its programme again. In 1985 it concentrated its investments in the initial phase of the fuel cycle, starting a programme for enriching uranium through gas centrifuges, obtaining generous help from Pakistan, which supplied the P-1 centrifuges, first-generation machines that Iran has employed in its pilot plant of enrichment at Natanz. As far as is known, at this site there should be no more than a few hundred P-1 machines, although Iran intends to place there about a thousand of them. In

that case, the pilot plant could produce from 10 to 12 kg per year of uranium suitable for military employment; about 25 kg are required to make a first-generation nuclear weapon.

Moreover, Iran has built, still at Natanz, a very large plant for the enrichment on a commercial scale, which, once completed, could contain about 50,000 centrifuges. This structure could completely meet the yearly requirements of a reactor such as that of Busher, but its further enrichment could produce from 400 to 500 kg per year of uranium suitable for military employment, material sufficient for about twenty atomic bombs. An in-



interesting fact is that Iran is building this new plant underground, in order to protect it from possible air raids. In 2005 Israel purchased from the United States 500 "bunker busting" conventional bombs, made to penetrate into bunkers and destroy them.

HAS THERE BEEN A TECHNOLOGICAL "LEAP"?

Iran has also invested in more advanced centrifuges, the so-called P-2. In the autumn of 2003, the International Agency for Atomic Energy (IAEA) believed that Iran was "telling the whole truth" about its activities of uranium enrichment. Nevertheless, after the publication of its last report on the Country, in February 2006, there are serious doubts on the progress really made with the P-2 centrifuges. Although Teheran had obtained the projects in 1995, the Iranian officials have maintained that "until the beginning of 2002 no work had been done". The IAEA report, on the other hand, states that "the reasons put forward by Iran for the apparent inactivity between 1995 and 2002 are not giving a sufficient guarantee on the fact that during this entire period there were no connected activities". Moreover the IAEA inspectors found traces of highly enriched uranium in several centrifuges, and although a large part of them have been found on imported machines, there are still doubts about the enrichment activities actually carried out.

A ground-to-ground Oghab missile.

Although Iran has apparently developed more the initial phase (uranium enrichment) of the nuclear fuel cycle than the final one (reprocessing of the exhausted nuclear fuel and production of plutonium), many Iranian scientists and engineers have acquired a remarkable experience in the latter techniques. Even though the Country does not have a reprocessing plant on a commercial scale, it has proved its capability of extracting plutonium in a laboratory. Many security experts fear that Iran may use exhausted fuel coming from the Busher reactor (which is not yet operational) to produce plutonium. Although the plutonium coming from a reactor (i.e. the kind of plutonium that the Busher reactor would produce in normal conditions) is not the ideal one for making atomic weapons, there are no physical principles preventing its use for military purposes: at most, there would only be more technical difficulties. Moreover, Iran could use the Busher reactor to produce the plutonium suitable for these purposes, although an external inspection could probably detect this type of activity. Precisely in order to prevent the possibility of a reuse of the exhausted uranium, Russia has stated that it will not supply any fuel if Iran does not accept to return it when exhausted.

Irrespective of this accord, Iran could nevertheless follow the plutonium path to produce atomic

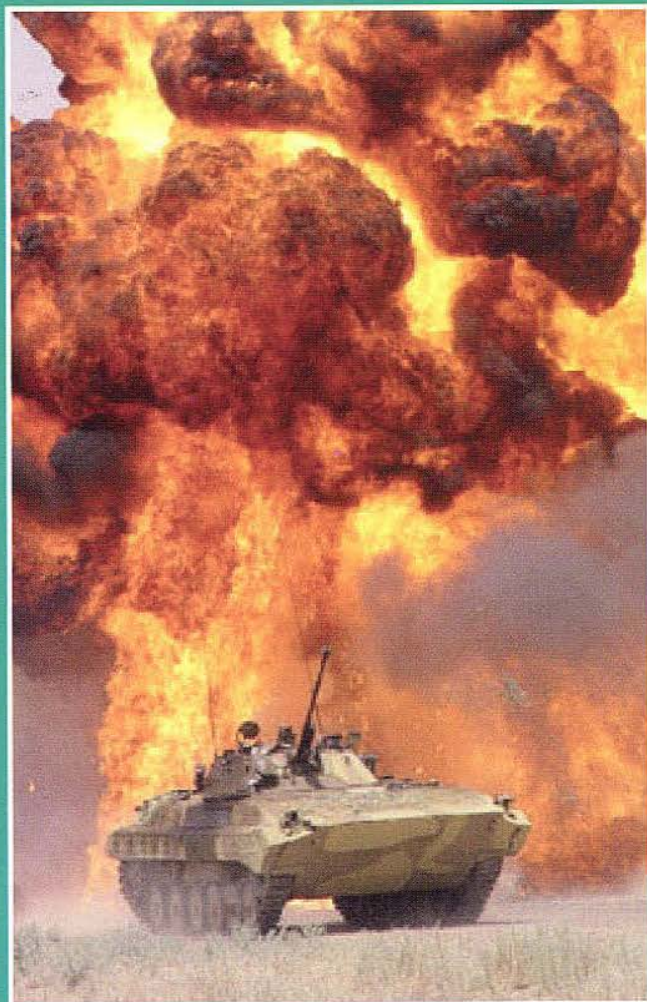
bombs. In May 2003 it announced its plan to build a 40 MW heavy-water thermal reactor at Khondab, near Arak, a small town 200km southwest of Teheran. In the same place, Iran has also built the first plant for producing heavy water, the element which moderates the neutrons, a necessary stage in the complex process that leads to nuclear energy. The installation, inaugurated by President Ahmadinejad on August 26, 2006, a few days before the expiry of the UN ultimatum on the suspension of the programme, makes Iran the ninth Country in the world equipped with such a structure. At first, the Iranian officials told AIEA that the heavy water was produced for exportation, while subsequently they admitted that it would be used for the reactor, to moderate the nuclear reaction. Nevertheless, this process could also be very effective in the production of plutonium for military purposes (compared to a reactor using light water or even common water). The official aim of this site is to produce radioisotopes for medical and industrial use, as well as scientific research: but a structure of such dimensions could produce from eight to ten kg per year of plutonium for military employment, i.e. a quantity sufficient to construct at least one atom bomb.

Nevertheless the regime, in its attempt to reassure the international community, insists on its intention of "living in peace together with all peoples". A statement probably aimed at avoiding the imposition of economic sanctions.

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND PERCEPTION OF THE THREATS

Unlike what is commonly believed, the Treaty of nuclear non-proliferation (TNP) apparently has not convinced the various States to give up the development of nuclear armaments completely. Rather, it has encouraged them (at least initially, and in certain cases permanently) to go from actual development to "nuclear hedging". The TNP itself in article IV states that a State that has no nuclear weapons, and complies fully with the terms of the treaty, has "the inalienable right to develop the research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, without suffering discriminations in line with articles I and II of the Treaty". The latter refer to the obligation not to buy or produce nuclear weapons.

Before the US intervention in Afghanistan in 2001, the main objective of the Iranian nuclear effort was that of deterring Iraq. The other possible threats, according to the Iranian perception, were represented by Israel, Turkey and Pakistan; the latter both directly and through the support given from Islamabad to the Taliban regime in



BMP 2 armoured combat vehicle.

Afghanistan. Besides, the nuclear weapons could allow Iran to compensate for its strategic isolation vis-à-vis the growing American presence in the region of the Persian Gulf. Moreover, Teheran believed that such weapons could counterbalance the weakness of its Armed Forces, made even more evident if compared with the powerful Air Force of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. But, besides facing the threat and conferring authority, apparently nuclear weapons are bringing "benefits" to the regime also inside the Country. Following the examples of India and Pakistan, the Iranian leadership can display the nuclear technology to counterbalance the lack of progress in many sectors of the economy.

With the overthrowing of the Taliban regime and the end, in 2003, of the Iraqi arch-enemy, Saddam Hussein, one can say that some of the reasons that prompted the acquisition of this technology have vanished. Nevertheless, the other enemy, the United States, is at this point militarily present both in Afghanistan and Iraq. According to a witticism that



Above.
Launching a Shahab 3 ballistic missile from a mobile pad.

Right.
A Kilo-class submarine.

goes around Teheran "there are only two Countries in the world that border exclusively on the United States: ours and Canada". It is true that today the Americans surround Iran on three sides, considering the US presence in the Persian Gulf on the south of Iran, but from a purely military viewpoint, the United States, as was shown during the campaign in Iraq, would not need a presence in those two Countries to launch an attack on Iran.

The case of the Iranian nuclear power draws the attention not only for its specific importance, but also because all the protagonists express their positions while the question pertains by now to the United Nations. Beyond the first appearances, there has been a remarkable evolution vis-à-vis the starting points of the crisis. The international community and especially AIEA have expressed their worries regarding the Iranian projects and inspected the nuclear sites, reaching the point of imposing an ultimatum, on the basis of which the programmes had to be interrupted within August of the past year, threatening sanctions in case of non-compliance. The ultimatum expired, and at the meeting of October 6 at Lancaster House, in London, the 5+1 Group, the five permanent members of the Security Council and Germany, who are negotiating on the matter, apparently have not reached an agreement yet about the necessity of sanctions, as limited as they could be, in

the form of an embargo on nuclear and missile technology, besides a ban on all the Iranian personalities involved in nuclear projects. In any case the question would not be regulated by article 7, which could lead to armed interventions in case of non-compliance with the directions of the Security Council of the United Nations, but by the milder and more elastic article 41.

Very few any are convinced that the Iranian projects are peaceful, but many believe that the plans will not be put into practice, because the reactors supplied by Russia would be neither sufficient nor suitable for such purpose.

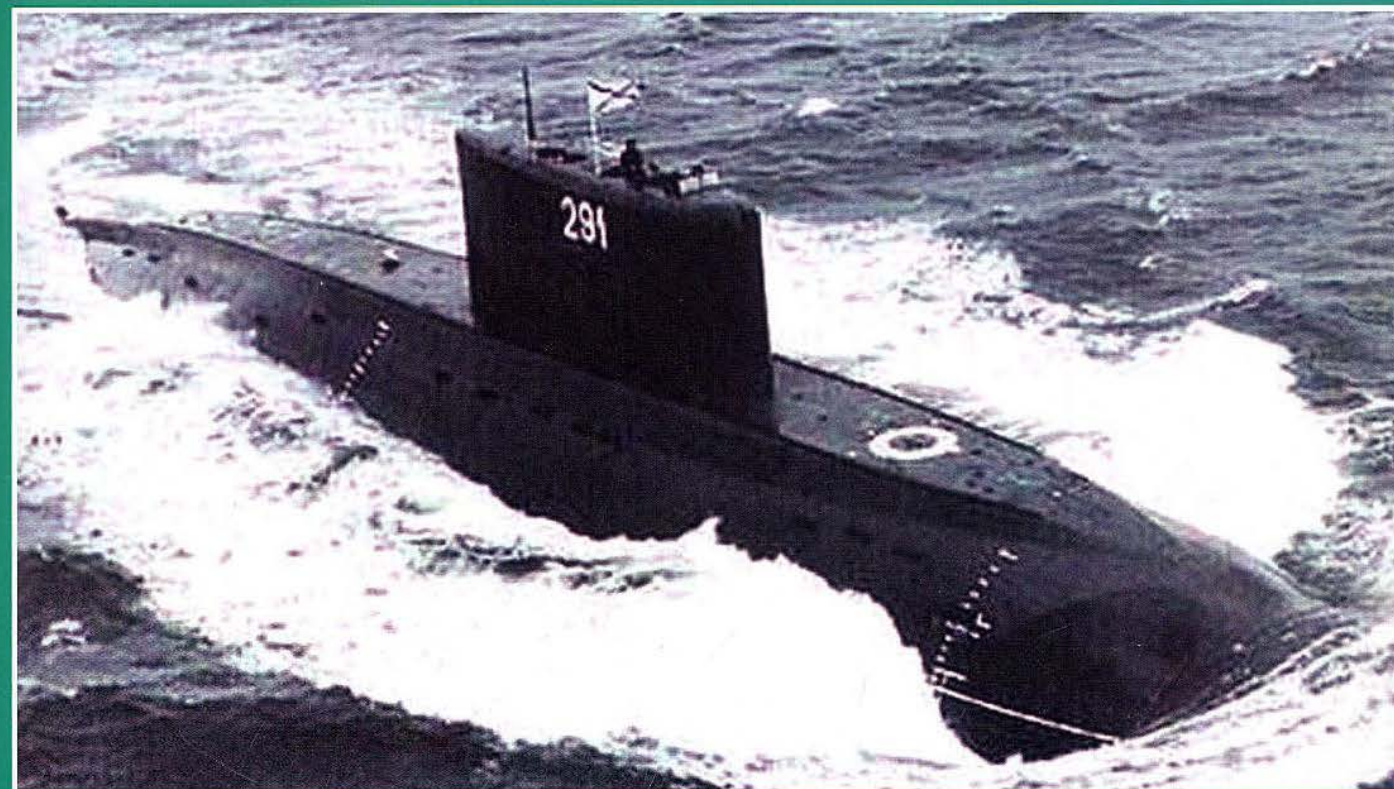
Up to now neither military threats, nor political pressures, nor economic offers have succeeded in making the Iranians desist from their programmes. The latest inter-Atlantic proposal, advanced in July 2006 by the European Union, which included a long list of incentives aimed at promoting the economic development of Iran in exchange for the cessation of the researches on enriched uranium, came to nothing. Nevertheless, in the

present situation, there is still a margin for trying to find a diplomatic solution, considering the economic and geo-strategic position that this Country holds for the rest of the world.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

From the geographic viewpoint, Iran is in an enviable strategic place, close to big importers of oil

and natural gas, such as India, China and Europe. It has 130 billion barrels of verified reserves of crude, 10 per cent of the world amount, and boasts the second gas deposits of the planet: 36,000 billion cubic metres.



Wells, refineries, pipelines, off-shore platforms, oil depots and terminals are in integrant part of the Persian landscape, from the Caspian Sea to the shores of the Indian Ocean. The hydrocarbon sector provides 22 per cent of the GNP, 80 per cent of the exports and almost 90 per cent of the revenue. The endless flow of hydrocarbons has allowed the regime to maintain ratios of annual economic growth of 6 per cent per year, improve the trade surplus, reduce the foreign debt, accumulate cash reserves, and reduce social pressure by subsidizing a primary good such as petrol, which is sold at paltry prices.

President Ahmadinejad, alleging Shi'ite Messianism, for internal policy relies on the *Mostazafin*, the outcasts, and their Persian version, the *Paberhanè* "those who go barefoot". Up to now the "Islamic revolution" has not improved their condition,

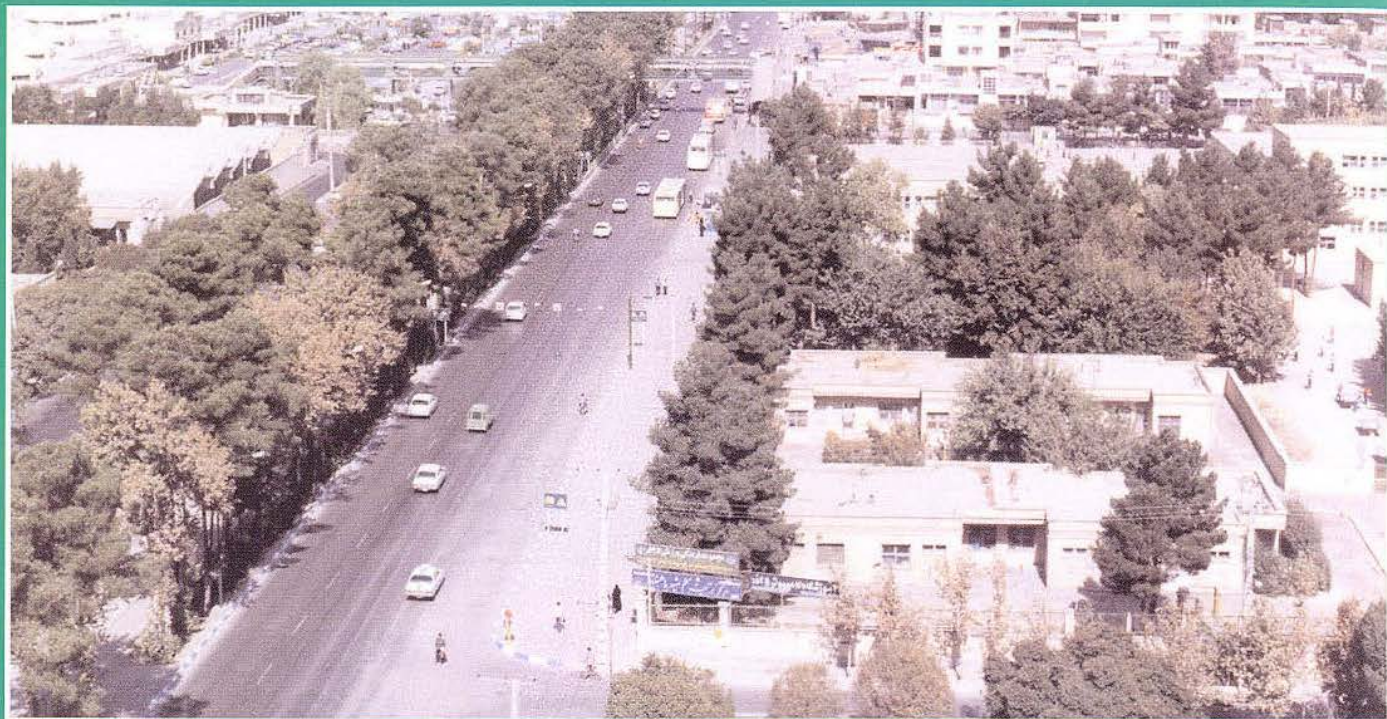
in point of fact their living standard is lower if compared to the times of the Shah, while poverty has increased. But there are not many concrete margins for changing this situation: 80 per cent of the Iranian economy is nationalized or controlled by Islamic foundations, and is weighed down by a bureaucracy that hinders or makes very difficult the relations with foreign enterprises. The President has tried to imitate Venezuelan President

Chavez, distributing a part of the remarkable oil revenues, significantly grown during the last two years, with subventions and grants to the lower classes, thus reducing social tensions, but with very little contribution to a healthy social development and the real growth of the Country.

More than one third of the crude exports is destined to Europe. Forty-five per cent of the inter-exchange is made in the Euro zone, and half of the monetary reserves are in Euros.

Today crude is quoted in dollars on London's International petroleum exchange (Ipe) and the New York Mercantile exchange (Nimex), both controlled by the great Western companies. The consumer Countries have no alternatives, and the central banks, in order to cope with the energy demand, must accumulate reserves of American currency, thus contributing to strengthen the economy of the superpower.

In 2003 Moscow and Peking have started to diversify their strategic reserves into Euros. The



*Above.
The centre of Isfahan.*

*Facing page, above.
The Iranian Army Coat of Arms.*

*Facing page, below.
A rocket launcher in action.*

reevaluation of the Yuan, in July 2005, has been accompanied by the decision to put in the Chinese coffer the Euro and the yen beside the dollar. During the last three years Teheran has been requiring that most of its crude exported to Asia and Europe be paid in Euros.

In the meantime, with the new course inaugurated by the Iranian President, the relations with the West have rapidly cooled. The threat of the sanctions that the Security Council of the United Nations could impose on Iran has increased its propensity to make an alliance with the East: with India, which will buy Iranian gas for the next 30 years, and with Peking, which imports 13 per cent of crude and gas and will participate in the exploitation of the Yadavaran oil fields, on the Iraqi border.

Widening its field of action, Iran can count on important convergences also with Russia, which winks at the nuclear programme looking at the Persian ports as ideal outlets for marketing a sizeable part of its energy wealth. In prospect, also natural gas offers ample and widespread opportunities for its employment, which tends to progressively replace oil as basic commodity for the production of energy for industrial and domestic use.

There is a world race for all the connected forms of induced activities, from the plants for the transformation at the starting and arrival points of the liquefied natural gas supplies (Lng), for the super methane-tankers which will transport it, and the engineering works and off-shore services that will put it into production. At the same time, the gas pipelines are going to have a primary interest for

the producing Countries, which, through the regional networks, are trying to construct geo-polices of commercial vicinity.

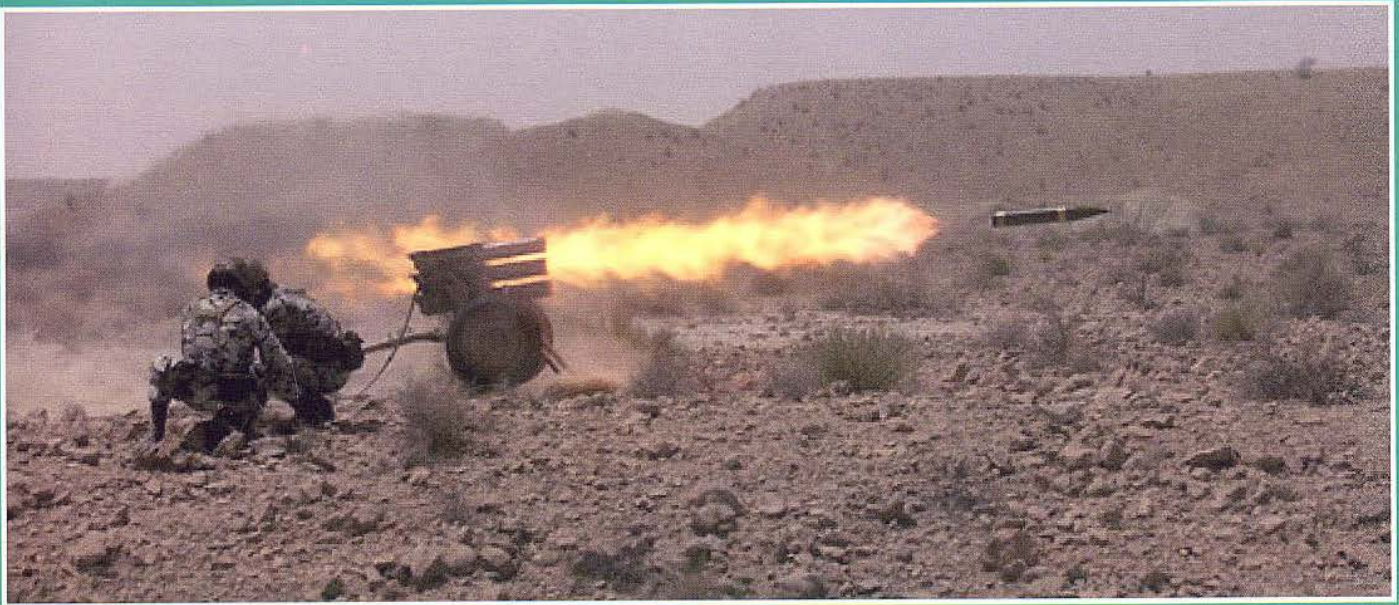
This situation is potentially ideal for Iran. It could permit the Country to exit from isolation, find investors for exploiting its ample resources, thus changing from producing country to partner of Countries that count in the present international picture.

Therefore, to decide how to employ this immense potential in order to achieve one's development objectives is a strategic choice. Unfortunately, every attempt at diversifying the income sources to support a balanced growth, and reduce the negative consequences of the price fluctuations of the energy products, has failed. The continuous increases in the price of the latter, with their positive repercussions on the revenue, although fostering development, have certainly not spurred the Government to follow a more rigorous economic policy. On the contrary, they have favoured the growth of the public expense, thus making less urgent the indispensable diversification of the revenues through the growth of other industries.



for achieving its goals: besides gas and oil, it possesses large mineral and agricultural resources and, thanks to its prevalently "young" population, it has an enormous labour-force potential. Not all its neighbouring Countries are in such favourable conditions. Although there may be nations which, like Saudi Arabia, have greater energy reservoirs or, like Turkey, more advanced industries, none can boast a combination of resources and a geo-strategic position as favourable as Iran's.

Of course there are obstacles: the international pressure raised by the nuclear question and the emergence of internal structural problems, which are a great hindrance to the development of the Country. The State's dominating presence in the economy, the ineffectiveness of the banking sector and of the manufacturing industries, the scarce competitiveness, raise serious doubts about Iran's possibility to attain a dominant position on a regional scale.



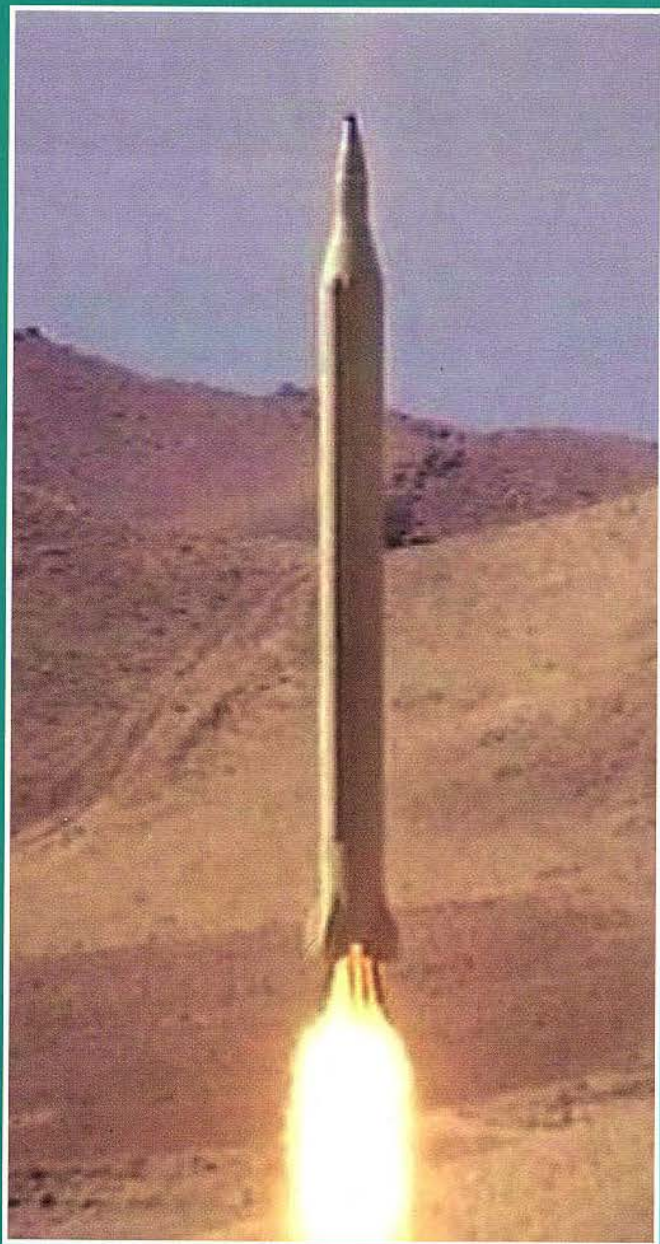
The failed expansion in other sectors and the slowness of the process of privatization and internationalization of the market and of the Iranian enterprises, in the long term hamper the development of the Country. The problem is made worse by the lack of infrastructure, even if the growth rate is still high thanks to oil. Moreover, the expansion of other industries is also restrained by scarce management and planning capabilities, with the result that the Country cannot fully exploit the enormous potential at its disposal.

Iran tends to employ its immense energy resources to promote its industrial growth, spurred by the ambition to become a leading Country as regards the economic and technological development of the entire region of the Persian Gulf. In many aspects it enjoys a most favourable position

Furthermore, the years of relative isolation, due not only to the sanctions imposed from the exterior, but also to its persistent antagonistic policies, prevent Iran from keeping pace with the developments of the international markets and strengthen the positions of the internal economic potentates, which are jealous of their prerogatives.

THE MISSILES

Iran considers missiles not only strategic weapons but also instruments to be used for distorting the perceptions of the enemies. Slogans are written on the Iranian missiles in order to send messages to the international community. In 1998, during a military parade commemorating



A Shahab 3 missile immediately after launching.

the end of the conflict against Iraq, a *Shahab 3*, the longest-range Iranian missile was paraded on the streets of Teheran with the following messages: *Israel must be razed to the ground and there is nothing the US can do*. The following year, the *Shahab 3* carried only one message, a quotation from Khomeini: *We will crush the United States*. Still in 1999, also another missile, the *Zelzal 1*, was paraded with a placard that proclaimed: *Khamenei is the new Khomeini and his reign is Ali's reign*, a reference to the infallible reign of the first Imam of the Shi'ite Muslims. This message, unlike the others, was addressed to the Iranian population as a warning sent by the intransigent to the reformists, so that they would not underesti-

mate the military power in the hands of the governing Ayatollahs.

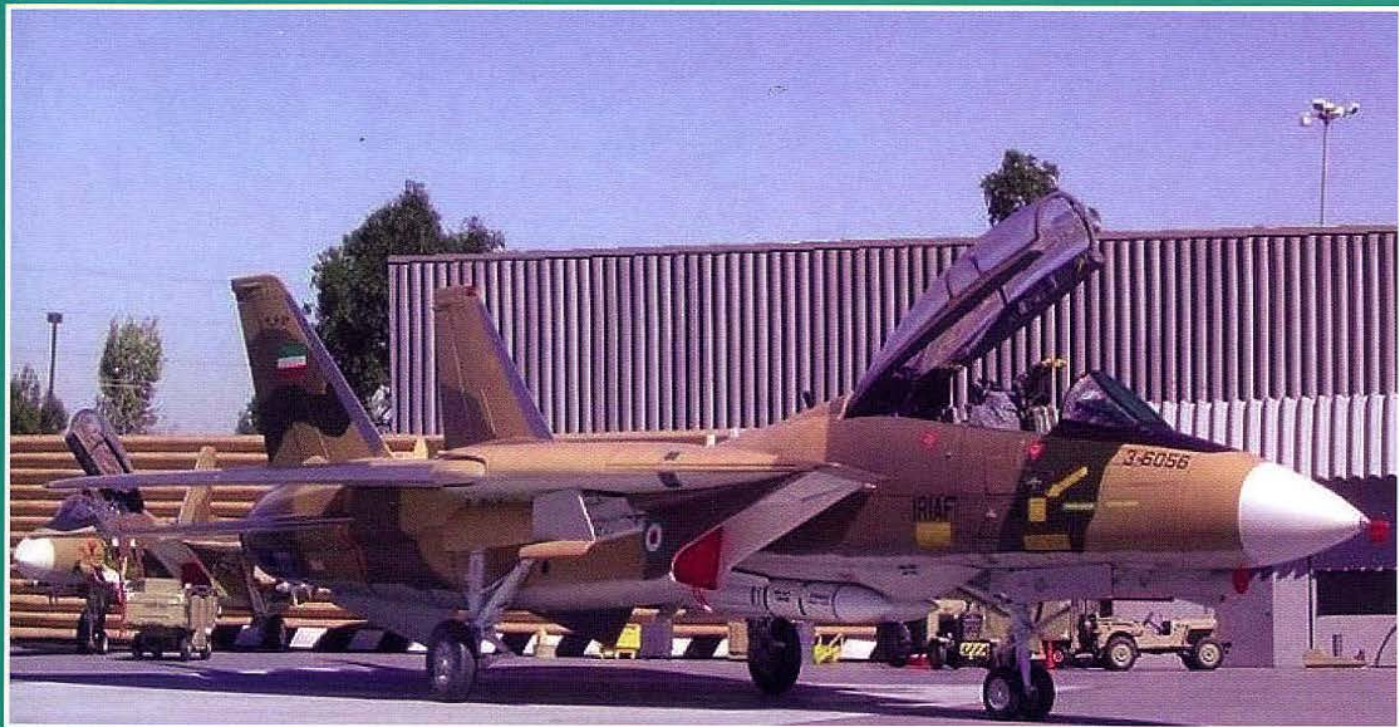
Contrary to what happens for other programmes regarding weapons of mass destruction, whose existence is denied by the government officials, Teheran tends to overemphasize the missile power of the Country. It displays its arsenal and poses as a minor missile power. It is important to recognize in this the meaning and the force of image and perception. According to some Iranian representatives, nevertheless these messages should not be interpreted literally. The missiles are intended to have a high symbolic value for society, as they represent prestige and power.

Today Iran has the second ballistic missile force in the developing Countries, after North Korea. A large number of these carriers, or also long-range artillery rockets, that can be equipped with conventional high-potential explosive, submunitions, chemical, biological, nuclear or radiological warheads.

Their genesis can be classified in three phases: a pre-revolutionary one (1977-1979), a post-revo-



lutionary one, during the period of the war against Iraq (1980-1988) and the post-war period, from 1989 to this day. The last two phases have taken into account a precise number of factors of considerable importance: the necessities of war, and therefore the need to strike short-range strategic objectives in Iraq, quantity and quality of the technologically sensitive carriers, growth, both in



Above.
An F14 Tomcat.

Left.
A T55 tank.



number and experience, of local specialists in the sector of development of the military-industrial complex, determination to acquire the possibility to oppose directly Israel and the US installations in the Middle East.

The Iranians, masters in "reverse engineering", built their first missile, the *Shahab1*. Fuelled by liquid propellant, it was a national version of the

300km-range *Scud B*, which was followed by the *Shahab 2*, a variant of the 500km *Scud C* and finally the *Shahab 3*, with a range of 1300km. All these programmes derive from the North Korean production, improved with Russian technology. The last attempt at developing a 2900km *Shahab 4*, is a direct derivation of the North Korean *Tae-podong*.

It should be added that all these carriers, about 350, are not equipped with nuclear warheads, and probably neither with chemical ones and, although representing a danger for the neighbouring Countries, at present they have a scarce efficacy. They are inaccurate and rather unreliable weapons. Iran has 6 Brigades of *Shahab 3* missiles, the first of which was constituted in July 2003. These weapons are deployed in both their standard version, with a range of 1300km, and in the upgraded version, with a range reaching 2000km. These units are continuously moved between the western provinces of Kermanshah and Hamadan, while the reserves are in the eastern provinces of Fars and Isfahan. The fact that they are moved daily within a range of 35km, makes one suppose that the Command and Control structure is not much developed.

During the "Saint Prophet" air-naval exercise carried out by Iran between the end of March and



April 2006 in the Gulf of Oman and in the Strait of Hormuz, the Teheran military authorities launched a *Shahab 2*, calling it *Fajr 3*: an unguided 230mm artillery rocket, credited with a range of 45km. Much more disquieting is the availability of an anti-ship missile, employable also for coastal attacks, that can be launched by submarines. These are probably weapons developed in Russia (the *Club* series) and exported, for example to India and China, and can also be employed by surface units. They are dangerous especially if used by one of the three submarines of the *Kilo* class (type 877 EKM) available to the Iranian Navy, which have recently become operational also at the new base of Chah Bahar, that permits to enter the Gulf of Oman avoiding the Strait of Hormuz. The most dangerous Iranian threat consists precisely of this: a strategy of naval interdiction that envisages closing Hormuz and attack the supertankers. It foresees also the employment of the "EM53" mines, believed by some capable of sinking an aircraft carrier, and of the *Houdong* missile-carrying ships, coordinated with air attacks. This is how the Iranians think of playing their game.

THE ARMED FORCES

Iran can count on 545,000 servicemen: 350,000 in the Army, 18,000 in the Navy and 52,000 in the Air Force.

A Rapier AA missile system and an Oerlikon anti-aircraft gun.

The Corps of the Guardians of the Islamic Revolution (*Pasdaran*), instead, is organized structured in four branches: the Special Forces (*Al Qods*), the Naval, Air and Land Forces, for a total of 125,000 men. There are moreover 90,000 *Basij*, a people's militia that can reach the number of 300,000 men with the reserves, and nearly one million as mobilization capability of men and women. They are subordinate to the Chief of the *Pasdaran* and, through him, to the "Supreme Guidance" of the Islamic Revolution.

Fifteen per cent of the Iranian industry produces war material that it exports also to other Countries. Officially 5 billion dollars are spent every year for defence, but considerable resources, which do not appear in the budget, are financing the *Pasdaran*, who are entrusted the heavy equipment, the protection of the strategic sites and the control of dozens of *Shahab* ballistic missiles. Teheran has also SA 7, SA 14, SA 16 mobile anti-aircraft missile weapon systems, 50 ground-to-ground CSS 8 *Nazeat* and *Oghab* tactical missiles. There are moreover 18 launchers for *Scud B/C* and 300 launchers for the following missiles: *Hawk*, *Tigercat*, *Crotale*, *Sayyad 1* (a copy of the Russian SA2), *Pechora 2*, (an updated SA 3), *Ghareh* (a copy of the 250km-range SA 5 Gammon), *S 300* and *Tor M1*.

The Army has ten Divisions that include also an air Brigade, Special Forces, coastal defence Forces and a logistic Brigade. The 23rd Commando Division (Special Forces), created in 1993, consists of 5000 effectives, all professionals from elite units. The armoured Divisions are usually divided into three Brigades. The acquisition of Chinese, Polish and Ukrainian new MBTs (Main Battle Tanks) has permitted to expand the armoured units, that today add up to 1620 tanks of various types: T54/55, T62, T72, the Chinese T59 and T69,

Right.
Soldiers on training.

Below.
A pair of Mig 29 in flight over the Iranian desert.



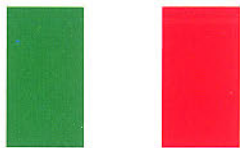
Chieftain, M60, M48 and M47. The Iranian Air Force, immediately after the end of the Iran-Iraq conflict, has partially rebuilt its fleet with Mig 29 fighters, *Sukhoi Su 24 MK "Fencer"* Soviet bombers and F7M Chinese fighters. In the arsenal there are still American F4 *Phantoms* and F14 *Tomcats*. Iran's is the only Force that continues to use them after they have been withdrawn from service in the United States. In total there are 203 airplanes, including the *Tanker Boeing 707*, the *Cargo 727* and the transport 747. The attack helicopters are Bell AH 1J *Sea Cobra* (updated with the name *Panha 2091*), the transport ones are the home-produced *Shabaviz 206*, the Bell 204 UH 1, CH 47 *Chinook*, Agusta/Bell 206 and 212, Bell 214 and Hughes 300. A total of 340 aircraft. The Navy, despite the wide exposure of the Country on the Persian Gulf,

has never experienced a development as ambitious as that of the Army and the Air Force. With a decidedly reduced instrument already in the monarchic era, today it can count on 3 *Damavand* class obsolete Destroyers, 3 *Alvand* class Frigates, 2 *Bayandor* class Corvettes, less than 20 light missile launchers of the *Houdong* and *Kaman* class, 3 amphibious ships of the *Hengam* class, 4 minesweepers of the *Riazi* and *Harishi* class, some Hovercraft, 3 *Kilo* class submarines purchased from Russia and a great variety of small and medium armed coasting vessels. It has moreover three battalions of Navy Infantry and an Air component consisting of airplanes and helicopters.

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SUMMARY IN VARIOUS LANGUAGES



Il concetto di guerra nell'Islam, di Pietro Tornabene (pag. 2).

Lo stereotipo più diffuso tra gli occidentali è quello di un Islam appartenente a un mondo contrapposto, assetato di sangue, vendicativo, ostile, fanatico, intollerante e arretrato. Non è così. Un'attenta lettura dei punti salienti del Corano rivela una missione ben diversa, soprattutto per quanto riguarda il concetto di «guerra santa».

La Cina: sfide e incognite, di Giovanni Bucciol (pag. 12).

Un gigante dai piedi d'argilla o la futura nazione-guida del pianeta? Un interrogativo che intriga e preoccupa, ma che resta senza risposta. Leggere il futuro di questo incredibile Paese attraverso la sua contraddittoria realtà è un'impresa titanica che nessun politico o economista occidentale sembra in grado di compiere.

Viaggio nell'inferno somalo, di Daniele Cellamare (pag. 22).

Stragi e massacri si perpetrano da decenni in quel lontano lembo del Corno d'Africa, disegnando un quadro apocalittico. Nello scontro in atto centinaia di migliaia di persone sono considerate variabili geo-strategiche, merce di scambio, semplici pedine degli interessi politici ed economici internazionali.

Counterinsurgency, di Claudio Berto (pag. 34).

I conflitti non convenzionali richiedono giusto approccio, adeguata metodologia e personale ben addestrato a operare in modo flessibile.

Solo così la «guerra delle pulci» può essere vinta. Riflessioni significative sul passato possono aiutare a comprendere la complessa problematica.

Gli Assessment Centers: l'uomo giusto al posto giusto, di Riccardo Stanca e Daniele Raggi (pag. 47).

Le esperienze operative ci insegnano che è necessario conoscere profondamente le qualità del personale a disposizione per poterlo impiegare in modo corretto. Attraverso le attività d'orientamento professionale, improntate sulle metodologie della psicologia del lavoro, si è in grado da un lato di ottimizzare l'abbinamento uomo-incarico, dall'altro di poter acquisire consapevolezza delle proprie risorse.

Le donne-militari nel peacekeeping, di Marina Catena (pag. 58).

Il loro impiego nei Teatri operativi è una preziosa risorsa, per professionalità, esperienza e sensibilità, che ben si inserisce nella soluzione degli innumerevoli problemi che quotidianamente si presentano. Una partecipazione, dunque, di alto valore qualitativo, soprattutto per la spiccata capacità di comunicare e di inserirsi nelle realtà locali.

La digitalizzazione dello spazio di manovra: il modello francese, di Antonio Peca e Marco Biagini (pag. 71).

L'Esercito transalpino ha avviato un processo radicale di trasformazione che si fonda sugli straordinari progressi della tecnologia nel campo delle comunicazioni e della gestione telematica delle informazioni.

Un nuovo concetto netcentrico che può costituire un valido riferimento anche per la nostra Forza Armata.

Future Combat Systems, di Paolo Valpolini (pag. 83).

Un programma destinato a rivoluzionare l'US Army, in termini di approccio al combattimento, di veicoli, di logistica, non può non essere oggetto di vivace discussione. Non ci si deve, quindi, sorprendere se i pareri sul futuro «sistema dei sistemi» delle forze di terra americane sia al centro di un'aspra contesa.

Informazione e propaganda, di Massimo Chiais (pag. 93).

Tradizionali strumenti strategici per l'acquisizione e il mantenimento del consenso, oggi, nell'era della guerra asimmetrica e del terrorismo, rappresentano l'arma globale della comunicazione e della persuasione per eccellenza.

I soldati «Brava gente» del grande schermo, di Sabrina Carreras (pag. 99).

Da «Il mandolino del Capitano Corelli» al recente film italiano «Le rose del deserto», il cinema, sia esso di matrice anglosassone che di produzione italiana, propone un'immagine dei nostri militari fortemente stereotipata che tende a privilegiare le qualità umane del soldato buono piuttosto che le virtù militari del buon soldato.

Dalle lance alle lancette, di Flavio Russo (pag. 112).

Dalla veglia al momento del riposo notturno la nostra giornata è un serrato susseguirsi di indicazioni forniteci dalla pletora di lancette che ci circondano.

Tutte hanno origine da una comune antenata: non uccidono più ma ci condizionano sempre.



The Concept of War in Islam, by Pietro Tornabene (p. 2).

The stereotype most widespread among Westerners is that of an Islam belonging to a hostile world, bloodthirsty, revengeful, adverse, fanatic, intolerant and backward. It is not so. A careful reading of the main points in the Koran reveals a very different mission, especially as regards the concept of «holy war».

China: Challenges and Uncertainties, by Giovanni Bucciol (p. 12).

A giant with feet of clay or the future leader-nation of the planet? An intriguing and worrying question that remains unanswered. To read the future of this incredible Country through its contradictory reality is a titanic job that no western politician or economist seems capable of accomplishing.

Journey Inside the Somalian Hell, by Daniele Cellamare (p. 22).

Destructions and massacres have been going on for years in that remote area of the Horn of Africa, drawing an apocalyptic picture. In the clash that is taking place, hundreds of thousands of people are considered geostrategic variables, goods that can be bartered, simple pawns of international political and economic interests.

Counterinsurgency, by Claudio Berto (p. 34).

Non-conventional conflicts require a correct approach, adequate methodology and personnel well trained to operate with flexibility. Only in this way will the «flea war» be won. Significant reflections on the past can help to understand these complex problems.

The Assessment Centers: the Right Man in the Right Place, by Riccardo Stanca and Daniele Raggi (p. 47).

The operating experiences teach us that we should know in depth the qualities of the personnel at our disposal, in order to be able to employ them correctly. Through activities of vocational guidance, based on methodologies of work psychology, on the one hand we can optimise the man-job pairing, on the other we can obtain full awareness of our resources.

Women Soldiers in Peacekeeping, by Marina Catena (p. 58).

The employment of women in operational Theatres is a precious resource, in view of their professionalism, experience and sensitivity, which are very important for the solution of the countless daily problems. Their participation is therefore of a high qualitative value, especially for their ability to communicate and get inside the local situations.

The Digitisation of the Manoeuvre Space: the French Model, by Antonio Peca and Marco Biagini (p. 71).

The transalpine Army has started a thorough process of transformation based on the extraordinary progress made by technology on the field of communication and telematic management of information.

This new net-centric concept can be a valid reference also for our Army.

Future Combat Systems, by Paolo Valpolini (p. 83).

A programme destined to revolutionize the US Army as regards approach to combat, vehicles and logistics, cannot but be the object of animated discussions. Therefore one should not be surprised if the opinions on the future «system of systems» of the American land forces are at the centre of a harsh contention.

Information and Propaganda, by Massimo Chiais (p. 93).

Today, in the era of terrorism and asymmetric war, these traditional strategic instruments for acquiring and maintaining consensus represent the global weapon of communication and persuasion par excellence.

The «Nice People» Soldiers of the Screen, by Sabrina Carreras (p. 99).

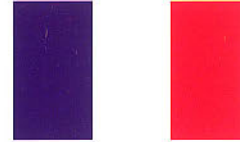
From «Captain Corelli's Mandolin» to the recent Italian picture «The Roses of the Desert», the cinema, be it an Anglo-Saxon or an Italian production, propounds a strongly stereotyped image of our soldiers, tending to

underline the human qualities of the «good-hearted» soldier rather than his military valour.

From Lances to Pointers, by Flavio Russo (p. 112).

From the moment we wake up until we go to sleep our day is a fast succession of indications supplied by the plethora of pointers that surround us.

They all originate from a common ancestor: they don't kill anymore, but they always condition us.



Le concept de guerre dans l'Islam, par Pietro Tornabene (p. 2).

Le cliché le plus courant parmi les occidentaux est celui qui présente l'Islam comme un monde antagonique, assoiffé de sang, animé par l'esprit de vengeance, hostile, fanatique, intolérant et arriéré. Il n'en est pas ainsi. Une lecture attentive des passages les plus saillants du Coran révèle une mission bien différente, notamment pour ce qui est du concept de «guerre sainte».

La Chine: défis et inconnues, par Giovanni Buccioli (p. 12).

Un géant aux pieds d'argile ou le futur pays leader de la planète? Voilà une question qui intrigue et inquiète. Aussi, est-on encore loin d'y trouver une réponse. Lire l'avenir de cet incroyable pays est un travail de titan qu'aucun politicien ou économiste occidental ne semble être à même de réaliser.

Voyage dans l'enfer somalien, par Daniele Cellamare (p. 22).

Les innombrables massacres perpétrés depuis des décennies dans ce coin éloigné de la Corne de l'Afrique ont tracé un tableau apocalyptique où des centaines de milliers de personnes sont considérées comme des variables géostratégiques, une marchandise d'échange, de simples pions sur l'échiquier des intérêts politiques et économiques internationaux.

Counterinsurgency, par Claudio Berto (p. 34).

Les conflits non conventionnels demandent une approche correcte, une méthodologie appropriée et un personnel instruit en vue d'intervenir avec le maximum de flexibilité.

La «guerre des puces» ne saurait être gagnée autrement. En réfléchissant sur le passé l'on pourrait peut-être mieux comprendre cette problématique complexe.

Les Assessment Centres: la bonne personne au bon endroit, par Riccardo Stanca et Daniele Raggi (p. 47).

Les expériences dans le domaine opérationnel nous enseignent qu'il faut connaître à fond les qualités du personnel dont on dispose pour pouvoir l'employer correctement. A travers les activités d'orientation professionnelle, s'inspirant des méthodologies liées à la psychologie du travail, on peut optimiser le



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binôme homme-tâche et connaître à fond les ressources dont on dispose.

Les femmes-militaires dans les opérations de maintien de la paix, par Marina Catena (p. 58).

De par leur professionnalisme, leur expérience et leur sensibilité, les femmes militaires représentent une ressource dont l'emploi dans les théâtres opérationnels s'avère précieux pour la solution des innombrables problèmes qui se posent quotidiennement. Il s'agit donc d'une participation de très haut niveau qualitatif, notamment pour ce qui est de leur remarquable capacité de communiquer et de s'intégrer aux différentes réalités locales.

La digitalisation de l'espace de manœuvre: le modèle français, par Antonio Peca et Marco Biagini (p. 71).

L'Armée transalpine a amorcé un processus de transformation radicale reposant sur les extraordinaires progrès de la technologie dans le domaine des communications et de la gestion télématique des informations.

Un nouveau concept basé sur la centralité du réseau qui peut constituer un point de repère valable pour la Force armée italienne également.

Future Combat Systems, par Paolo Valpolini (p. 83).

Un programme destiné à révolutionner l'US Army pour ce qui est de l'approche au combat, des véhicules et de la logistique ne saurait échapper à une discussion animée. Il ne faut donc pas se surprendre si l'avenir du «système des systèmes» des forces de terre américaines est aujourd'hui au cœur d'un débat acerbe.

Information et propagande, par Massimo Chiais (p. 93).

Des instruments stratégiques traditionnels pour obtenir et maintenir le consensus, aujourd'hui, dans l'ère de la guerre asymétrique et du terrorisme, représentent l'arme globale de la communication et de la persuasion par excellence.

Les soldats «Brava gente» sur le grand écran, par Sabrina Carreras (p. 99).

«Capitaine Corelli» et plus récemment «Le rose del deserto»: le cinéma, aussi bien anglo-saxon qu'italien, a toujours proposé une image de nos militaires extrêmement stéréotypée qui tend à privilégier les qualités humaines du brave soldat plutôt que les vertus du soldat brave.

La vie de l'homme rythmée par les lances et les aiguilles, par Flavio Russo (p. 112).

Depuis que nous nous réveillons jusqu'au moment où nous allons nous coucher, notre journée suit un rythme intense cadencé par les indications provenant de la pléthore d'aiguilles de montres qui nous entourent, tel que le faisaient autrefois les lances. Aujourd'hui, les lances ne tuent plus mais elles continuent à conditionner nos vies sous la forme des aiguilles d'une montre.

*n.d.t.: en italien l'auteur utilise un jeu de mots «lance» (lances) et «lancette» (aiguilles d'une montre).



Die islamische Auffassung von Krieg, von Pietro Tornabene (S. 2).

Sehr verbreitet im Westen ist das Vorurteil von einem rückständigen, intoleranten, fanatischen, feindseligen, rachgierigen, blutdurstigen Islam, der einer uns entgegengesetzten Welt angehört. Es ist aber nicht so. Eine genaue Lektüre der Schwerpunkte des Korans legt eine ganz andere Mission offen, vor allem was den Begriff von «Heiligem Krieg» betrifft.

China: Herausforderungen und Unbekannten, von Giovanni Bucciol (S. 12).

Gigant mit Lehmfüßen oder führende Nation der Zukunft? Eine Frage, die intrigiert und beunruhigt, aber noch ohne Antwort bleibt. Die Zukunft von diesem Land durch seine widerspruchsvolle Realität lesen, ist so eine Heldentat, die kein westlicher Politiker oder Wirtschaftler in der Lage zu sein scheint, die vollbringen zu können.

Reise durch die somalische Hölle, von Daniele Cellamare (S. 22).

Gemetzel und Massaker werden seit Jahrzehnten in jenem entfernten afrikanischen Streifenland ausgeübt und lassen ein apokalyptisches Bild entstehen. Bei der derzeitigen Auseinandersetzung werden Hunderttausende von Menschen als geostrategische Variablen, Austauschgüter, reine Werkzeuge im Rahmen der internationalen politischen und ökonomischen Interessen gewertet.

Counterinsurgency, von Claudio Berto (S. 34).

Die unkonventionellen Konflikte verlangen eine richtige Annäherung, eine angemessene Methodologie, und flexibel zu wirken ausgebildetes Personal. Nur so kann der «Flohkrieg» gewonnen werden. Ein reifliches Nachdenken über die Vergangenheit könnte beim Verständnis der komplexen Problematik helfen.

Die «Assessment Centers»: der richtige Mann am richtigen Platz, von Riccardo Stanca und Daniele Raggi (S. 47).

Die operativen Erfahrungen lehren uns, dass eine tiefe Kenntnis der Qualitäten des Personals notwendig ist, um es am besten verwenden zu können. Durch die Berufsberatung, auf Methoden der Arbeitspsychologie basiert, ist man in der Lage einerseits die Kopplung Mensch-Auftrag zu optimieren, andererseits sich das Bewusstsein der eigenen Ressourcen anzueignen.

Die Militär-Frauen im Peacekeeping, von Marina Catena (S. 58).

Ihr Einsatz in den operativen Gebieten ist eine wertvolle Ressource in Bezug auf Professionalität, Erfahrung und Sensibilität, in der Lösung der unzähligen alltäglichen-Probleme. Somit eine Mitarbeit von höchstem Wert, vor allem aufgrund ihrer ausgeprägten Kommunikationsfähigkeit und ihrer Begabung, sich in die lokalen Realitäten einzufügen.

Die Digitalisierung des Manöverraums: das französische Modell, von Antonio Peca und Marco Biagini (S. 71).

Das transalpinische Heer hat ein radikales Neugestaltungsverfahren eingeleitet, das sich auf die außerordentlichen Fortschritten im Bereich der Kommunikation und der elektronischen Informationsführung stützt. Ein neues auf das Netz basiertes Konzept, das auch für unsere Streitkräfte ein wirksamer Anhaltspunkt darstellen kann.

Future Combat Systems, von Paolo Valpolini (S. 83).

Ein Programm, das für die Revolutionierung der US Army bestimmt ist, kann, was Kampfbedingungen, Fahrzeuge, Logistik anbelangt, nur Thema einer lebhaften Diskussion sein. Es überrascht also nicht, dass die Meinungen über die Zukunft des «Systems der Systeme» der amerikanischen Landstreitkräfte der Schwerpunkt eines scharfen Streites sind.

Information und Propaganda, von Massimo Chiais (S. 93).

Traditionelle strategische Mittel für die Erwerbung und die Beibehaltung der Zustimmung stellen sie heute, in der Zeit des asymmetrischen Krieges und des Terrorismus, die globale Waffe der Kommunikation und der Überzeugung «par excellence» dar.

Die Filmsoldaten «Brava Gente» (Gute Menschen), von Sabrina Carreras (S. 99).

Von «Il mandolino del Capitano Corelli» (Die Mandoline des Kapitäns Corelli) bis zu dem kürzlich herausgekommenen italienischen Film «Le rose del deserto» (Die Wüstenrosen) stellt das Kino, sowohl der angelsächsischen als auch der italienischen Produktion, ein stark stereotypisches Bild unserer Streitkräfte vor, das eher die Qualitäten des guten Menschen als die militärischen Tugenden des guten Soldaten hervorhebt.

Von den Lanzen zu den Uhrzeigern, von Flavio Russo (S. 112).

Vom Wachen zum Nachtschlaf ist unser Tag ein rasches Aufeinanderfolgen von Hinweisen, die uns von einer Menge Zeiger um uns herum angegeben werden. Alle stammen aus einer gemeinsamen Ahne, die Lanze: sie töten nicht mehr, aber beeinflussen uns immer noch entscheidend.



El concepto de guerra en el Islam, Pietro Tornabene (pág. 2).

El estereotipo más difundido en Occidente es aquel que presenta el Islam como un mundo antagónico, sediento de sangre, vengador, hostil, fanático, intolerante y atrasado. No es así. Una lectura atenta de los pasajes más significativos del Corán revela una misión con mucho diferente, sobre todo en lo que atañe al concepto de «guerra santa».

China: retos e incógnitas, Giovanni Buccioli (pág. 12).

¿Un gigante con pies de arcilla o la futura nación líder del mundo? Un interrogante que intriga y preocupa, mientras

sigue siendo una incógnita la respuesta. Leer el futuro de este increíble país a través de su contradictoria realidad es una empresa titánica que ningún político o economista occidental parece estar en condiciones de llevar a cabo.

Viaje en el infierno somalí, Daniele Cellamare (pág. 22).

Los estragos y masacres perpetrados en estos últimos decenios en esa lejana franja del Cuerno de África han trazado en cuadro apocalíptico en el que se consideran a miles y miles de personas como variables geopolíticas, mercadería de intercambio o simples peones en el tablero de los intereses políticos y económicos internacionales.

Counterinsurgency, Claudio Berto (pág. 34).

Los conflictos no convencionales necesitan un enfoque correcto, una metodología apropiada y un personal instruido para actuar con flexibilidad. Son éstos los requisitos indispensables para ganar la «guerra de las pulgas». Ahondando en el pasado quizás se podrá entender mejor esta compleja problemática.

Los Assessment Centers: el hombre justo en el lugar justo, Riccardo Stanca y Daniele Raggi (pág. 47).

Las experiencias en ámbito operativo aleccionan que hay que conocer profundamente las cualidades del personal del que se dispone para emplearlo de la manera correcta. A través de las actividades de orientación profesional, basadas en las metodologías de la psicología laboral, se puede no sólo optimizar el binomio hombre-tarea sino también concienciar de los recursos disponibles.

Las mujeres militares en las operaciones de mantenimiento de la paz, Marina Catena (pág. 58).

Por su profesionalidad, experiencia y sensibilidad, las mujeres militares representan un recurso cuyo empleo en los teatros operacionales resulta muy valioso en la búsqueda de soluciones para los innumerables problemas que se plantean diariamente. Trátase por lo tanto de una participación de alto valor cualitativo, habida cuenta sobre todo de su gran capacidad de comunicar e integrarse en las distintas realidades locales.

La digitalización del espacio de maniobra: el modelo francés, Antonio Peca y Marco Biagini (pág. 71).

El ejército transalpino ha emprendido un proceso de transformación radical basado en los extraordinarios adelantos de la tecnología en el ámbito de las comunicaciones y de la gestión telemática de las informaciones. Un nuevo concepto basado en la centralidad de la red que puede constituir un valioso punto de referencia incluso para la Fuerza armada italiana.

Future Combat Systems, Paolo Valpolini (pág. 83).

Un programa destinado a revolucionar el Ejército norteamericano en cuanto a formas de combate, vehículos y logística no puede no suscitar una discusión animada. Por lo tanto no debe uno sorprenderse si el futuro del «sistema de los sistemas» de las fuerzas de tierra norteamericanas es hoy día el tema principal de un acerbó debate.

Información y propaganda, Massimo Chiais (pág. 93).

Herramientas estratégicas tradicionales para conseguir y mantener el consenso, hoy día, en la era de la guerra

asimétrica y del terrorismo, representan el arma global de la comunicación y de la persuasión por excelencia.

Los soldados «Buena gente» en la pantalla grande, Sabrina Carreras (pág. 99).

«La mandolina del Capitán Corelli» y más recientemente «Le rose del deserto»: el cine, tanto el anglosajón como el italiano, siempre ha propuesto una imagen muy estereotipada de nuestros militares que tiende a privilegiar las cualidades humanas del soldado bueno más bien que las virtudes militares del buen soldado.

De las lanzas a las agujas, Flavio Russo (pág. 112).

Desde que amanecemos hasta que nos vamos a acostar, nuestro día sigue un ritmo intenso marcado por indicaciones procedentes de la plétora de agujas de relojes que nos rodean, tal y como lo hacían las lanzas por el pasado. Hoy día éstas ya no matan pero siguen condicionando nuestra vida bajo forma de agujas.

* n.d.t.: en italiano el autor usa un juego de palabras «lance» (lanzas) y «lancette» (agujas del reloj)



O conceito de guerra no Islão, de Pietro Tornabene (pág. 2).

O estereótipo mais difuso entre os ocidentais é o de um Islão pertencente a um mundo contraposto, sedento de sangue, vingativo, hostil, fanático, intolerante e retardado. Não é assim. Uma atenta leitura dos pontos salientes do Corão revela uma missão bem diferente, sobretudo no que respeita o conceito de «guerra santa».

A China: desafios e incógnitas, de Giovanni Bucciol (pág. 12).

Um gigante de pés de argila ou a futura nação-guia do planeta? Uma interrogação que intriga e preocupa, mas que resta sem resposta. Ler o futuro deste incrível país através da sua contraditória realidade é uma tarefa titânica que nenhum político ou economista ocidental parece estar apto a cumprir.

Viagem no inferno somali, de Daniele Cellamare (pág. 22).

Devastações e massacres se cometem há decénios naquele longínquo limbo do Corno de África, desenhando um quadro apocalíptico. No choque em acto, centenas de milhares de pessoas são consideradas variáveis geoestratégicas, mercadoria de troca, simples peças de jogo dos interesses políticos e económicos internacionais.

Counterinsurgency, de Claudio Berto (pág. 34).

Os conflitos não convencionais requerem justa aproximação, adequada metodologia e pessoal bem treinado a operar de modo flexível.

Apenas assim a «guerra das pulgas» pode ser vencida. Reflexões significativas acerca do passado podem ajudar a compreender a complexa problemática.

Os Assesment Centers: o homem certo no lugar certo, de Riccardo Stanca e Daniele Raggi (pág. 47).

As experiências operativas ensinam-nos que é necessário conhecer profundamente as qualidades do pessoal à disposição para o poder empregar de modo correcto. Através das actividades de orientação profissional, impressas nas metodologias da psicologia do trabalho, está-se apto, por um lado, a otimizar a combinação homem-tarefa, por outro, a poder adquirir consciência das próprias fontes.

As mulheres militares no peacekeeping, de Marina Catena (pág. 58).

O seu emprego nos Teatros operativos é um precioso recurso, pelo profissionalismo, experiência e sensibilidade, que bem se insere na solução dos numerosos problemas que quotidianamente se apresentam. Uma participação, portanto, de alto valor qualitativo, sobretudo pela distinta capacidade de comunicar e de se inserir nas realidades locais.

A digitalização do espaço de manobra: o modelo francês, de Antonio Peca e Marco Biagini (pág. 71).

O exército transalpino fez partir um processo radical de transformação que se baseia nos extraordinários progressos da tecnologia no campo das comunicações e da gestão telemática das informações.

Um novo conceito net-cêntrico que pode construir uma válida referência também para a nossa Força Armada.

Future Combat Systems, de Paolo Valpolini (pág. 83).

Um programa destinado a revolucionar o US Army, em termos de abordagem ao combate, de veículos, de logística, não pode não ser objecto de vivaz discussão. Não nos devemos, portanto, surpreender se os pareceres acerca do futuro «sistema dos sistemas» das forças de terra americanas, esteja no centro de uma áspera discórdia.

Informação e propaganda, de Massimo Chiaia (pág. 93).

Tradicionais instrumentos estratégicos para a aquisição e a manutenção do consenso, hoje, na era da guerra assimétrica e do terrorismo, representam a arma global da comunicação e da persuasão por excelência.

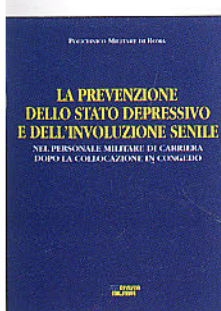
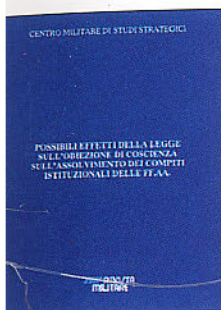
Os soldados «Brava Gente» do grande écran, de Sabrina Carreras (pág. 99).

De «O Bandolim do Capitão Corelli» ao recente filme italiano «As Rosas do Deserto», o cinema, seja este de matriz anglo-saxã que de produção italiana, propõe uma imagem dos nossos militares fortemente estereotipada que tende a privilegiar sobretudo as qualidades humanas do soldado bom em relação às virtudes militares do bom soldado.

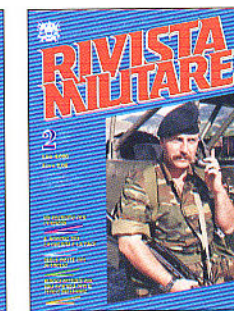
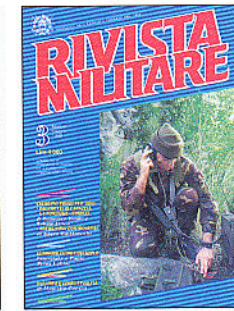
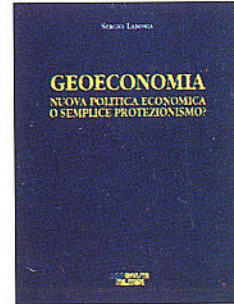
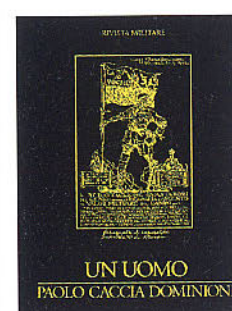
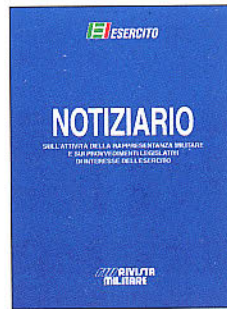
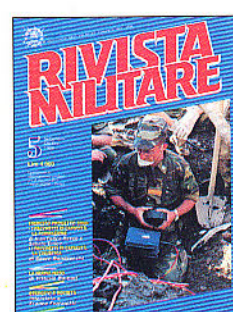
Das pontas de lança aos ponteiros, de Flavio Russo (pág. 112).

Desde o despertar até ao momento do repouso nocturno, o nosso dia é um contínuo suceder-se de indicações fornecidas pelo «excesso de ponteiros» que nos circundam.

Todas têm origem num comum antecedente: já não matam, mas condicionam-nos sempre.



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RIVISTA MILITARE

JOURNAL OF THE ITALIAN ARMY FOUNDED IN 1856

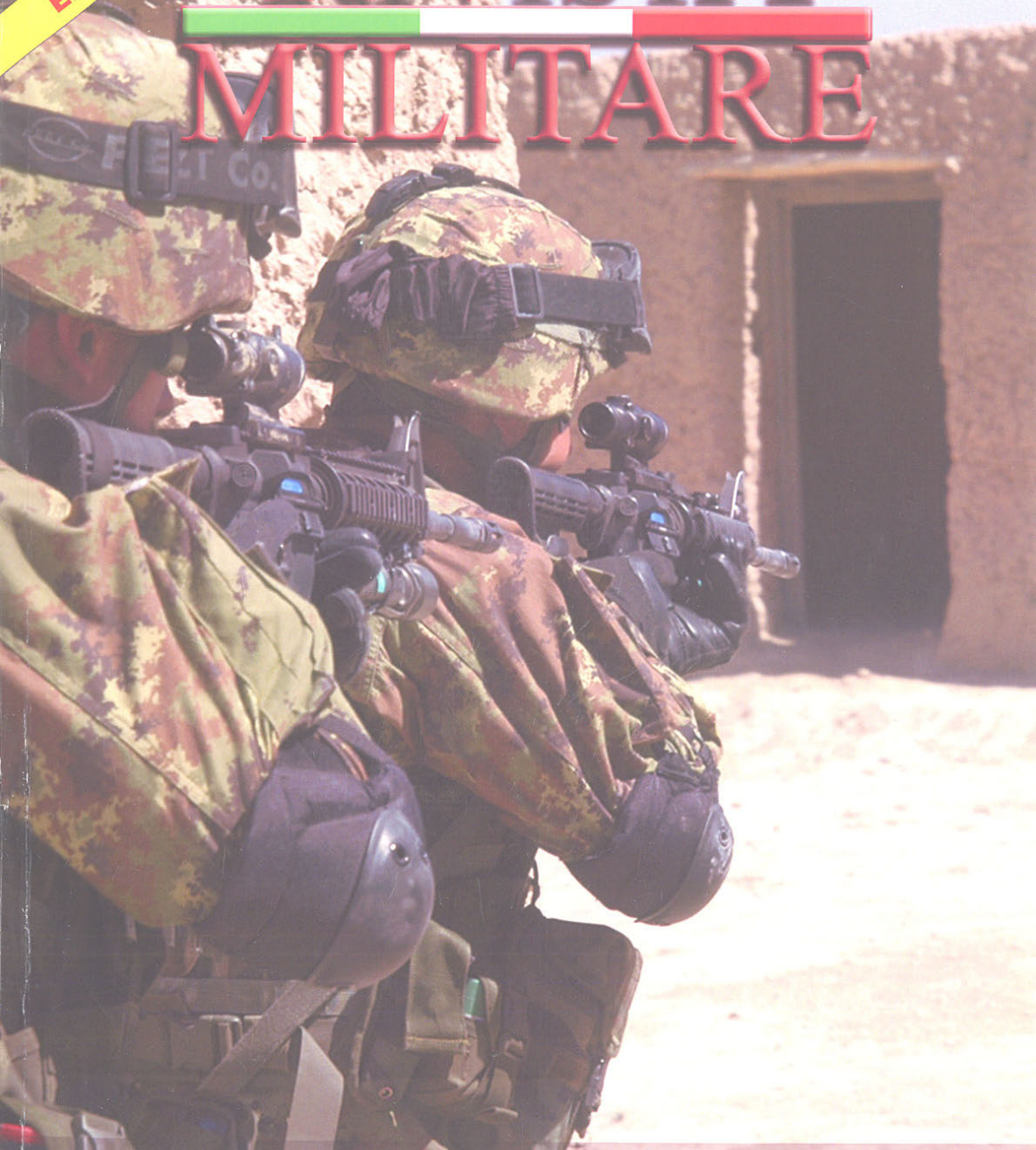


ENGLISH EDITION

2 May-June
July-August
2007



RIVISTA MILITARE



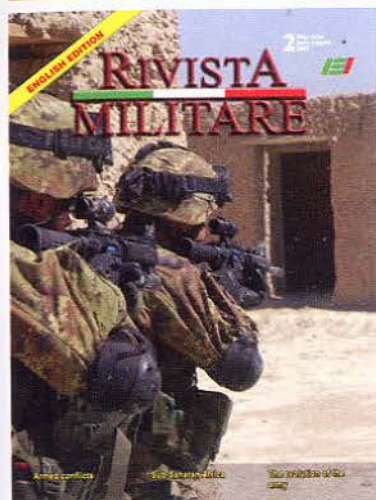
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Italian servicemen on duty with KFOR in anti-riot uniform. Maintenance of law and order is one of the most important tasks our soldiers are called to perform in the Balkans.

FOUR-MONTHLY

Supplement to numbers 3 and 4 of Rivista Militare Italian Edition

Editor in Chief:
Marco CENTRITTO

Management and Editorial Office
8, Via di S. Marco - 00186 Rome
Phone 0039-06-47357373

Advertising
Care of the Secretariat of Rivista Militare
Phone 0039-06-47358139

Printer
IMAGO MEDIA
81010 Dragoni (CE)
Phone 0039-0823-866710
www.imagomedia.it

Conditions for 2007:
One number: Euro 2,10
One back number: Euro 4,20
Subscription rates:
Italy: Euro 11,40 a year
Abroad: Euro 15,50 a year
Payment must be made on postal account No. 22521009 - SME - Centro Pubblicità dell'Esercito 123/A, Via XX Settembre - Rome
Residents abroad may remit payment through bank cheque or international postal order

Authorized by the Court of Rome under No. 994 of the Registry by Decree 7-6-1949.

2007
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Rivista Militare

The production of this magazine has been supervised by Omero Rampa.

Rivista Militare aims at broadening and updating the technical and vocational training of Army personnel. It is thus a means of propagating the military way of thinking and a forum of study and debate. Through the publication of articles of technical and scientific interest, Rivista Militare also aims at informing the general public on the Army and on military issues.



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A photograph of two soldiers in camouflage uniforms and helmets, equipped with rifles, standing in a desert environment. They are positioned near a vehicle with barbed wire in the foreground. The soldier in the foreground is looking down at his rifle, while the one in the background is looking towards the camera. The scene is brightly lit, suggesting a sunny day.

ARMED CONFLICTS

ARMED CONFLICTS

A CHANGE OF PROSPECTS OR A CHANGE OF CONTENT?

The new international scenarios and the new technological capabilities require a redefinition of the military instrument's employment policy.

The units of the future will have to operate with full tactical and logistic autonomy, in order to obtain the necessary flexibility that permits to achieve the effects and the strategic objectives expected.

During these last years a chain of events have changed our way of perceiving the international relations. A prospect that is no more resolved only within balance logics, but is developing in a confrontation of strength and power, which not always are an expression of the sole military force. The world community is witness to a deep change in the political and social confrontation. In this sense, changes in the strategic scenario and new technological capabilities have demanded the re-examination of the terms of engagement of the military resources. For this reason, in such complex times, the technological capability becomes a real power factor. It is a high-tech power originated at the end of the Cold War, which shows itself in the possession and use of a technological knowledge that modifies the customs and life models of a community, thus becoming a fundamental element for conditioning other people's will. The very interconnection of networks and management procedures confers to the information systems a fundamental role in the conduct of military operations, for achieving the objective and for identifying the methods for pursuing it. Today we are faced by a multidimensional approach of military operations. A model of thought where space and time change their dimension and become relative magnitudes of a new hypertechnological environment. An operational environment where the employment of forces that have speed and high fire concentration transforms the soldier in an operator with many skills. A technological environment that requires a conduct attitude aimed at acquiring critical infor-

"...the century that has just begun and the events that have characterized its first years have reversed the traditional conception of confrontation and political use of violence"

mation, marring databases, trying to disable the communication systems considering the vulnerability of the information architecture of the adversary, in a war defined "network-centric" by many analysts. A war that will be waged by a military instrument re-defined in its regulating and organizational terms, envisaging and employing multipurpose units, organized in combat formations formed according to their mission and not established in advance. Such a transformation will bring

about a new philosophy in the C4ISR procedures themselves. A change of perspective that tends to modify the military instrument's employment policy, providing it with flexibility and higher quality, ensuring a better training for the soldier and the ability to plan in advance the missions and the units capable of carrying them out, with full tactical and logistic

autonomy, for military objectives of limited dimension but strategically significant.

DYNAMIC ANALYSIS OF THE ARMED CONFLICTS

At present, in these years, in different theatres, we have observed that the military conduct of a conflict is not per se an event caused by rational logic. In its development, one can certainly find certain regularities that help to manage resources and capabilities as best as possible. Nevertheless, the position of the actors on the field changes as the national interests of the States change, or, as regards communities, it changes in accordance with the alterations of the internal social organi-



zations. Actually, apart from a novelty-derived excessive emphasis, which defines our times as the era of the asymmetry of conflicts, certainly the century that has just begun and the events that have characterized its first years have reversed the traditional conception of confrontation and political use of violence. Our epoch, which survives the "nuclear thermoregulation" of international relations, experiences the results of the disintegration of the polar models typical of the Cold War, i.e. the dissolution of a proposal of world order strictly anchored to a balance of force that has now ended in a diffusion of power as far as the most distant peripheries of the old system. Today anything can be decided anywhere. The possible strategies themselves, worked out in connection with the interests to be safeguarded, appear as an expression of a particular perception of their credibility, in so far as, national State or not, they must deal with an adversary that sometimes is not of an equal size, not only militarily but also from the economic or political viewpoint. Nevertheless, the end of the regularities found on the battlefield, paradoxically shows how the asymmetry of the conduct still resides in the planning capability, and not only in the actor's informality. The latter is expressed only in relation to its non-identification with a national community, such as a State is. If one considers the

Title pages.

Afghanistan. Personnel of the "Nibbio" Contingent on surveillance duty.

Above.

Iraq. "Lagunari" patrolling the Euphrates.

terms of the conflicts of the second postwar period, one can notice that the self-determination wars from the colonial regimes were nothing but asymmetric wars. Wars waged by fronts or movements of national liberation against regular armies. Conflicts of this type of asymmetry certainly presented irregularities, that were nevertheless included in the regular conception of a confrontation between actors of the same size (1). With a first interesting result that has become established in time: the capability of expanding one's own action, overcoming the physical frontiers and filtering through different communities. A result, which, in a time very far from the events of the beginning of this century, had already outlined the irregular terms of the future conflict, since...almost all the present conflicts (future from a contemporary's point of view) are...asymmetrical, since they oppose subjects non-equivalent by nature and cannot be compared as regards the means that each subject can employ. A consideration so important that, in this connection,

already in the seventies, it was indicated that ...the most asymmetrical conflict known is the terrorist one, where an apparently weaker individual goes to war against society, deciding to punish it by exploiting its vulnerability...(2).

Form this point of view, clearly the changes in the geopolitical structures of the international community as a whole has produced a re-orientation of the modalities of fight and conduct. Modalities of conduct, which, exploiting the tools offered by technology and communication, can achieve dehumanising effects greater than an actual war's (a typical example: the collapse on the Twin Towers and the number of victims obtained with a single attack, limited as far as men and means were concerned).

Today, the homogeneity of the actors is no more considered a postulate. And a conflict can spring from the incompatibility of different interests carried by equally heterogeneous subjects, but which compete on grounds believed congenial, chosen each time in relation to the objective to be achieved or the message that one wants to transmit. Only in this way, for example, to call "global war" the response to the present-day terrorist attack can have a meaning.

AN INTRICATE STRATEGIC PICTURE

Considering the contemporary world, no analysis can avoid evaluating some particularly important aspects, in order to define in a coherent manner the strategic picture, where the actors and the communities that they represent are going to move. The very use of violence is out of the traditional schemes. Clandestine violence does not exist anymore. There is a violence that is born inside a group, which refuses secrecy because it is synonymous with weakness and fragility. The antagonist movements of Arab-Islamic derivation have never pursued secrecy, except for the phases of organization and conduct of their actions. Certainly not about the result, once achieved. For this reason, violence thus expressed, and spread around the world, has represented a means of attack, but is also a vehicle of communication and, owing to this, actions and methods of execution could not but look for a "high-share" scenario that could only be provided by the international community and the use of the media.

Thus the technical-operational procedures for organizing one's own forces, in the terrorist experience could not but go beyond the simple

concept of a formal project. Technical accessibility, estimate of force, intelligence, sharing of objectives, have had a primary role in Al-Qaeda's capability of physically destroying not only the Twin Towers, but also the system of analysis and understanding of international dynamics that has dominated the Western world for years. With a first result: the game power has become complicated. There has been a swift change in the very factors that could bring about possible balances due to the weakening of the former big powers. And the result depends more and more on possible regional balances rather than on system balances. Not only that. The change has occurred also in the perception of the conflicts of a post-nuclear era, where the conventionality of war is more and more a direct function of the capacity to manage the effort in spaces culturally and socially scarcely inclined to capitulate for mere reasons of force. In this game, quality and technological multipliers are playing a decisive role in the conduct of a crisis. A conduct that goes together, and here is the risk for the adversary, with the mastery of technological knowledge that permits to utilize also the strategic know-how of the enemy, not only for what concerns the military, but also economy and communication. After such considerations, it is difficult to make a distinction between means and methods typical of a direct strategy and means and methods functional to a strategic conduct that develops indirectly,

"...military force is still one of the instruments for determining the course of international relations"

i.e. where the subjects make instrumental use of possibilities, opportunities, spaces and times, to condition the will of the adversary, without going through a direct involvement beyond their physical or institutional dimension. Moreover, there is a second appreciable

geopolitical result, a consequence of the first. It consists of the strategic picture deriving from it, represented by a scenario, changeable in time, where de-facto balances regulate the relations between States. A dynamic scenario where the axiom "neither peace nor war" represents the only possible condition for a position of interlocutory stability. A relative stability, for which what changes in the relation between strategy and politics is the objective: try not to win in order not to lose.

In view of this, the military force itself is still one of the instruments for determining the course of international relations. Nevertheless, it will not be decisive in itself. The use of force, not necessarily military, but also economic or linked to communication, becomes a key element within a different offer of a political kind, that could be proposed to



Afghanistan. NBC personnel controlling a road.

the international, or only regional, community. Thus the transition from "hard" to "soft" power, observed in these last years, has made the employment of war one of the possible conditioning factors, but not necessarily the most effective one. On the other hand, not even the redefinition of a sustainable military engagement, in the conduct of a low-intensity war, can assure low-cost results.

A REALITY WAR GAME

As we see, the modification of the international scenario remains the main factor of the transformation of the military instruments and the conduct of operations. Operations, which, on the other hand, are expressed in a different conception of the battlefield, which is more and more limited and conditioned by non-military variables. Actually, this perception of expansion or reduction of spaces and times in a confrontation, makes sure that the possibilities of action depend on the technological capacity to dominate both dimensions and the resources employed. The very digitisation of the conduct and control phases tries to shorten times and limit spaces and modifies, if necessary, the dimensions of the battlefield, compelling the actors to re-modulate their conditioning capabil-

ities, looking at the military space from a fully technological viewpoint. In this phase of reorganization of the procedures of control of the battlefield, an operational system is realized, owing to which the best result is reached only by whomever can obtain the best information on the enemy. From this point of view, the "Information Warfare" will present itself in two flows with apparently contrasting trends but, in reality, with an interesting point of contact: the level of coordination of the information in the conduct phase. In this sense, conception, organization and action turn respectively into identification, decision and conduct of a military operation, where the superiority of knowledge will make the difference as regards the probability of success. Also in this case, the "plug and play" war is not a discovery of "Network Centric Warfare". It was already employed by international terrorism in the seventies. The reduction into cells, i.e. elementary units that can perform multi-role tasks, tends to introduce regularities into changing battlefields, progressively diminishing the level of asymmetry of the conflict, employing smaller units and greater penetration capabilities in the adversary's model of life. This is what the terrorist experience has matured.

This will result in conflicts limited in space and time, which, nevertheless, determine the balances of the world system, counting, for example, on the objectives of energy and economic survival of the enemy. The ability to hit the decision-making and logistic support centres of the adversary, in order to achieve an appreciable strategic supremacy, represents therefore a "power" factor.

A NEW MILITARY THOUGHT

The war transformed by the networks presents itself in a conceptually new technologic and strategic dimension. The "swarm" programme, for example, in the logic of the swarms - i.e. of forces reduced and dimensioned each time in accordance with the aim to be achieved - tries to reduce the accumulation of power, distributing its use among small units. Nevertheless, the "Network Centric Warfare" is not going to represent a linear model, beyond the philosophy that is at the foundation of the conception of the regular management of a conflict. The very logic of "swarming" actually consists in approaching the capability and level of effectiveness of the regular units to those of an irregular threat, which, in this dimension, borrows from the adversary many methods of analysis and decision-making. On the other hand, the asymmetry of a conflict develops within operational dimensions where the two antagonists do not perceive space and time in the same way. Dimensions that widen and shrink in relation to the information advantage gained by the parties. Where each opponent tries to find its own regularities in conceiving a comparison through a heterogeneity of the ways of organizing and carrying out the military effort vis-à-vis the adversary, which, in its turn, will try to take advantage of the other's irregularities with regularities of its own. This is so because no possibility of exploiting asymmetric potentials, expressed in terms of availability of diversified weapon systems, will ever justify the conduct of a traditionally symmetric war.

However, vis-à-vis a technologic revolution of the military thought, both the digitisation of the weapon systems and network communication suffer from two vulnerabilities. The first is represented by the singleness of the chain of Command, Coordination and Control, which, if invaded by induced information, risks a paralysis (netstrike). The second is the risk of paralysing

the information needed for running the enemy's life system, affecting the process of management of utilities and services, with the end result of being unable to control the following phase (victory). Besides, the system remains more vulnerable at its periphery than at its centre, although the "peripheryization" of the networks is not the only reason for a crisis. In any case, the main criticality will still depend on the level of control of the capabilities of information and assessment of space and time.

COMMUNICATION AND STRATEGY

Today's analysts, before the Iraqi war and the use of its effects by the media, had missed two important and not negligible aspects of the new era. The first was the abolition of the space-time variables. The second was the speed of getting the information and the ability to use the news sooner than the enemy, spreading its meaning diffusely by exploiting the world networks. These two aspects were not ignored by Osama bin Laden and the Islamic fundamentalists, and permitted them to approach their world, very far for us, much more than a time machine could manage to do.

For this reason, our real problem today comes from the control of communication. That is, from managing information, especially managing the unpredictability of the complex systems; from grasping the variations of the social behaviour at the right moment; from determining the level of influence compared with the result to be obtained; from the ability to conceive and conduct, and not only organize, a military operation also oriented towards non-material results, given by the possibility, if not of conquering, of at least of conditioning (soft power) the collective imagery. A war that, with a common factor on both sides, will develop between both opponents, in order to achieve - in the era of integrated communication - the most immediately paying objective: one's assertion and the conditioning of the world's public opinion.

Communication, i.e. the capacity to communicate and involve dialectically public opinion, expands the self-referential capability and represents a further and indispensable strategic factor employed by the parties concerned.

Only in this perspective the terrorist attacks of New York, Beslan, Madrid, Taba, London, Sharm el-Sheik can have a meaning. They are namely the

"...the asymmetry of a conflict develops within operational dimensions, where the two antagonists do not perceive space and time in the same way"

dramatic example of how frequency, intensity, quantity and quality of the violence expressed are the essential factors of a conflict based most of all on communication instruments.

CONCLUSIONS

The terrorist logic is certainly not a novelty. It has no limits of political ideology, especially today in the face of a manipulation of consciences realized through the reference to religious structures that can aggregate the masses. For an antagonist perspective, which is violently against established order, to communicate through actions on politically paying objectives creates a "bandwagoning" effect, through which fear and insecurity rapidly spread among the communities that were victims of the actions. A diffusion of mass-media power that is obtained thanks to the popular networks, difficult to control, that no censorship, press silence or denial of images can stop in a network society. On the other hand, the absence of middle-class societies and the impossibility of establishing a dialogue with the marginal classes, have placed the West at a disadvantage in comparison with those that make a strategic use of communication.

The mistake made by the West in belatedly evaluating the strategic significance of the management of information, thus avoiding dangerous second thoughts – as happened in connection with Saddam Hussein's possession of weapons of mass destruction – is that one cannot think of qualifying himself in a situation of crisis and open contraposition and then entrust success only to the military confrontation. In this case, there is a dangerous overlapping between two moments of making strategic information, where political communication is followed in parallel by military information. This is a moment when military force does not renounce being a political instrument, but must also be perceived as a form of communication. Due to this reason, it is an instrument that can strengthen or weaken any effort to affirm a will over the other, especially if this is the expression of an infringed right and a claim of legitimate defence. Actually, today the winner is not only he who fights, but also he who communicates best. The ability to communicate becomes more and more influential in the choice of the objective, forming a synergy between the expectation and the achievement of the result. An expectation of victory, given also by the correct ratio between objective-symbol/communication-effect.

Giuseppe Romeo
Expert in geostrategy



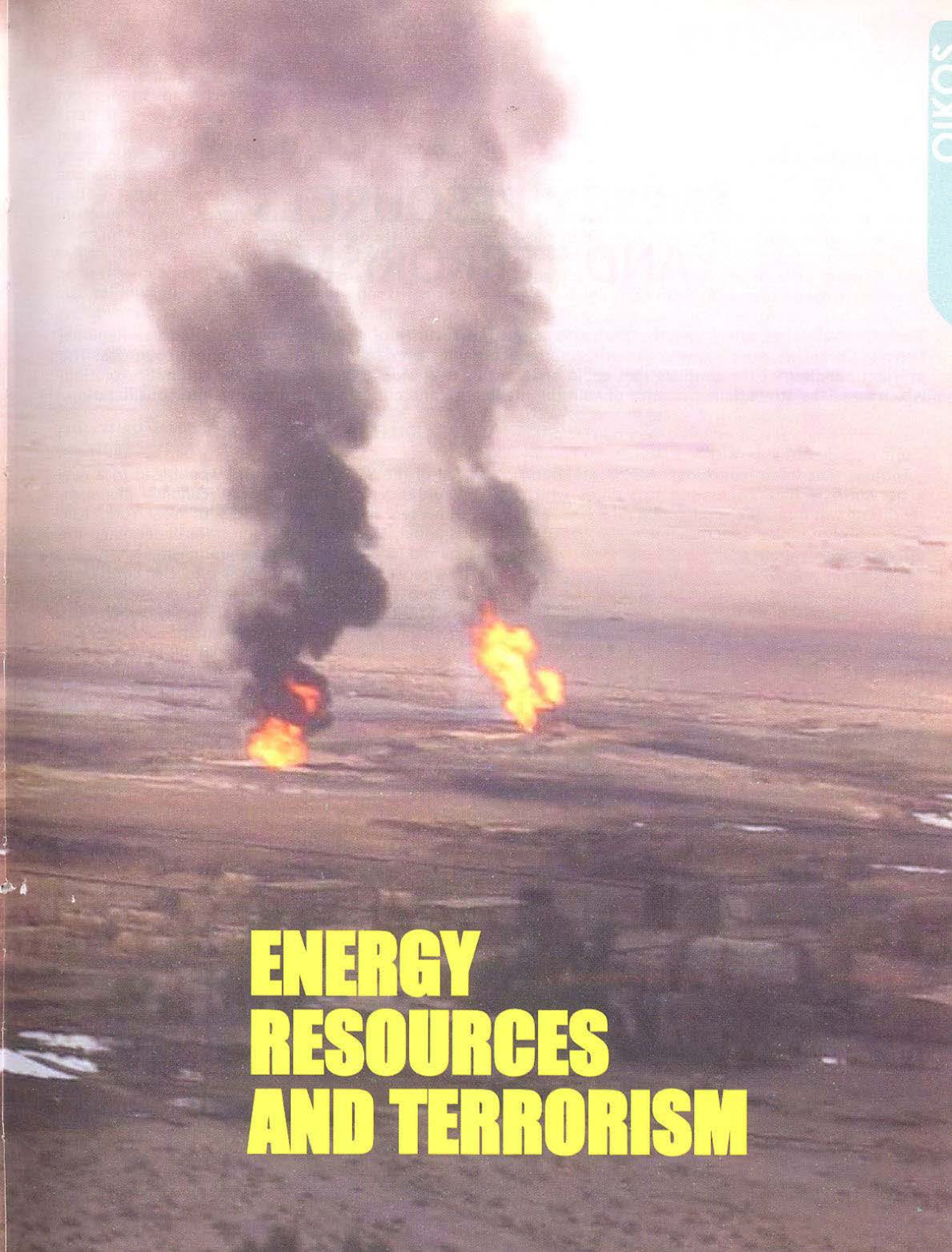
Afghanistan. An Italian patrol controlling a sensitive centre.

NOTES

(1) Actually, during the years of the Cold War, both superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, were, directly or indirectly, periodically involved in phenomena of destabilization during local crises. As a matter of fact, considering the Middle East events, Indochina, Palestinian terrorism and the incidents of Algeria and Northern Ireland, without forgetting the progressive destabilizations of the Horn of Africa and Southern Africa as well as western Maghreb and today's Balkans, we never observed conflicts between formal actors, apart from very limited cases, such as the Greek-Turkish crisis for Cyprus, the Middle East war until Kippur and the wars between Iran and Iraq. Apart from that, there have been situations of crisis born inside politically and economically fragile communities, divided by ethnic or religious reasons, sufficient to anchor to the destabilization of the region, opportunities useful for the great powers. The internalisation of conflicts is not a novelty due only to September 11. Perhaps it represents the most evident characteristic that the West has missed in its strategic perception of the new terms of the confrontation, even before the fall of the Berlin Wall and before the pulverization of the Balkans.

(2) F. Casadio, "Conflittualità mondiale e relazioni internazionali".



A photograph of an offshore oil rig at sea, with two large fires burning on its deck, sending thick black smoke into the sky. The scene is set against a hazy, overcast sky.

ENERGY RESOURCES AND TERRORISM

ENERGY RESOURCES AND TERRORISM

The war against terrorism and the problems about the security of energy resources outline a «Regional Security Complex», which is wider than the same geographic borders of the NATO member countries. The efficient handling of the conflicts that could arise in this new wide area calls for a real cultural revolution, which takes the strategic importance of cultural intelligence and critical security studies into consideration.

Thomas Friedman concludes his latest book «The world is flat» comparing two dates which represent two important and conflicting stages of the process of globalization that is taking place in our planet: November 9th 1989 and September 11th 2001.

The first date represents the fall of the Berlin Wall when all the efforts were channelled into building a different world based on a «creative imagination». This date is at the opposite pole from September 11th, which has shown the power of a different kind of imagination: a «destructive imagination».

However, if we drew a line linking the first date, that of creative imagination, to the most recent one of the NATO Summit (Riga, November 27th - 29th 2006), a careful analysis of international relations could show continuity of constants and variables in this historical and genealogical map.

The man of Fukuyama, despite the astrological predictions by Huntington, thought candidly that the

fall of the Soviet communism would lead to a new world order based on political-economic liberalism. However, the terrorist attacks of New York, Bali, Istanbul, Madrid and London have undermined the candid narcissistic ahistorical optimism.

Whereas the first Gulf War and the conflict in Bosnia historiographically led to a «new world security disorder» in this context, which was

defined by Marc Ferro as featured by a «bankruptcy of ideology», bin Laden's «fatwa» and the threat of post-modern terrorism called for new players and rules in the world scene filling the vacuum left by the «threat deficit».

We will analyse each of these contexts, which have been structured in order according to their function and the real geo-political narration by different «authors-actors», such as the speeches of the «US National Intelligence Council», the «Long War», the oil company Chevron and bin Laden.

In order to set a genealogy in the continuity of interests, conflicts and possible tensions, these forms of geo-politics will be superimposed to draw the borders of a «Regional Security Complex» (defined by Barry Buzan as a regional complex consisting in a group of States that have to face the same problems of security) where conflicts could arise. The perimeter of this «Regional

“ ... bin Laden's «fatwa» and the threat of post-modern terrorism called for new players and rules in the world scene ”



Left.
An oil tanker in flames.

Title pages.
Iraqi oil wells in flames. In the box: an American soldier of the 101st «Airborne Division».

Security Complex» will coincide with the strategic interests of the Atlantic Alliance (consequently, a strategic region whose perimeter is wider than the region that has been «created» by the union of the geographical borders of its members and by the application of the Article 5 of the Atlantic Pact) and, in case of threats to its stability, the Italian intervention will be very likely.

Linking the need for a strategic-operational reform (which refers to the experimental concept of «rhizome») with the element of «human intelligence-cultural intelligence» leads us to consider the main evolutive factors to face efficiently new military missions and international crises. To conclude this research, we will focus on a new multidisciplinary and «nomadic» approach to the problem of security.

THE THESES OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE COUNCIL

The first geo-political representations are produced by three studies conducted by the American government:

- «Global Trends 2010» (November 1997);
- «Global Trends 2015» (December 2000);
- «Mapping the Global Future» (December 2004).

The «Global Trends 2010», which was published in November 1997 by the «National Intelligence Council» (NIC), before September 11th 2001, stressed that the international scene would change in the short term. In particular, it stressed that the structure of the international relations, which was based on the balance of power between the States, was becoming less stable. This was due to three changes that, according to the NIC, would happen in the following fifteen years: lots of conflicts would occur within the States, and not between the States; lots of States would not be able to meet the basic requirements linking the citizens with their government (failing States); the governments of the States that declared themselves exempt from poverty and political instability would realize that they were losing control of significant parts of their political programmes, because of globalization, economic development and the constant revolution of technological information. As a consequence: the end of the sovereignty of the politician.

According to the NIC, the western States (and, in particular, the United States) will face three «global trends» on which they will have to formulate their policy of security:

- population increase: «the world population will be 7 billion by 2010 and this increase will occur especially in the developing countries»
- per capita income increase: «the majority of the winners will be in the Far East and in the West; the losers in Africa and in the Middle East»;

- the problem regarding food sources: «genetic engineering will bring about a forth agricultural revolution. But, as in the past, it will be human beings that will lead to penury»;
- communications: «digital data and the revolution of communications will reduce distances and the barriers to the flow of information»;
- energy resources: «populations and per capita income increase will be the motor power of an increasing demand for energy; especially in the Chinese and Indian economies that are growing. The world will need more oil production than today»;
- military technology and deterrents: «the potential enemies, of the United States and the West, will try to face the military superiority by using technical and organizational devices, that are unconventional and asymmetric, such as terrorism and the use of weapons of mass destruction».

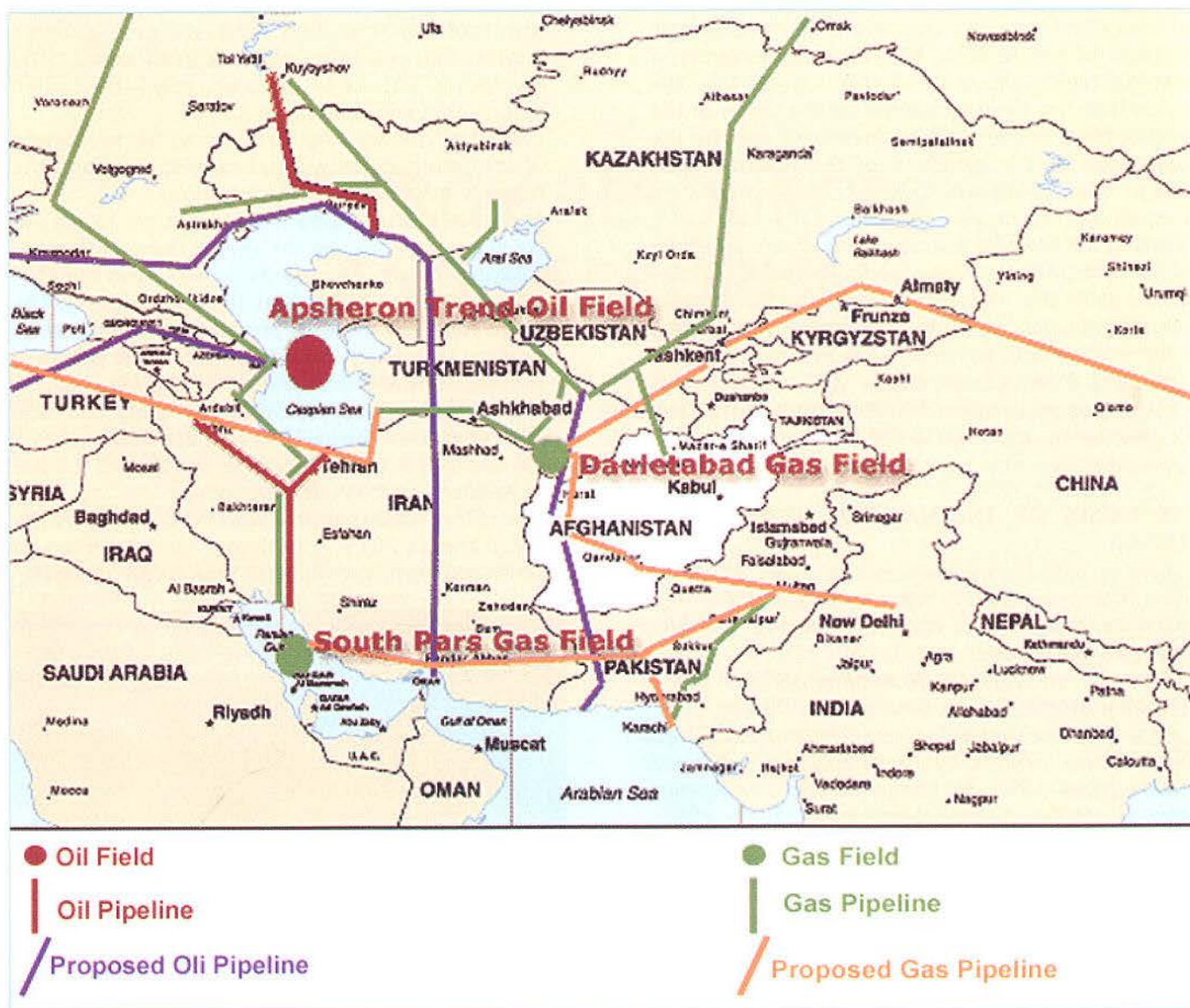
The second geo-political view is conveyed by the «Global trends 2015: A Dialogue About the Future With Nongovernment Exerts» which was not pub-



Oil pipeline in flames.

lished in December 2000 and follows the line of the previous study developing the trends that were detected in 1997.

«The world population will be 7,2 billions within 2015 (population increase); the constant economic development, together with the population increase, will lead to an increase in the demand for energy of 50% in the next 15 years. The demand for oil will rise from 75 million barrels each day in 2000 to 100 million barrels by 2015 (natural and energy resources); the development of information technology and of biotechnology will assume more and more importance at a global level (science and technology); China and India will be characterized by highly dynamic economies (global economy); in 2015 the State will remain the most important organizational unit of political, economic and security affairs, but it will have to deal with fundamental tests of effective government (national and international governance);



Map of the current and future energy supply routes in Central Asia.

in 2015, the interstate conflicts will represent the biggest threats to stability in the world. The wars between States, although less frequent, will be very lethal because of more destructive military technologies. In addition, the international community will have to face up to the military, political and economic consequences of the fact that the Indochinese area is in constant development and the Russian economy is in decline (future scenerios and conflicts).

In the chapter about the possible «future scenerios and conflicts» the authors stress that a good part of terrorism will be directed against the US and its overseas interests. A good part of anti-US terrorism will be based on the possible manipulation of ethnic, religious and cultural hatred, and terrorist groups will be able to devise new systems to attack the army

and diplomatic infrastructure abroad.

Not only will these attacks spread across American cities and companies but the terrorists in the Middle East and in the South-East Asia will be the biggest threat.

The latest publication (December 2004) by the NIC «Mapping the Global Future» updates the so-called «key global trends». Lots of experts coming from every part of the world worked on this study and some «scenarios» were constructed to understand how different «key trends» interact.

The issues raised in 2004 (after September 11th 2001 and the beginning of the war against terrorism) reflect the American worries which are expressed in previous studies (1997 and 2000): new world powers, new threats to governability and a widespread sense of global uncertainty.

Even the geo-political aspect of the world is changing because of «a gradual development of emergent countries such as China, India, Brazil,

Indonesia, Russia and South Africa»; because of a gradual decline of the dominant countries and continents (Europe, Russia and Japan); because of an increasing demand for energy resources and the incipient crisis of the American supremacy.

With regard to the global uncertainty, we should consider the following trends:

- The rise of «global and protean terrorism»: al-Qaeda is expected to be replaced by Islamic extremist groups which will be inspired in the same way but will be more widespread;
- «an intensification of internal conflicts», the developing economies, ethnic divisions, extreme religious convictions, population explosions will intensify the interstate conflicts;
- «an intensification of interstate conflicts», which is due to the development of modern arms, will lead to the preventive use of the military force, especially in the emergent countries;
- «the spread of weapons of mass destruction»: the countries that do not have nuclear weapons will be able to obtain them for the simple reason that their neighbouring and rival countries are building them.

To sum up, the rise of new powers (Asia), the constant world population increase (and the population ageing in some areas), the increase in demands of energy resources and the threats to security (new possible conflicts and terrorism) are constant sources of worry for the government and the US. We can also find these worries in two editions of the «US National Security Strategy» (2002 and 2006), after the beginning of the «global war on terrorism».

“...the rise of new powers, the constant world population growth, the increase in demands of energy resources and the threats to security are constant sources of concern for the US Government”

FROM THE «WAR ON TERROR» TO THE «LONG WAR»

At the 42nd Conference on Security Policy, which took place in Munich in February 2006, the then American Secretary of Defence, Ronald Rumsfeld, explained the new defence policy of his country. The plan was defined as «The Long War». It consists in complex and long-lasting military operations that will be conducted in different countries at the same time and involve the American Armed Forces and their international partners. It replaces the previous plan, which was defined as «War on terror».

This review, which is also linguistic, witnesses the evolution of the American strategic thought that has developed during the recent conflict in Iraq.

The «Quadrennial Defence Review» (which replaces that of 2001) involves, according to the American Generals, fights that could develop, at the same

time, in different countries in the next years. These fights could become conventional military operations, like the invasion of Iraq (2003), and include the rapid deployment of counter-terrorist forces that are highly mobile and often under cover. As well as these measures, the plan calls for an increase of 15% in personnel of special forces and the recruitment of further 3 700 units for «psychological operations and civil affairs units».

The Pentagon does not mention any geographical area, but surely these operations will take place in an area extending from the Middle East to the Horn of Africa, including North Africa, Central Asia, Asian South East and North Caucasus. As the Cold War dominated the world from 1946 to 1991, the «long war» will re-shape and narrate the world in the next decades.

This new strategic doctrine includes:

- A new non-conventional approach that puts great emphasis on the mobility of troops and the structure of intelligence as well as on linguistic and cultural skills and the knowledge of different strategic geographical areas. In particular, an increase in personnel, who have a good knowledge of Arabic, Chinese and Persian, is high on their list;

- The construction of «partnerships» to persuade potential «military competitors», who could compete at a regional level, or pursue hostile policies towards the US and avail themselves of local forces;

- A redefinition of priorities: defeating the terrorist networks; strengthening the security of the national territory; influencing the political choices

of those countries that are in the «strategic crossroads»; preventing the enemy countries and the «non-state actors» from using weapons of mass destruction (WMD);

- The preservation of Lawrence's legacy: the authors tell us in advance that the American Armed Forces will be employed to fight «irregular warfare» in different parts of the world: not only will they have to adopt an indirect approach using local forces but they will have to «upset the enemy physically and psychologically, rather than attack him where he is stronger and where he knows he will be attacked».

- To specify the objectives of «intelligence» we can find in this strategic doctrine, a few days after its publication, the «U.S. Department of State» offered students of «critical languages» (Arabic, Bengali, Hindi, Punjabi, Turkish and Urdu) grants on the Internet, as a part of the «National Security Language Initiative».

THE OIL COMPANIES

As we have seen the greatest world power, although involved in different conflicts to defeat terrorism, narrates and re-shapes a geographical area basing itself on the concept of «national security» and of «national interests» and creating, at the same time, the Manichean perception of «centre/periphery», «good/evil», «world of God/world of Devil» and «light/darkness».

This «geo-political imagi-nation», using an approach that is very similar to the «Critical Geopolitics», is fuelled even by other actors

The aim is to show that the «State-Nation, author-actor», in this process of perception-interpretation (of real/possible threats, war against terrorism, energy resources and population increase), is also helped by other «non-State author-actors».

Friedman himself wants to make the world flat through his discourse-narration and to create two antithetical and opposing perceptions about how to read the recent «History» (a creative imagination that is the exact opposite of a destructive imagination), extrapolating it from its genealogy. However, we know very well that «the world is not flat», that is to say it is not without meaning. Consequently, this «world» is tightly linked to the word that describes it: through a process that is defined «Machiavellian mind», not only can the word-language forestall the actions of its receivers but it can also manipulate them.

So we have to draw on other narrations that, through the «word», a world whose «image-imagi-nation» is built, which should be imitated, can be «creative» or «destructive». The «popular geopolitics» considers not only the messages of the mass media, films, the «CNN factor», cartoons and music but it also highlights advertising slogans that convey geo-political messages-discourse-narration-myth.

Allow me to make a digression: Elena was a beautiful woman but maybe there are other reasons behind the war of Troy.

If we give credit to the fact that this war against terrorism has also been caused by the race for energy resources, which is a recurrent theme in these analyses, the advertising of an oil company, like that of Chevron, should be taken into consideration.

Through his discourse-advertising, the «author» participates in the creation of a geopolitical imaginary myth (and of a state of anxiety-fear) aimed at influencing the American audience; this is a narrative context where the reader is transformed from

a passive receptive element into an active function: the repository of the codes that make the intelligibility of the text possible.

In July 2005, Chevron put an advertisement in the «Wall Street Journal», «The Economist» and the «Financial Times», which acknowledged «Peak Oil»: «it took us 125 years to consume the first trillion of oil barrels. We will consume the remaining part in the next 30 years».

After a few months, the following messages and narrations were published in newspapers and in the airports of the world's biggest cities:

- «The world consumes two barrels of oil for each as yet unfilled barrel»;
- «Russia, Iran and Qatar have 58% of the world's natural gas supplies. The US have only 3%»;
- «More than half of the world's oil supplies is situated in five countries»;
- «There are 193 countries in the world and none of them is "energy independent". So, who threatens the others for a barrel of oil?».

If these advertising messages were superimposed on the NIC's studies, on the theses of «2006 Quadrennial Defence Review» and on the grants of

the «US Department of State» what would come out is a wide region, which extends from the Aegean coasts to Turkey and to the border with China.

A region of «fire» where people speak Turks, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali and Chinese, and its common denominator are energy

resources and their distribution.

“...it took us 125 years to consume the first trillion of oil barrels. We will consume the remaining trillion in the next 30 years”

BIN LADEN'S STRATEGIES

In his work, Friedman defines al-Qaeda as a sort of Islamic-Leninist and recently President Bush himself has said: «this nation is at war with Islamic fascists».

Their attitude towards the masses is the same as that we can find in the authoritarian and totalitarian ideologies of the 19th and 20th centuries: Marxism and Leninism, Fascism and National Socialism. It shares with them the utopian view of the construction of a «new man», who in the fundamentalist view coincides with the figure of the «born again»: the Islamist who is born again.

At the beginning of the last century this message was conveyed to the great European masses. Now, Bin Laden's speech addresses to the young Arabs and Muslims as an ideological answer to their loss of identity and sense of humiliation.

Although al-Qaeda, as a terrorist organization, is characterized by ascetical and motivational pushes

that are a distinguishing feature of religious terrorism (in fact, it claims responsibility for lots of terrorist attacks and justifies, narrates and mythologizes them as an act of «jihad» against the western countries, lots of terrorist attacks have had and have economic connotations. Consequently, we can say that the «holy war» that al-Qaeda has started fighting is also an economic war.

In bin Laden's «author-actor» geo-political speech (although, according to a recent study, he is absent from the literature of jihad, together with al-Zawahiri, because they are considered neither as authorities of Islamic law nor an ideological force that supports the movement of *salafi jihad*), we can find the following cartographical, real and imaginary narrations:

- Dar al Islam;
- The idea of a caliphate extending from Morocco to Indonesia;
- Networks of a hypothetical cybercaliphate;
- Energy resources;
- Territories including the ghettos that you can find in the West where the Muslim people feel a strong sense of humiliation/frustration.

His speech is accurate: «it is an economic-religious war. The great powers think that the Gulf and the State of the Persian Gulf, considering that there are the biggest energy resources reserves, are the key to control the world. I implore the young Muslims to strengthen the mujahidin everywhere, especially in Palestine, Iraq, Kashmir, Chechnya and Afghanistan».

In a videotape, which was sent to Al-Jazeera on the 1st November 2004, bin Laden addressed the American people just before the elections to narrate and explain the reasons (the four cornerstones) of his jihad:

- Revenge: because in 1982 the US allowed Israel to invade Lebanon and the 6th Fleet helped them to do that;
- The aim is to «continue to fight this war that is bleeding the US dry in order to throw them into bankruptcy»;
- The targets are «the American people and their economy, the companies that work in the oil industry, in the weapons business and in reconstruction, and the big companies that are linked with the Bush administration, like Halliburton»;
- The strategies are aimed at depleting the American resources through the asymmetric war, for example «sending two *mujahidin* to the most extreme eastern cape and ordering them to wave a piece of cloth (on which there must be written al-Qaeda) so that the Generals rush up to them and inflict heavy losses on the US in human, economic and political terms».

In order to make the Americans suffer the same fate as the Russians, the terrorists aim to deplete the



Oil wells.

American «resources» so that they cannot maintain their economic and military hegemony any more.

The economic war of al-Qaeda against American interests includes three methods:

- The destruction of «targets that are qualitatively expensive by using means that are qualitatively cheap: each dollar of al-Qaeda has defeated millions of dollars, as well as causing huge job losses»;
- Pushing the American administration to overspend the defence budget and forcing it to cut domestic investments. «Recently the *mujahidin* have obliged Bush to draw on emergency funding to continue to fight in Afghanistan and Iraq»;
- The last strategy concerns oil. In a declaration of 12th October 2002, bin Laden congratulated the *mujahidin* on the attacks against the marines in Kuwait and against the American tanker Limburg: «I congratulate my sons *mujahidin* on their heroic and courageous operations of jihad against the American army of occupation in Kuwait. Through the attack against the tanker in Yemen, the *mujahidin* hit the secret line, the line of procurement and the source of life for the nation of crusaders».

Energy resources are the Achilles' heel of the American and western economy and, in the case of a destruction or reduction of energy flow in our society, the consequences would be devastating.

Although Daniel Yergin, «Chair of Cambridge Energy Research Associates», in his article which appeared in «Foreign Affairs», said that the security of energy would be top of the agenda at the G8 summit, which was held in St. Petersburg in July 2006, this did not happen in reality.

Whereas the G8 countries strenuously defended their national interests and were not able to reach a suitable compromise, with regard to geopolitics of energy the most populated countries (China and India) were moving their pawns.

Since al-Qaeda has threatened to attack what bin

Laden has defined as the «cornerstones» of the world economy, the energy resources represent the most crucial element.

In future the world will depend more and more on the energy supplies, which will come from geographical areas where the system of security is going through a phase of development: West Africa and the Caspian Sea. In any case, the barycentre of the system of supply is a constant in the geographical area extending from the Aegean coasts of Turkey to the Chinese border.

THE GEOPOLITICAL «FAULTS»

The risk of attacks against «new-style target», that is to say pipelines and gas pipelines, has increased both in Caucasus and in Central Asia.

This vast area, which has already defined as the «seismograph of the world politics», is the ground (and the possible «theatre of operations») where different interests and geopolitical talks tend to overlap and clash.

If we place in a paper the representations produced by the following theoretical models:

- *Market state/non-market state* (Philip Bobbit, in his «*The Shield of Achilles*», divides the world into the democratic countries that follow and observe the rules of market to solve international problems and the countries that do not behave in this way);
- *Pre-modern/modern/post-modern state*;
- *Jihad vs. McWorld* (Benjamin Barber uses this term to signify the resistance movements to globalization which refer to the traditional bases of the opposing society and, consequently, to the rise of *McWorld*);
- *Clash of Civilizations* (which was developed and

“...the world will depend more and more on the energy supplies, which will come from geographical areas where the system of security is going through a phase of development: West Africa and the Caspian Sea”

exhaustively discussed not only by Huntington, who was its «deviser»);

- *Clash of ideocides or clash of civicides* (where, as Arjun Appadurai has analysed, *ideocides-civicides* mean a new and serious problem concerning the fact that lots of populaces and the customs of some countries are considered as harmful and external to the concept of humanity and, consequently, they become a target of «social death»);

- «*Near enemy*»–«*Far enemy*» of the «*Jihad Salafi*» (whereas at the beginning al-Qaeda tried to hit the US through attacks that took place abroad and in the US, now his enemy operates within the territory of action of the terrorist group);

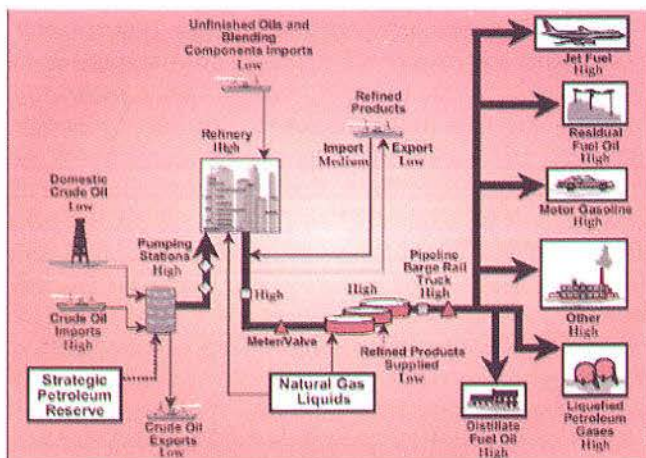
- *Market-Dominant minorities* (as Amy Chua says, ethnic minorities, who hold the economic-commercial power in some countries, where they operate

but to which they often do not belong);

Overlapping them with the zones of geopolitical and theoretical faults:

- of Dar al Islam/Dar al Harp (the territory of Islam /the territory of the Army and, consequently, of the conflict);
- of von Clausewitz's theories, which clash with those of Sun Tzu or of the «War after the war» of General Fabio Mini;
- of «Crescent of Crisis» (the crescent of instability, consequently the subject of the Middle East is expanding)
- of dramatic population increases that we can find in this periphery which produces and transports energy resources;
- the concept of marginal utility that is applied to the geopolitics of the propensity for conflict;
- we obtain, as result, the Turkic ethnolinguistic area where there are, as well as the «frozen conflicts», potential zones of tension: the «faults», which have been caused by intersections, superimpositions and contacts between the different representations of the geopolitical and geo-economical interests mentioned above.

The chain of transformation of crude.



TENSIONS IN THE «FAULTS»

If terrorist attacks against sources and systems of distribution of energy resources happened, the terrorist group (considered in its broadest sense, that is to say in its religious, independence, separatist, autonomist and political demands) could achieve the following strategic results:

- causing severe economic damage to the government of the country it fights against, making it



A marine platform.

easy for it to reach its political goal;

- causing severe damage even to the foreign countries that have invested and supported the government of the country;
- managing to self-fund, both by reselling the energy resources that it has been able to obtain and by threatening to make further attacks in order to receive money that would pay for weapons and the training of the components of the group. The attacks could happen:
 - making the pipelines explode;
 - making oil wells or other infrastructure (like oil rigs) explode;
 - attacking tankers;
 - attacking or threatening to attack the maritime traffic in the «check points»;
 - making the offices of the national or foreign oil company explode;
 - kidnapping or killing the personnel of the oil company (as the recent cases in Nigeria and the activity of MEND-Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta show).

However, if terrorist movements, which aim to control the territory, developed within these «faults», which are crossed by pipelines, surely there would be conflicts that, according to Van Creveld, «would have much more in common with tribal conflicts than conventional wars on a large scale».

In a recent article, which has appeared in the «International Herald Tribune», Thomas Friedman says this clearly: «energy is the most important geo-strategic and geo-economic challenge of

these days». It is so important that he talks about a «post-post-Cold War» where what revolves around the «axes of oil (Russia, Venezuela, Iran) is more important and lasting than terrorism».

Obviously, Friedman wants to criticize that view of terrorism as a merely criminal phenomenon. He sees it as an instrument of asymmetric war because it can be tightly linked with the current wars that are fought on different «oil routes».

It is no coincidence that, within a single American strategic structure, the integration of the anti-terrorist policy with that of energy security is strongly evident in the Caucasian Republic of Georgia, where, because of a historical-mythological coincidence, Mount Kazbegi is situated. In this place, as the Georgians say Prometheus was crucified.

According to Professor Klare, who is director of the «Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies», the risk of disorder and conflicts in these countries will be caused by the destabilizing impact of oil production. The western press could describe this dispute as «ethnic», but it will be caused by the negative effects of oil production. The issue of energy resources will cause lots of wars, which will take place in the developing countries. Probably, terrorism will become a common feature of future wars for energy resources. Even the presence of troops in regions that are rich in oilfields could arouse bitter resentment among the local population, especially if these resources are seen as a natural and inalienable right.

A key role will be played by private security companies, which will have to guarantee protection for energy resources.

Once the pipelines that come out of the Caspian

Sea are built and a great amount of oil starts to be transported, these routes will be considered to be strategically important by the leaders of the countries they cross; consequently, the enemies of these regimes could also see the attacks against these structures as a powerful instrument to weaken the government and harm its economy. As a consequence, a permanent and low intensity conflict could break out along the itineraries of the pipelines in the Caspian region.

If the governments involved in this war were not able to protect the pipelines, surely they would ask their allies for help and this could lead to more intense involvement by Washington and Moscow and, at the worst, to the deployment of American and Russian troops.

The future stability of the energy production in the region of the Caspian Sea is threatened by widespread discontent in the new independent States. In addition, within the region the political



Nigerian guerrillas.

and social tension is heightening and new movements of Islamic militants, who are inspired and often supported by their adversaries in the Persian Gulf and in the South East Asia are emerging.

Considering the «capricious» position of lots of Caspian borders and the ethnic and ideological links between different rebellious factions, any possible clash could appear to be a threat to the governments and increase the participation of the two greatest powers. However, even without Russia and America's participation, in future the basin of the Caspian Sea could be theatre of recurrent uprisings and violence. Wars aimed at obtaining the control of energy resources could break out and they would involve the local governments and the groups of the rebels that are supported by a great power.

These antagonisms could change into low intensity conflicts along the zones of border or in the besieged ethnic enclaves.

This kind of conflict can last for a long time

without producing any change. However, it is possible that suddenly an escalation of these conflicts occurs involving external powers, whose vital interests are put at risk. For them, the military intervention would be the only solution. In this way the Caspian region could become the ideal place of a regional conflagration on a large scale.

The shapes (which have already defined by Van Creveld in his study on the change of war) these conflicts could assume are the following:

- *Warre* (or return to nature, Hobbes: «everyone against everyone else»; consequently, it is not a war-*bellum* as dispute but it is a war-*werra* as a slaughter);
- *Low intensity conflicts*;
- *Proxy war* (States or multinationals that finance terrorist groups or the sides that clash in a local conflict);
- *Netwar-Network War* (in these phenomena, which have been studied by Arquilla, Ronfeldt and Duffield, the conflicts are provoked by a terrorist network that is not hierarchically organized and where the elements are linked with each other through the Internet networks);
- *Franchising terrorism* (terrorist attacks that are immortalized by local terrorist groups, who ideologically refer to a bigger organization and sign their attacks using the «logo-mother» even though they often do not have any contact with it; al-Qaeda sets a perfect example);
- *4th Generation Warfare* (a war where the State has lost its monopoly over the use of force and the interested parties use any networks at their disposal – economic, political, social and military– to thwart each other means it is also a war between cultures);
- *Asymmetric Warfare* (it is the asymmetric war that has been accurately described by the Chinese Colonels Liang and Xiangsui);
- *«Iraqization»* (in absence of a strong central government the armed clashes/terrorist attacks are led by clans, whose «outlines» are not easy to identify).

These conflicts will have a significant influence on the five sectors of security that have been pinpointed by Barry Buzan: military, political, economic, social and environmental sectors.

The prime target is the «Market State», which has been theorized by Philip Bobbit, but the economic sector is the most vulnerable. An effective strategy would be hit its Achilles' heel, that is «the economic target».

In conclusion, terrorism can be regarded as a strategy of war, an instrument rather than an actor, but also, as Robert Cooper says, the possible return to the privatisation of war, that is the pre-modern State with teeth.

In fact, the conflict that will be closer to reality is

similar to the conflict that was narrated by Tolstoj in «War and peace».

In the final pages of his work, he represents an hypothetical duel metaphorically. It introduces us to the concept of the «club» of popular war: «we should imagine two men who fight a duel with sword according to the rules of the fencing art; the bout lasts for a long time; suddenly, one of the opponents, since he is injured and knows that it is not a joke, throws his sword to the ground, grabs the first club he finds and starts to handle it. Despite the French complaints about the violation of rules (as if there were rules to kill people), the club of popular war lifted with threatening and majestic strength and, without taking the rules into consideration, with foolish simplicity. However, in an effective way, it lifted and lowered itself, without any distinctions, to hit the French until all the Army died».

Then, as President Bush was at the G8 summit, which was hosted by St. Petersburg, in the US, a few days before the opening ceremony of the pipeline Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (which was defined as the «Silk Route of the century» and even «the project of the century») the Turkish Foreign Minister Abdullah Gul met the Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.

They signed a common strategic agreement, which was defined «Shared Vision» and was the first in the US that was short of soldiers, and put the strategic doctrine of the «Quadrennial Defence Review» into practice.

Not only did this document highlight the importance of Turkey as energy corridor, but it was given a role as «constructive power in the Caucasus region».

Therefore, this wide area establishes itself as a possible centre of conflict between the greatest powers, so that it is compared to a new Middle East.

A NEW FIRE WAR?

Although this region is distant from our country, it has been included in the Italian geopolitical plans.

According to the Strategic Concept of the Chief of Staff of the Italian Defence (in 2001), «considering the richness in primary energy sources and the geo-strategic closeness», the area is defined «of national interest».

In addition, the Strategic Concept talks about a possible involvement of the Italian Armed Forces in that territory in case of «Operations of Reaction to Crisis». The New Strategic Concept of the Chief of Staff of the Italian Defence in 2005 highlighted

this importance again and defined the Caucasian area of «strategic interest» for our country.

According to the New Strategic Concept of NATO (NATO NSC), which was signed on 24th April 1999, Italy commits to supporting the alliance in the following cases:

- Art.20: «Ethnic and religious rivalries, territorial disputes, inadequate attempts to reform, abuse of human rights and dissolution of States can lead to local or regional instability. As a consequence, this tension could cause crises that have an impact on the Euro-Atlantic stability».
- Art.24: «Any armed attack on the Allies' territory would be covered by Articles 5 and 6 of the Treaty of Washington. However, the security of the Alliance must take the global context into consideration. The interests of the security of the Alliance can include situations where the level of risk is higher, such as terrorist and criminal acts, acts of sabotage and of organized crime, as well as the interruption of the flow of vital resources. The ungovernable movements of a great number of people, in particular as a consequence of armed conflicts, can cause problems about security and stability».

This geographical area we are studying is not threatening only because of ethnic and religious rivalries, territorial disputes and possible local and regional instability, but it is also crossed by the flow of vital resources that is represented by the BTC pipeline (Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan).

The recent visit of the President of Azerbaijan to NATO headquarters in Brussels has shown how the energy security NATO issue, which President Bush raised in February 2006, is superimposed on the strategic interests of the author-actor countries of the Atlantic Alliance and includes a wider geographical region.

“A key role will be played by private security companies, which will have to guarantee protection for the energy resources”

Fuel tanks on fire.



Ilham Aliyev has highlighted the richness in energy resources of his country and the importance of the BTC for the western supplies. He has clearly expressed an interest in strengthening the relations with the Atlantic Alliance.

This initiative has been positively welcomed by General Secretary of NATO, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, who has said that the geopolitical and strategic aspects of energy security are important for NATO and Azerbaijan will play a dominant role as far as energy supplies are concerned.

Although the members of the Alliance are discussing the topic of energy security, the agenda of the recent «NATO summit», which was held in Riga (27th–29th November 2006), highlighted the importance of terrorism and security of energy resources.

During the summit entitled «Transforming NATO in a New Global Area» President Bush said that *NATO is in transition from a static force to an expeditionary force.*

In addition, the US are putting the «Lawrence's legacy» into practice, using NATO's structures (planning military training courses, which should be held in Rome at the «NATO Training College» for Officials coming from North Africa, Middle East and Gulf) and the issue of «Global Partnership».

«Partnership» is seen by some members of the Alliance as another «label» for the «coalition of the willing» from which the US could choose their partners, irrespective of whether they belongs to the Alliance and according to the military mission they have to accomplish.

The sum of the strategic interests («the interests of security of the Alliance») of NATO finds its cartographic narration in a wider geographical region than that given by the territorial extent of its member countries and leads to a «Regional Security Complex».

In this wide «region» the perimeter of the geopolitical construction (from Turkey to China

including the faults) is reconfirmed. Although the fight against terrorism and terrorist threat is trying to replace the fight against the Soviet Communism in the post-Cold War anxious strategic motives of the Alliance, the element «energy» finds his «pivotal» role again.

A possible Soviet attack could have been aimed at annexing new territories and, consequently, the conflict would be fought within the geographical borders of NATO. In contrast, the new terrorist threats try to destroy or upset the functional capabilities of our society. Consequently, the new conflicts will occur even outside these territories and see the NATO member countries more and more engaged in operations that are defined as «societal protection».

This «cartographic» narration, where «centre-periphery-faults-energy resources merge into one» is perfectly exemplified by Admiral Di Paola, Chief of Staff Of Defence, in his article, which was published in the «NATO Review» (autumn 2006).

«A careful observation shows that instability and current and future crises tend to happen in the zone including the areas of contact between two opposing geopolitical entities: a global-

ized nucleus (characterized by globalization and the access to technology) and the area of disconnected space (a disconnected periphery that is made up of poor and, at times, fragile States, whose citizens have very few opportunities). This zone crosses Europe and Asia, touching in some points the Mediterranean Sea and the territory of the EU. It runs along strategically important areas for the presence of oil reserves and, especially in the Pacific area, of vital communication lines that are essential for the world maritime trade».

Up to now we have answered three fundamental questions that any analysis of security should be able to face. We can find these answers in Articles 20 and 24 of the NATO NSC.

- What must be protected? The «fire» and we have answered: «the interests of security of the Alliance and the flow of vital resources» (consequently the constant that is represented by energy resources).
- Who/what must it be protected from? From the «Water», and we have answered «from possible terrorist attacks and from possible instability that is caused by ethnic conflicts» (the fluid threat-fear).

Terrorist organizations and groups of guerrillas keep under constant threat the energy supply routes and the centres of production and storage.



• Who provides us with security? The «Earth» and we have tried to answer «NATO».
What remains is the last question and the forth element: which methods/approaches must be used to guarantee security? The «Air».

CONCLUSIONS

If the current situation in the region should worsen, it would be necessary to send NATO «peacekeeping» or «peacebuilding» troops.

This means that Italian soldiers could be employed to keep the peace in the region and to act as policemen among the population who has been hit and divided by local conflicts.

As General Fabio Mini says: «in the Euro-Asian republics and in the Caucasus there are pockets of pure orientalism. These communities belong to the East of war». General Mini does not mean by «orientalism» a geographical concept, but a «cultural subdivision because of what culture gives to the concept of war. The parameters the classification are based on the different conceptions of Time, Space, Life and Death. Since Time, Space, Life and Death are also the fundamental dimensions of war, the two sides differ from each other even in the view of war».

So, the future wars that will be faced «will be wars between different cultures and, consequently, they will be asymmetric (and different narrations of war that are not distant from the concept of the «club» of the popular war). It is not important to know who will be the actors of these wars; what really matters is that they will not fight on equal terms and they will pursue different aims».

Metaphorically speaking, we refer to wars where the «pawns-enemy/water» and their relation to Time, Space, Life and Death do not follow the rules of chess but probably the rules that are closer to those of «Go», where each pawn can destroy the other enemies entirely and synchronically, and where the battle is not confined within the lines, and so a game of pure strategy. The combinatorial analysis: a combination of four elements in class four (like the four elements: Earth, Fire, Air and Water confront each other in the four dimensions: Time, Space, Life and Death).

Hence the need of experts in this wide geographical area (which can turn into a «quagmire»), where often:

- the warrior is barbaric (in the original sense of the Greek term, «barbaros» which means «foreign» that does not speak/belong to our language/culture/imagination. Consequently, he is «author-actor» of a war and of a narration of war which has its own semiotics and is confined to an hermeneutic circle that is understandable to us;

- war is justified by aspirations to «glory» and so it is considered as an answer to humiliations that have been borne;
- the main military aims of the conflicts are the civil population and ethnic identities;
- God is seen as the only guarantor of one's identity.

Considering the complexity of these new conflicts, the obsolete figure of the «soldier Ryan» (with his *forma mentis* of the period of the Cold War) is about to be replaced not only by information and networks but by new figures of consultants. They are qualified consultants who can be scientists, analysts, experts in cultural and economic intelligence, hackers and experts in urban fighting.

They are able to pre-empt the enemy's moves and identify the actors of the conflicts because

A worker checks the maintenance of a pipeline in Azerbaijan.



these wars will be fought even by «non-States», that is to say economic and social groups or non-political organizations.

So, as Appadurai has highlighted, «cellular organizations» versus «vertebrate organizations». «Vertebrate organizations» are seen not only as the State but also as its entire structural and bureaucratic apparatus that has fallen behind with the process of transformation that has been stimulated by globalization: it is slow and open to interpretation on possible threats that are made by «cellular» structures.

To face these «cellular» threats, which are fluid, liquid and multiform, the military operational answer must adapt to a new «cultural» context appearing in the guise of the enemy.

Consequently a prompt and hierarchized answer and a camouflaged operativeness, which assumes the shape of the «rhizome» that has been studied by

Deleuze and Guattari and applied, in an experimental way, to the «Rhizome Warfare» by Jeff Vail: these units are made of individual and independent corps.

They are self-sufficient units that include different «specializations», which are complementary and able to operate at the same time collectively and individually, following an operational model that is defined «reverse swarming», according to which you do not have to face the enemy directly but mingle with the local population (and we add: in the local narration).

Because of this tactic of dispersion/camouflage in an unfamiliar and hostile context, «becoming an enemy», that is to say «moving under the guise of the locals», is overriding.

Because of this change from a «vertebrate» into a «cellular» operativeness, that is to say «rhizome», which is more fluid and intuitive, it is important to start from «intelligence», according to the meaning that Oxford Dictionary of English

An American soldier keeps watch on a burning well.



attributes to it: «the intellect, the understanding».

In this «understanding», which is a mental force that is free to fly into space, the «intelligence» becomes our fourth element: the «Air», the astuteness of Ulysses.

A good example is given by the «Mars and Minerva» that are depicted in the badge of the headgear of the 21st regiment of the Anglo-Saxon SAS, whose first components were painters, writers, actors, musicians and academics. The badge highlights the nature of their interests: war and creativeness.

As, the British General, Bob Fulton, says, the «Human Intelligence» (HUMINT) «plays a vital role in establishing the identities and the purposes of the adversaries and in understanding the enemy rather than limiting itself to counter them». However, it is necessary «to put the «I» of Intelligence in inverted commas», as Robert Steele says defining the three principal elements of the «Information Operations»: messages, reality, technology.

These new wars will be characterized by four protagonists: computer scientists and strategic

consultants, infantrymen, civilians and terrorists. To face effectively these new operations, which are defined as missions with «three components» (acting as policemen, performing humanitarian functions and doing their military duties – «war-fighting role»), the «infantrymen» will need further competence and specialist knowledge.

For this reason the activity of HUMINT will have to be supported by a strong activity of «cultural intelligence» (CULTINT).

Since they will operate within «barbaric» and segmented societies, which must be stabilized, the study of the local language, history, ground, customs and culture of the areas that are involved in the conflicts will be fundamental in order to be able to orient oneself and not to suffer negative consequences.

The «Orientation» (which is the way of interacting with the surrounding environment-narration) represents the central plank of what is defined by American Colonel John Boyd «OODA Loop: Observe-Orient-Decide-Act» to face the changes of the «4th Generation Warfare».

The CULTINT must be able to pinpoint and express the anthropological elements, the motivations, the behaviour, the languages, the signs, the myths, the emotions and the fury that can transform, in a certain moment, a peaceful and «non-combatant» «mass» into a contagious «war machine»: the involutional and creative process, which has been described by Deleuze and Guattari, of «becoming an animal and a war machine».

We are talking about operational contexts where the visible is invisible to us and the game of parts could change suddenly and in a dramatic way. In this case we, who are «disoriented characters», could become the prey although the booklet about the training of the Australian Army repeats that «the enemy is the game, we the hunters».

As General Mini suggests, it is this intelligence «that divides legality and abuse of power and it is essential that we should be the master of it» because «what we know within ourselves is worthless unless it corresponds with what we have to know».

The fact that the new wars will develop along the current and, above all, the future energy ridges is not a new one. Consequently, it is necessary to be ready and not to be taken by surprise. Currently, the constant and increasing demand for resources is putting the energy networks under pressure and since supplies do not meet demand any more, the tension will increase.

- Every drop of oil is so important that the four elements:
- Earth (NATO);
- Fire (energy resources);
- Air (intelligence);
- Water (terrorism as fluid threat);

have been recently reconfirmed in the formulation of two initiatives that witness the «mimesis» between energy resources, war against terrorism and the role of the Alliance:

- the first initiative, which was launched by the American senator Richard Lugar, «Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee», who examined, during the NATO Summit in Riga, the possibility of invoking the Article 5 of the Atlantic Pact in case the energy resources of a member country are threatening. This threat would be considered as a military attack;
- the second initiative, which was developed by Jamie Shea, «Director of NATO Policy Planning», who proposed that the Atlantic Council should create a Cell that is designed for the analysis of the intelligence and the security of energy. According to Shea: «a unit like this was created in the past and currently it deals with terrorism successfully. However, it should be assigned a specific task concerning the intelligence of the security of energy. The information that has been collected by the allies, partners, oil companies and different governments would be handled by a Special Committee in order to make its flow and its use by different entities that deal with the security of energy easier».

These constant and unpredictable changes of the strategic contexts and the arrival of new authors-actors-rules-non rules on the international scene, which impose a qualitative and epistemological passage on the analyses of crises and conflicts, make a «nomadism of thought», which is able to cover all different academic and non-academic subjects, necessary.

“...the fact that the new wars will develop along the current and, above all, the future energy “ridges” makes it necessary to be ready and not be taken by surprise”

This is a metamorphosis, whose framework must be extended beyond the rigid perimeter of the strategic studies to the wider and more flexible, or even better «nomadic», perimeter of the «critical security studies», which were undertaken by Barry Buzan and by the School of Copenhagen. The aim is to give adequate and real answers to the «built» threats, using the «intellect-understanding» of intelligence.

Consequently, it is necessary to pass from a «logocentrism» based on a «National defence-security strategy» to a poly-codified, hermeneutic and complex «logocentrism» based on the «Regional Security Complex Strategy».

«A real cultural and conceptual revolution», as Admiral Di Paola has said recently, «where the human element is the central element of the transformation and has a dual function, both as driver of the process and as subject, on which the transformation will exert a significant impact».

To conclude, with Robert Kaplan, this journey along the «New Silk road of oil», it is essential that we should look at his suggestion: «the battles that are fought in order to gain control of the pipelines in the Caucasus, the possible conflicts between Iran and Azerbaijan and the chaos in Georgia could hit the headlines. Facing these problems will involve the ability of the western political leaders to use their own power and to know how and when they have to intervene without deluding themselves».

Giovanni Ercolani
*Professor of «Global Terrorism»
and «Peacekeeping and International Conflict
Resolution»*

Oil wells.



Crude oil in flames near Basra, Iraq.



SM and SMH

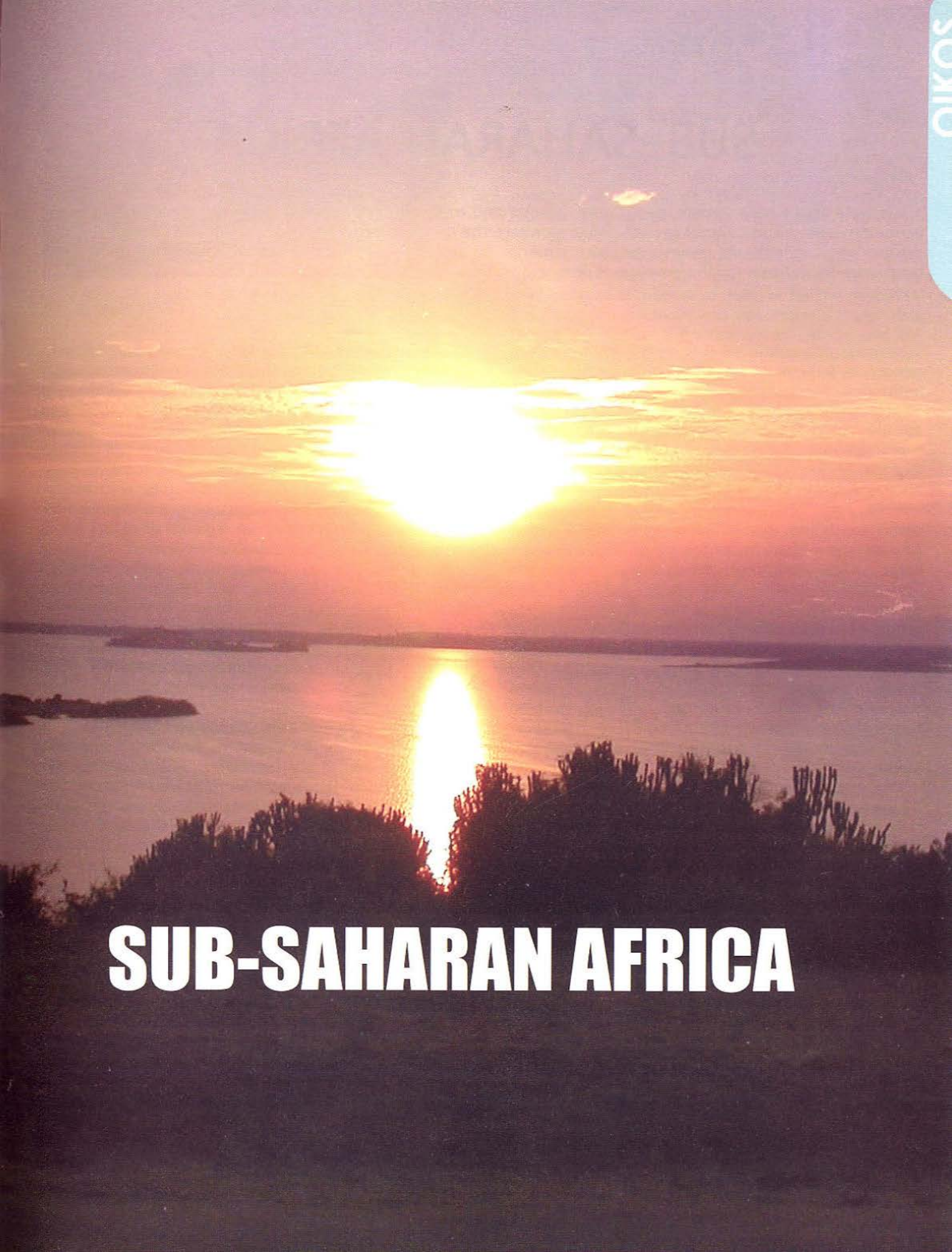
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A photograph of a sunset over a body of water. The sun is a large, bright yellow-orange orb in the center of the frame, partially obscured by thin, horizontal clouds. Its light reflects as a vertical streak on the water's surface. In the foreground, dark silhouettes of coastal vegetation, possibly cacti or shrubs, are visible against the bright sky. The horizon line is low, showing distant landmasses and islands under a vast, colorful sky transitioning from orange near the sun to a pale purple at the top.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

A vast wild area where climate, geography, poverty and tribal conflicts are still today the impediments to its economic, social and cultural growth. An area where the contrast between the riches of the subsoil and the poverty of its inhabitants grows ever more striking. An area where today the international community finds ever more fresh hope for the process of democratisation.

"Africa isn't a continent. It is more continents that geography has amused itself keeping together; that anthropology has intended to vivisect; that history has continually redesigned; that politics has systematically reinvented. It's a mosaic of languages, cultures, peoples with thousands of intertwining threads. Threads which mix together alignment and antagonism, similarities and differences".

Already this brief premise shows the difficulty in being to define the frame of reference for the African sub-Sahara in order to establish its geopolitical trends. The different realities, the historical events, the logics of the ethnic nations as well as the conditioning and the possibility of single large geographical zones controlling an internal scenario of diverse local and regional areas characterised by particular social and political situations.

The presence of more 'actors' in the area of Africa to the south of the Sahara, that don't always tally with countries, makes it even more difficult to understand the singular reality which is not always definable into western terms but rather to its own individual culture, that of continental Africa.

On the other hand, the concept of national states, 'the achievements of a long history are not as irreversible as once thought some time ago. In fact it is possible to talk about national states with

a large part of the population feeling part of their nation, of their unity, their independence and consider it fundamental in their daily political life."

In sub-Saharan Africa the concept of the state is in continual debate, because of new forms of colonialism, of democratic purposes, of conflicts still continuing, that don't take account of the local realities that are determined by an ethno-cultural-historical character. Such factors of instability are exploited by the states who stir it up at regional or global level,

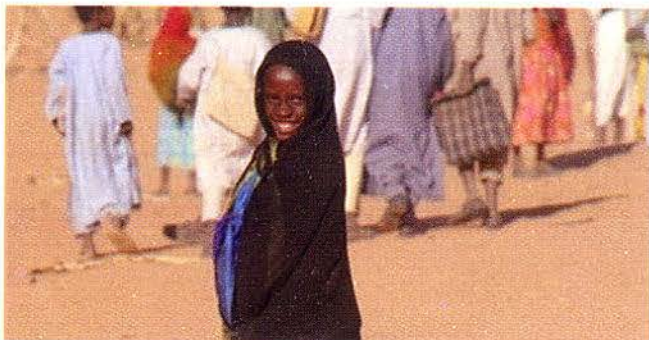
through warlords, factions, armed groups in the name of liberty, self-determination, ideological claims, or even worse in the name of religion.

The instability of the African continent accentuates the process of marginalization that separates African states from those of the west and Asia. The estimated population growth rates in the last years by the

World Bank of the African sub-Sahara (between 4.1% in 2004 to 6% in 2006), the increase in the production of petroleum (above all in the Gulf of Guinea), the direct foreign investment, the various forms of partnership programmes and economic development programmes by international organizations, the international aid (donations and subsidised loans), the situation regarding emigrants, the informal local economy, they are all factors which are bringing an improvement to the conditions of the lives of the Africans to the south of the Sahara.

In fact according to Human Development Index the countries of the African sub-Sahara register a score of 0.464, in comparison with 0.920 for the richest countries. Which indicates that the countries of the African sub-Sahara are developing at a rate of approximately half that of the most advanced coun-

"The presence of more 'actors' in the area of Africa to the south of the Sahara, that don't always tally with countries, makes it even more difficult to understand the individual realities..."



Left
Darfur refugees.

Title pages.
Lake Edward in Uganda



An Ethiopian village.

tries in the world. However the risk is that the gap between the African sub-Sahara and the 'rich' countries of the world is increasing and not decreasing. In such a situation, without the continual and stable reinvestment of the surplus gained it is difficult to believe that it will be possible to break the vicious cycle of underdevelopment.

To this regard, still today, in the African sub-Sahara; 44% of the population live on less than one dollar a day, a third of the population don't have access to drinking water, two thirds lack basic sanitary provisions. According to the UN Index of Development 30 of the bottom 32 countries are African. To which it can be added the scourges of HIV (it killed 2.4 million in 2005), malaria which is still one of the principal reasons for death for the under fives (20%), tuberculosis and the wars of the 1990's both in the region of the 'Great Lakes' (the 'African World War' 1996-97 and 1998-2003) and in eastern Africa with effects in the first years of the 21st century in western Africa and in the south of the Sahara with the effects of the refugees inside and outside the borders of their countries of origin. An increasing problem as indicated by the UNCHR.

In addition to the failure of repeated programmes aimed at structurally repairing the economic systems, establishing the process of democratisation which are either unfinished or perhaps never really started, helping ease the intensity of conflicts (such as in the north of Uganda, western Congo, the south of Sudan, Somalia amongst others), there must also be the consideration of the political-bureaucratic class that too often are corrupt and more dedicated to protecting their own power than to the serving of the state (when there is the absence of a functioning and efficient administration apparatus in respect to the rules), and with all this, the population.

This continual instability stops the African society from being one whole, and the society is continually becoming further fragmented (the concept of village has been lost, so too that of the extended family, of respect to traditions and for the 'old') and above all in the young who live in the cities (formed into militia groups of the style 'outside

the clan' or 'post-ethnic'). To such a dangerously disjointed society it can be added the spreading of international terrorism that could recruit into its ranks both armed or ethnic groups or desperate individuals – giving to both the dangerous new 'creed' of socio-historic revenge, that allows, amongst other things, the infiltration and the expansion of jihadist cells from Saudi Arabia and Yemen to enter Sudan, Chad and north Nigeria.

If today the USA and the West in general gave greater attention to this part of the continent, not only because of a sense of guilt, or for the geopolitical logic of petroleum and raw materials, but also from the fear that splits the western world and the third world, the Islamic majority, it could allow the change of international relations points of reference. A greater attention from the USA and Europe towards the affairs of the African sub-Sahara as well as the starting of a sustainable development programme by the G8 such as NEPAD (1) and renewable works and projects from the international community (Millennium Development Goals – MDGs) in order to defeat poverty before 2015 and for relaunching new forms of 'partnerships' would help create this.

In general the foreign policy of western countries is not to give 'credits' to African countries unless they adopt free competition, laws of the market and the integration of the international economy as well as giving at the same time full scale attention to social and political issues through the following of objectives such as the fight against poverty, the launching of the democratic process and the recognition of the human rights. However this denial of automatic economic-financial aid to African countries tends on one side to aggravate the social conditions in those countries who need it the most, and on the other side facilitates new regional powers (Nigeria, South Africa and the same Uganda) and permits the economic and commercial penetration of China into the area. This last activity in the African continent is without ideological impositions (as in the past) or of recognitions of human rights but is driven by the pragmatic objectives and strategies of initiating advantageous joint ventures and of acquiring concessions to the immense natural resources, above all of energy and minerals (platinum, cobalt, chrome, bauxite, titanium, gold, etc) further to which the diamond mines which are under the custody of the African sub-Saharan countries.

The instability, the widespread and multi-directional conflicts in the African sub-Sahara that have characterized the last 15 years, thanks to regional multi-polemic elements among which the different 'actors' (emerging states, power entrenching states, international criminal organisations, fundamentalist religious movements) have all found unoccupied territory, which had seemed to be in decline but not always so.



Soldiers in Darfur.

The errors committed in the 1990's that allowed the proliferation of cross-border conflict in western Africa (Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberia), the Great Lakes area (Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda) and the southern side of the Sahel (Sudan, Chad, Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia) has resulted in a major involvement of the international community in the African question.

The process of democratisation (presidential elections, parliaments, constitutional referendums) recently undergone, the new forms of financing based on the concept of African Ownership (2), the strengthening and improved dynamism of some regional organizations (African Union) and sub-regional as well as some 'strong' states (Nigeria and South Africa), the rate of growth recorded in the last few years for some countries have all made the 'afro-optimists' believe that the worst is past.

The tendency for only minor outbreaks of conflicts in many of the sub-Saharan countries is resulting in a rush of investments, business and extraction of primary resources and energy not only from the western world but also from the big developing countries of Asia. If before such access to these resources was the domain of the ex-colonial powers and then the multi-national companies today they are being coveted by the new dynamic actors that have to keep happy the ever increasing hunger for peace of mind for access to future necessary energy resources that would be able to supply their expected economic growth.

In short the interpretation of the latest political, social and economic indicators show an overall contrasting picture but that can be judged as the African sub-Sahara as being in the process of a more or less positive development.

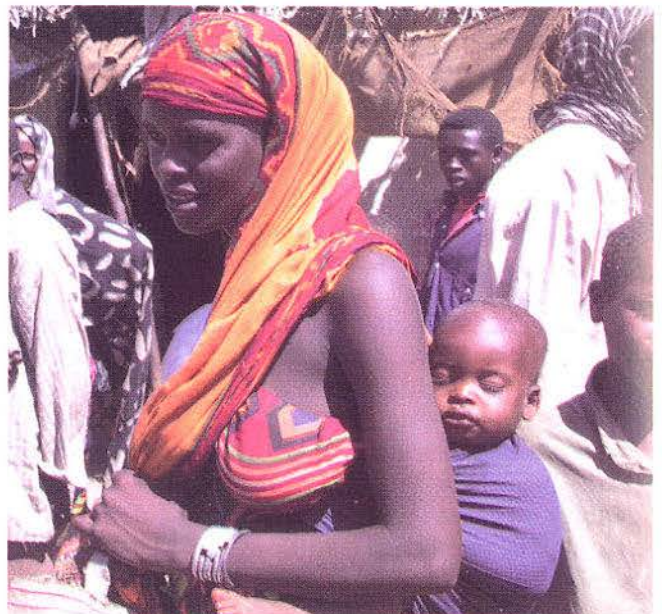
THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATISATION AND REGIONAL AND CROSS-REGIONAL CONFLICTS

In recent years many of the conflicts that started in the 1990's have, if not finished, faded away in many of the African states and conversely transitional phases of political openness have started thanks above all

to the support of the UN, the regional (African Union – UA) and sub-regional African organizations and military-diplomatic action of the regional powers (Nigeria, South Africa) and European Countries (Great Britain and France in particular) and the United States as well as the European Union. Recently new slogans have started to emerge such as 'African Renaissance'. Which highlights nearly a rebirth of culture or at least a new spring that 'would sprout' throughout the continent. All this within a context of ever more attention from the International community to Africa.

At the same time there has been a real and true spate of elections in many countries where the population themselves have elected their own presidents, remaking parliaments, voting on referendums, at times post war and at other times these actions have reinforced democracies which had already started. To which can be added various political activity and accords – happened in the course of 2005–2006 – that give great hope for the future, for example, the meeting and eventual accord between the government of Khartoum and the factions present in the south and south-west of Sudan (declaration of the principles for the resolution of the conflict in the east of Sudan and then for peace talks); the electoral elections between July and October 2006 in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) for Joseph Kabila (which happened in almost a dynastic way after the assassination of his father Laurent Desire Kabila in 2001, who had dethroned Mobutu Sese Seko with the help of neighbouring countries and internal military and factions assistance) even if thanks to the constant mediation from South Africa. Certainly such events provide a 'foundation' for the stabilization of a 'platform' for sub-Saharan Africa in the region of the

Somalian refugees.



Great Lakes. Leaving aside the final destination of the various militia, factions that have always been in existence, but above all in the last 15 years, in the regions more eastern, to the south and east of Congo (the regions of the Ituri, Kivu, Shaba and Kasai) that have resulted in being also the richest in primary materials and diamond mines and therefore under pressure from those countries around (Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda) amongst others. We must also appreciate that the electoral results of the ballots strongly reflect the ethnic and linguistic origins of the area of the two political actors; from the west of the country comes Bemba and from the east Kabilia.

The local, parliamentary and presidential elections as well as the referendum for the acceptance of the new constitution in neighbouring Burundi have represented another factor in stabilizing the entire region. For Burundi and its president, Pierre Nkurunziza, (an ex leader moderate hutu leader) this event has represented a great opportunity to put to a close a thirteen year conflict that has claimed 300,000 victims. Only once all the different military factions and sides had laid down their weapons and moved forward into the political phase will Burundi and the entire region have finally left 'danger returning', as has unfortunately been seen from the past. At the same time Paul Kagame, in Rwanda, has reinforced his own political position with the elections of August 2006 further distancing the memory of the period of genocide that occurred in the middle of the 1990's and of the subsequent war in the region.

Even the self same Uganda had given out an important political goal. On the 23rd February 2006 there were the first multi-party elections for twenty-six years. Which resulted in a new five year mandate to President Yoweri Museveni, already in power for about twenty years and 'acting' principal of the region. Above all the new victory of President Museveni puts not a little doubt on the real capacity of Uganda to reform itself politically. In fact the distribution of votes showed that there could be a possible problem 'north'. Recent agreements between Sudan and Uganda and the consequent improvement to political-diplomatic relations have redefined the activity of the militia of Joseph Kony, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) enough to force him to enter peace talks with President Museveni and then to proclaim the "cessation unilatérale des hostilities" after 18 years of guerrilla warfare and terror. Such events can't not be read in a positive way, adding another important piece to the puzzle of the whole region. However there is still the difficult reading of the situation in Sudan. There have been attempts to bring stability and peace to the area, like



Militiamen in Darfur.

the historic agreement in January 2005 between the Khartoum Government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). Anyway the situation stays critical because of the amount of interest at stake for the exploitation of the oil fields, the regional tribalism and the dramatic situation in which thousands of refugees (about 200,000) as well as the fragile democracy around the country. Certainly, even in this case the suffering of the population, the high number of victims and the around 1.8 million people 'déplacées' around the various refugee camps put the

Darfur question among the problems that are still unresolved. Fear of the fact of a potential Rwanda of the twenty first century that could drag in those countries around (Chad and the Central African Republic) was expressed by the President of the African Union, Oumar Konaré, stating 'a risk of a regional conflict' that would include Chad and the Central African Republic 'is the consequence of Darfur'. With

regards to the UN High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) urges 'the international community to rapidly mobilize a multitask presence in Chad for the protection of the thousands of Chad civilians and the Sudanese refugees'.

The political accord of the 20th August 2006 in Lomé is also significant. In fact after 12 years of tension, the plight of about 40,000 people from Togo to Ghana and Benin, and the interruption of international aid there has been the reopening of talks and returned hope for democracy in the African country and so EU international aid has also returned. In particular, but not especially so, is the case of Zimbabwe who has been led since 1980 by President Mugabe (evidence that 'political longevity' is not new to the African Sub-Sahara) who recently won the elections in 2005. Other countries such as Ethiopia and Kenya have been significantly changed by the responses in their elections.

The situation is also stable in Angola after the events of 2002-2003 (the death of the Savimbi leader,

"The interpretation of the latest political, social and economic indicators show an overall contrasting picture but that can be judged as the African sub-Sahara as being in the process of a more or less positive development"



Demonstration outside the White House in favour of peacekeepers in Darfur.

the election of Samakuva UNITA leader and the UNITA armed struggle against the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola – MPLA) and the important possibility offered by the potential exploitation of oil, contributes to give an optimistic picture of a future to be characterized by economic and social growth for much of the sub-Saharan region.

Other important political events occurred at the start of 2007, such as the elections in Senegal, where the exiting president Abdoulaye Wade was confirmed as the winner of the first rounds of presidential elections suggesting a stability in the country. Other events are due to happen in this period, such as elections in Sierra Leone (28th July 2007) after 10 years of civil and regional fighting (1991–2001) that required the intervention of a military contingent of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and of the UN Mission (UNAMSIL), the signing of the Lomé accord between the governments of Sierra Leone and the Revolution United Front (RUF), the constitution of the National Committee and finally the elections of the 14th May 2002 (won by President Kabbah). Thanks to the help of the international community the central government has retaken control of various diamond producing regions in the north. Also Liberia, on a par with Sierra Leone, seemed to have 'switched' to the democratic way with its elections of 11th October 2005. It even had the election of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the first woman to become Head of State in a country that for decades had endured dictators, armed militia, mass slaughters, illegal trafficking of arms and diamonds, regional conflicts and the military action of Taylor.

But it is perhaps the elections in Nigeria (April 2007) that could constitute one of the most important political events of the year regarding the stability of the region. The way it is carried out and the acceptance of the electoral results will confirm the level of democratic socio-political maturity of the country (which has 140 million inhabitants) after Obasanjo (president for two terms) notwithstanding

the ethnic, tribal and religious tensions and the tensions connected to the extraction of crude oil (an issue over the Niger Delta).

But not only here, in Ivory Coast and Somalia there lack the possible moves to democracy. In the first, in the zone of the western coast of the African sub-Saharan it wasn't able to go to election in October 2005 even with the mediation of Nigeria and South Africa in the widest sense of being the international community. In Somalia there hasn't been success in ending a period of internal conflict even though there has been a fairly long process of democratisation that started in 2002 (3). The constitution on one side of the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace against Terrorism (February 2006) and from the other side the Union of the Islamic Court (UCI) have pushed the possibilities of peace further away in the Horn of Africa. The direct entry of troops from Addis-Abeba into the Somalian conflict alongside the those of the transitory Somalian government of Baidoa against the Islamic Court, and the military actions on the part of the United States has risked to incentivize and increase, as a reaction, the extent of global Islamic terrorism in the entire region of the Horn of Africa as felt in recent times. The hope of the accord of June 2006 (under the aegis of the Arab League) between the Somali government and the UCI for reciprocal recognition that could allow the future political dialogue between the parties has vanished with time. The direct intervention of the African Union with the sending of a peace force (African Mission in

Somalia – AMISOM) under the aegis of the UN (resolution 1744) "...for the purposes of supporting the talks and reconciliation in Somalia for the creation of security and protection in the zone" of whom that have taken part in the congress of reconciliation have tempered the tensions that have hit the whole region of the Horn of Africa even because of the inter-

"The situation stays critical because of the interest at stake for the exploitation of the oil fields, the tribalism and the dramatic situation of the refugees"

vention of Ethiopia in the Somalian conflict. There is the risk of reawakening the rivalry in the region between Ethiopia and Eritrea that was subdued in the peace of Algiers in May 2000. The difficult diplomatic relations between the two countries of the Horn of Africa is also reflected in their diverse political choices. In fact on the one side is Ethiopia, the only country with a large Christian presence amongst the Islamic countries and has been increasingly worried about defending itself against politico-military strikes from Somalia, and tries to contain any eventual irredentism in the Ogadèn region, and a corridor of commerce and a toe hold in the Red Sea, while on the other hand Eritrea is after the expansion of its own influence in the region, trying to take advantage of its geographical position, opening its ports to China and so indirectly weakening Ethiopia's stance. In addition to problems at the macro

level there is also an incompatibility between the two types of people in the two countries, both are afflicted with a weak managing class, that risks to aggravate the situation. In such a scenario the employment of the African Union in Somalia with its own contingent clearly signals an important moment in the dream of progressive stabilization and pacification of the region and showing at the same time the willingness of Africans to take part in the resolution of their own crisis and tendencies which afflict themselves in Africa.

On the whole it is evident that the last few years have seen an increase in the peace process, agreements, presidential and parliamentary elections that have occurred in the African sub-Sahara: "Africa does not suffer a democracy deficit. More than two-thirds of sub-Saharan African countries have had democratic elections since 2000" (US Department of State - Bureau of African Affairs).

Undoubtedly in respect to the 1990's and from 2000 the conflicts and the wars have left ample space for a great expectation of democratic processes and a political rebirth in the African sub-Sahara. Which is independent of the fact of doubt over the longevity of the politicians it is nevertheless, when taking into account time necessary for change, a process of democratisation that is becoming more widespread and perhaps also stronger. Certainly there are still certain important political issues that could destabilise the area, including risks of explosions of violence or instability as for example in Darfur or in the Horn of Africa.

STRATEGIES AND INITIATIVES FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION FOR AFRICA, IN PARTICULAR CONCERNING THE HORN OF AFRICA

The process of democratisation in sub-Saharan Africa finds fresh air and hope in the large attention given to it by the international community, by the international organizations (the UN), by regional organizations (the African Union - UA) and sub-regional, by those of Europe (the European Union), and countries attached to the G8, as well as the increased strategic activity by the USA and China. It can be seen in the diverse initiatives of 'partnership' (NEPAD, Millennium Development Goals - MDGs) and 'strategy' (National Security Strategy of the United States of America - 2002, China's Africa Policy) that are related to the Africa of today.

In such a context the European Union have started a series of important initiatives and defined strategies. The EU-Africa talks (Cairo-process) were launched in 2000 with the understanding that the security of the region depends on the development of these countries. In the African Union the EU found natural intermediaries for the initiatives and programmes that came out of Brussels. This link between the two organ-

izations has with time been reinforced (there are six-monthly meetings between the 'troika countries' and annually between the EU and African Union member countries). In July 2003 the African Union summit in Maputo requested in particular for the necessarily EU support for the commencement of the 'peacekeeping' and 'building' operations. The response in relation to security issues was for the EU to adopt a global strategy (A Secure Europe Better) and a strategy specific for Africa (The African Peace Facility - APF) which pledges about 250 million euros until the end of 2007 from the 9th European Development Fund (EDF) for the peace in Africa. But the commitment of the EU is also a commitment direct into the field with the start of Operation Artemis (4) in the Democratic Republic of Congo in the scope of the MONUC mission, started in June 2003 and concluded in the September of the same year, in accordance with the UN resolution 1484 and in the remit of European Policy of Security and Defence (EPSD). Such an operation was constituted by a three



May 2005, UNMIL. A ceremony of the Chinese contingent in Monrovia, Liberia.

part objective and viewpoint mission in addition to international intervention; the first operation of the "reestablishment" of peace by the EU, conducted without the support of NATO and the first operation 'hors zone' (5). With this regard the EU supported in 2006 the electoral process in the DR of Congo (Operation EUFOR RD Congo) as per the UN resolution number 1671. The military operation, in accordance with the government of the RDC and in close alignment with MONUC, confirmed once again the willingness of Europe to put into practice all the necessary actions to bring about the dialogue between the various African countries and political components. In particular "the EU has busied itself in the training of the security forces, has sent 300 observers into all the territory and has supplied 150 million euros to finance the elections, to which should be added 100 million euros of bilateral aid supplied by member states."

This renewed attention by Europe to the African Problem also brought in 2005 the European Commission to define the 'EU Strategy for Africa:



Darfur guerrillas.

towards a Euro-African pact to Accelerate Africa's development' implemented in the same year as the European Council with its 'EU Strategy for Africa'. More recently during 2006 the European Commission launched a new EU-African partnership dedicated to the internal infrastructures of land transport, energy, water, information technology in order to achieve the objectives as set out by the African Union and the NEPAD programme, funded by the 10th European Development Fund (2008–2013). This is in the conviction that 'the creation of the infrastructure in Africa represents an essential requirement for economic and commercial growth, regional integration and the fight against poverty'. In this respect the European Council has renewed its pledge for the next three years (2008–2011) in the APF for the amount of 300 million euros. Following the worsening of the situation in Somalia during 2006 the European Commission, some months before the Ethiopian troops entered Mogadishu, had also defined a specific community strategy for the Horn of Africa (EU partnership for peace, security and development in the Horn of Africa – 20 October 2006) that includes in its operating other relevant regional and sub-regional organizations (see graphic).

But why has the EU got to give so much attention to Africa and in particular the Horn of Africa? Why not limit itself to eastern Europe or the Mediterranean basin? What is pushing Europe to look so far and so south?

The EU is looking at Africa, and in particular at the Horn of Africa simply because it is an important strategic area. In fact the interests are as follows;

- strategic security, considering the geographic, cultural and economic proximity to the Middle East, as well as the fact that any regional conflict could increase international terrorism, banditry, the illegal trafficking of arms and people, the number of safe havens for criminality, uncontrolled migration and refugees and a proliferation of arms (Small Arms and Light Weapons – SALW);

- economics, tied to the extraction and transportation of crude oil, taking into account the vicinity of Saudi Arabia and the proximity to



A guerrilla of Darfur.

important transport routes already in use, such as the Red Sea to the Suez Canal, or the future route of the Red Sea to the Centre of Africa;

- general geostrategic, taking account of the interest shown in recent years by countries such as China and India to the African sub-Saharan. In such regard the Horn of Africa today constitutes the closest place of entry into sub-Saharan Africa from Asia.

The actions of the UN were born out of considerations for peace, security, migration, interaction and the management of relief projects in line with its principals that cannot solely be sub regional in order to be successful, but must face problems inter-regionally or internationally to have any success. For this motive the EU operates with all the principal organizations regionally and sub-regionally.

Yet it is aware of the need for developing a global strategy of prevention against conflict through politics and through the sector of security, economic development and the construction of democratic governments. The strategy of the EU in Africa comes from, in essence, concerning the consideration according to what would be safe and secure with the eradication of poverty and only then allows a development that is sustainable and long lasting. Such a strategy must be applied to the African sub-Saharan and especially the Horn of Africa, where there is a concentration of the poorest countries of the world. And there is no space for initiatives that were characterised in recent years that were driven by single countries such as France, United Kingdom and the United States (6).

THE AFRICAN SUB-SAHARA: A NEW OPPORTUNITY? BUT FOR WHOM?

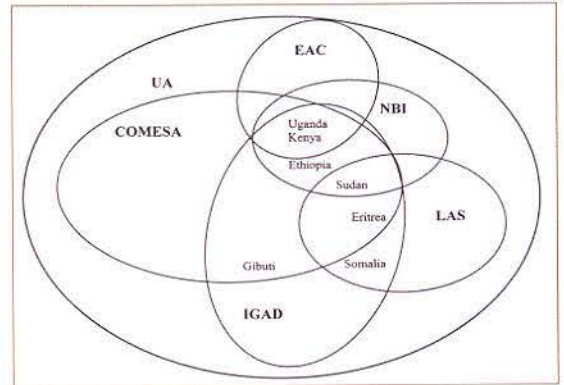
Greater stability in the politics of sub-Saharan Africa, the easing off of many internal conflicts in many countries, the ending of some regional and inter-regional wars, greater weight from the African Union to reinvigorate duty, positive influence by the international community and the action by certain African countries (South Africa and Nigeria above all) – not without

interests – they are concomitant to a greater economic, political and commercial presence by external countries (external players) to the African continent. The energetic need and the search for new commercial markets make important countries put them in their sights for development (China above all) and in competition with European countries and the United States for the utilization of the area, in the dividing out of influential sectors and the spreading of investment. This new push towards a new 'Eldorado' is perhaps attributed by the perceived increase of instability and unpredictableness of the entire Middle East. The growth of tension in the Persian Gulf has, once again, underlined the extreme dependence of the energy consumers of the big countries on this area. The development or the growth of the petroleum sector in the African sub-Saharan takes on a whole new particular, shall we say strategic, importance.

The current petroleum reserves of Africa only represent about 9% of the world's resources (the equivalent to how much Kuwait offers) and an overall production of about 10% of the global production. But they are betting heavily on the potential reserves that they have yet to explore. Black Africa, with more than 4 million barrels of petroleum a day, has finally reached a level of interest at the world level. Its production has increased 36% in 10 years, in respect to 16% in other areas. In fact the entry of the African sub-Saharan in the world crude oil market is an event fairly recent (1960-70's). And above all from the 1980's when the Gulf of Guinea became a favourite for international investment in petroleum. The production of crude oil has registered an increasing value in respect to crude oil prices, due to the new technology that allows deeper extraction, the discovery of new oil fields, the exploitation of offshore fields, the strategic importance in diversifying energy suppliers, the possibility of new pipelines that cross wide areas of the African sub-Saharan. And so the region finds itself in an excellent position for the European and American markets.

The African sub-Saharan therefore is not only territory reserved for the exclusive use of the main world multinationals of western countries, but also areas of expansion and of economic and political influence of other nations. Now there are many who are talking of a real and significant activity, in particular the Chinese, of the extraction of subsoil commodities. It is always more and more African governments and sub-Saharan governments that give in to the offers of business by the Chinese for the exploitation of their mineral resources and energy, where previously there had been Europe and the United States as per the post-colonial divisions. The geopolitical situation of petroleum is changing rapidly and the panic started about its pres-

REGIONAL AND SUB-REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA



AU: African Union;
 IGAD: composed of Djibouti, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Uganda;
 NBI: Nile Basin Initiative;
 COMESA: Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa;
 LAS: League of Arab States;
 EAC: Eastern Africa Community.

Fonte: Strategy for Africa: A European Union regional political partnership for peace, security and development in the Horn of Africa. COM (2006) 601 final – 20.10.2006.

ence has forced a more competitive market and more diverse rules. It seemed that at the beginning of the century there was a real race for the black oil. The US National Intelligence Council projected that before 2015 America would have to import 25% of its petroleum requirements as opposed to the then current 16%. But sub-Saharan Africa is no longer a 'game reserve' for the exclusive use of the large western multinational oil companies, in particular to those of France and the USA. Now in developing countries the competition is strong. China, the second largest consumer of crude oil in the planet, imports more than 25% of its needs from the Gulf of Guinea and the Sudanese hinterland. Considering the dependence on energy of the country and the rate of growth and development it will be forced to import about 60% of its requirements from here in 2020. This particular activism by China can be seen as part of a much wider and more attacking

economic and political strategy. Even 2007 began with a strong desire by President Hu Jintao to reinforce relations with the African sub-Saharan as was demonstrated by his third trip since 2003 to the African continent, during which he visited 8 countries including Sudan and South Africa. This pragmatic action by Peking is inspired by the 'win-win' strategy not inline with that of the International Monetary Fund and the attempts for pressure by the World Bank. China, in fact chooses to not try and interfere with the internal affairs of any of the states with which it deals. In effect the cooperation takes place without any set of conditions in regards to the absolute sovereignty of the states, but looks at the supplying of services, infrastructures, systems and capacities at competitive prices. The West,

“The EU has launched a new partnership dedicated to the internal infrastructures of land transport, energy, water, information technology...”

ACRONYMS

ECCAS: Economic Community of Central Africa States;
SADC: Southern African Development Community;
COMESA: Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa;
IGAD: Intergovernmental Authority for Development;
ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States;
EAC: East African Community;
CEDEAO: Communauté Économique des États de l'Afrique de l'Ouest;
CEEAC: Communauté Économique des États de l'Afrique Centrale;
ECOMOG: Economic Community of West African States Monitoring.

and especially the European Union, gives conditions and parameters, not only economic ones, based on the three principals of equality (recognising and respecting of the institutions and the definitions of the collective interest), partnerships (development of relations based on commercial and political partnerships) and co-involvement (participation in the strategies and politics, their development, which cannot be imposed externally but must come from within the relevant countries) and for the following of the three objectives of development (OMS): peace, security and good government. This inevitably leaves some states under the influence of the new partners with the risk that some will have their oligarchic regimes strengthened, enriched and so disable any sustainable long term development within the country.

CONCLUSIONS

The recent political-military and socio-economic events in sub-Saharan Africa are somewhat contradictory. The process of marginalization of the African sub-Sahara continues, and it's finding it hard to leave the role given to it, above all in the past, the vast reserves of primary materials, of energy resources and labour forces under the push of the new technologies, financial markets, of access and the taking advantage of the energy resources by the more industrialized countries or those with the new strong economies. The instability of many regions, above all closely connected to the geopolitical map of petroleum and of the extraction of primary resources, is synthesised in the expression "malediction des ressources". For the confirmation of this it's sufficient just to pass an eye over a map of the area where there are oil fields and diamond mines and the water of Africa.

Furthermore the territories of ethnicity and countries don't tally, and there are 'missing states', or states with a weak or non-existent central governance, helps the natural push towards disjointing and instability. If the state can't perform its principle functions of 'protecting property rights, personal security of its citizens from other citizens and other countries'

or others, then such instability cannot be a surprise, irrespective of recent progress. In fact the intrinsic difficulty related to the birth of the modern state in the African sub-Sahara, perhaps, is connected to the fact that it has never known a sovereignty of state in the modern sense, which is 'an unquestioned physical control of a certain territory, that also has a administrative presence in the whole region and a trust of the population in the idea of the state itself.

The same conflicts always follow the logic of 'politics of identity' (a movement and leader that come from the same ethnic, racial or religious background) instead of those from the 'politics of ideas' that has characterised the twentieth century.

The process of political, economic and social disgregation is, above all, the obstacle that is keeping the international community and international, regional and sub-regional organizations busy, foreseeing the involvement of the African countries themselves in the resolution of the conflicts of the their own continent. Such renewed efforts are confirmed with time in the process of democratisation started or reinforced in many countries.

In such a situation the employment of military units in the area (contingents for the most part constituted by light infantry aimed for fast and rapid deployment into crisis areas) owned by countries, above all African, but not only, contribute to create the conditions of stability and security necessary and indispensable for the initiating of peace processes. The education of a managing African class that is always more knowledgeable of its own duty and role, the development and the spreading of democratisation, the fight against the principal diseases and sicknesses (HIV and malaria in particular), the development of an local sustainable economy as well as the structure and public work related to the environment in general. The eradication of every form of corruption and violence, the social and economic development is found in part in response to the work by the interna-

"African sub-Sahara is no longer a domain purely for the western multinationals..."

The Vice President of the Government of South Sudan, Riek Macher (centre). To his left and to his right respectively Joseph Kony, leader of the LRA and his number two, Vincent Ottii.



tional community (OI, EU, regional and sub-regional organizations) and by the Africans themselves.

Above all there remains areas of fierce conflict. If in the 1990's the area of intense activity was the Great Lakes region, today the area immediately to the south of the Sahara together with the Horn of Africa is the 'hottest'.

The danger, irrespective of the forces put into the frame, that the process of marginalization could produce in the following years, together with the dangers of legality, is still very possible.

The activity to now could well have given the African sub-Sahara a 'push' but that is not to say it guarantees with certainty a reversal of the trends of the 1990's. (7)

Massimo Biagini
Lieutenant Colonel,
Army General Staff

NOTES

NEPAD: new partnership for the development of Africa. In short an initial agreement by the international community that predicts an increase in the finances for the development of countries that manage to put into practice good government and economic recovery.

Strategy that tends to push the countries targeted for international aid to produce their own development plans orientated towards the donor countries giving finances directly to the public balance

Cessation of hostilities by 22 leaders - Eldoret, Kenya, on 27/10/02: adopted by the Federal Constitution Charter of Transition - Nairobi (Kenya) the 15/9/03 and subsequently approved by the Delegates to the National Conference of National Reconciliation, the Federal Parliament of Transition - Nairobi, on 29/8/04, the election of the President of the Republic (Yusuf Ahmed) nominated the Prime Minister of the Federal Government of Transition - Nairobi 3/11/04, transferred from the Somali Federal Institutions of Transition by Kenya in June 2005 first Jowar and then Badoa the 26/02/06

CHEM-CEREMS 2005: dossier d'étude 'La gestion des crises'. The operation was an urgent response to the crisis - military clashes and humanitarian catastrophe - in the region of Ituri and in particular in the city of Bunia in the north east of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) where the mission of UN MONUC was already operating. Of particular note, on the 30th May 2003 the UN Security Council authorized with resolution 1484 the deployment of a multinational force at Bunia. Subsequently the operation became a peace keeping mission for the EU (12 June

Somalian refugees.



Elections held in DRC in 2006.

2003, Council of Europe)

In summary the objectives of the mission consisted of stabilising the conditions in Bunia, the improving of the humanitarian situation, the protecting of the airport and the people 'déplacées' from the fields near Bunia and in assisting the national civil and security forces and the personnel of the UN and other international organizations under the command of France in its position as 'nation cadre' it articulated a command joint and combined in Paris, an operation in Entebbe in Uganda and about 1,800 soldiers deployed in the theatre of operations.

France and the United Kingdom have operated with their own initiatives, they have been in Africa for a long time. Initiatives that perhaps could find greater 'force' if placed within the framework of a common European effort, taking account of the number of points in common that there are for the prevention and resolution of conflict. In particular France had started in the middle of 1990 the 'Reforcement des capacités de maintien de la paix (RECAMP) dealing with the formation, the training, the equipping of African units. The United Kingdom had started the beginning of the 21st century with the African Conflict Prevention Pool (ACCP) of 2001, the British Peace Support Team (BPST) who are to train before 2010 about 17,000 African soldiers from English speaking countries in the skills typical of peacekeeping (training for support operations), while at the same time promoting activity in other areas such as Building African Institutions (supporting and developing of the West African Standby Brigade - WASBRIG and of the Eastern Africa Standby Brigade - EASBRIG) and the Security Sector Reform. As for the activity of the United States, in 1997 the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) was started and lasted five years before being replaced by African Contingency Operations Training Assistance (ACOTA), together with many other initiatives, geared towards the improving of military competence in Africa strengthening the training of personnel, the capacity of military units and the Chief of Staffs (standardisation, interoperability, creation of structures, etc). However the greatest interest in Africa was present already by 2002 when the Gulf of Guinea was declared an 'area of vital interest' for the USA and in the dangerous modern day scenario of infiltration and growth of international terrorism. The USA had started a series of initiatives concerning the growth of the potential of development and the growth itself of countries which had demonstrated the capacity to effectively show democratic reform and development. For example, the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) and the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA).

"Can Africa claim the 21st Century?", by the World Bank. In the African sub-Sahara 40% of the population, more than 259 million persons, live under the poverty level, which is fixed at a world level at one dollar per day. The report states that 'the number of poor is constantly growing, for which the African percentage in terms of the world grew from 25 to 30% in the course of the nineties'.



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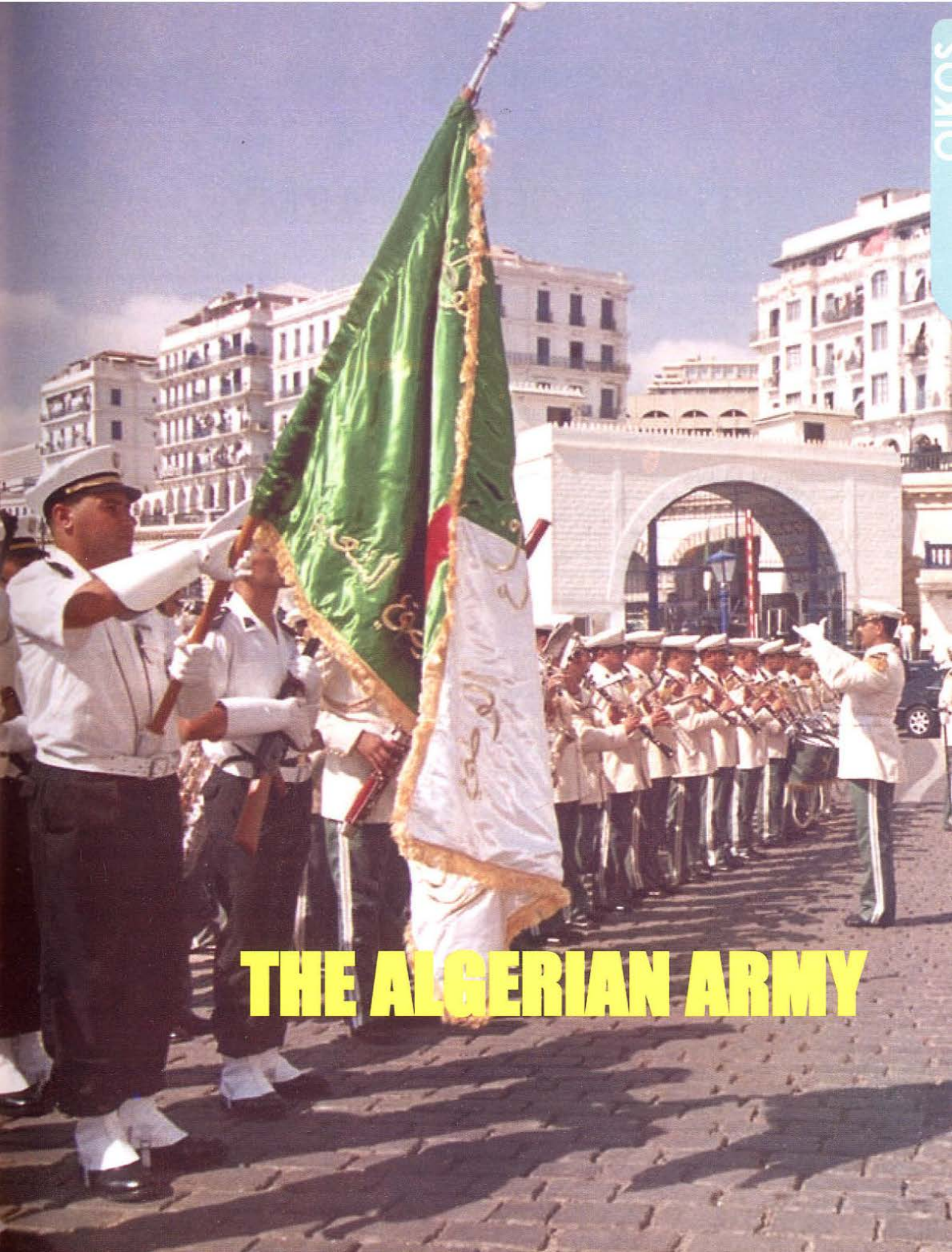
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THE ALGERIAN ARMY

THE ALGERIAN ARMY

Today Algeria plays a key-role in the Mediterranean area. An in-depth analysis of its history and Armed Forces helps to understand the Country's policy and strategy.

In the summer of 1830 the French troops of the powerful Armée d'Afrique victoriously entered Algiers. Certainly General de Bourmont could not have seen that amongst the dunes of the Sahara a group of guerrillas led by Emir Abd el-Qadar were being organized into an elusive and bloody paramilitary resistance force, that for over a century would put to the test the great and glorious France, hitting at the very jewel of their colonial crown. And amongst those dunes and the sons of the Berber kingdom – never really dominated – was born the Algerian Army.

THE LONG AND BLOODY STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

In 1834 the 'Régime du Sabre' (the Government of the Sword) began a long season of attacks, of rapes, of defilement of mosques and the indiscriminate pillaging of the artistic treasures of the Algerian territory by the French Monarch Luigi Filippo's 34,000 men. A military presence that was necessarily increased to 100,000 as soon as the French colonizers arrived (the so called 'pieds noirs' attracted by the low cost of labour they came to set up plants and small factories), all in order to control only a small part of the vast Algerian territory. And between 1839 and 1847 even these 100,000 of the Armée d'Afrique (a third of the French army) were at full stretch to handle the soldiers of Abdel-Qadar in a long and difficult campaign for the conquest of southern Algeria. Finally the French Second Republic declared the "Algerian Colony" part of the integrated France and with Napoleon III – driven by the personal ambition to become the 'Roi des Arabes' (King of the Arabs) – the military presence became even stronger. The immediate defeat of France at the hands of the Prussians in 1871 led to a massive emigration from Alsace and Lorraine to the colony, raising the presence of colonials in the area which in turn led to increased ill-feeling from the indigenous people which resulted in increased guerrilla and anti-colonial activity. And again the predictable response by Paris was increased policing: two



Above.
The national flag.

Title page.
A military ceremony.

million French colonials had to be defended from the four million Algerian Muslims. The application of a new Penal Code – it introduced the crime of 'insolence' and suspects could be held in prison for up to five years before trial – continued to maintain the two 'communities' always separate and always opposed. By this time the French control had extended to include all of Maghreb and the possibility of ousting it, militarily and politically, from the area was becoming ever more difficult.

In 1942 during the Second World War Algeria was the location of the headquarters of the "Provisional Government of the Free French" and two years later there was also the "French Committee for National Liberation" headed up by General De Gaulle. And the winds of hope for liberty and independence that breathed during the resistance and conflict also reached the local Algerian nationalist Ferhat Abbas, giving him the necessary inspiration for his "Manifesto for the Algerian People", a clear refutation of the privileges reserved for the 'white' minority that was at the detriment to the 'Arab' majority who were kept in the humiliating position of being marginalized. Even though the first and bloody riots in eastern Algeria broke out in 1945 the historic date for the start of actual insurrection against the French 'mother country' is November 1st 1954.

The Algerian guerrillas by now well organized both in military terms and politically. To the famous FLN 'Front de Libération Nationale' was given the task of the political-strategic struggle, to the ALN 'Armée de Libération, its military wing, was given the duty of strikes against military objectives, and to the MNA 'Mouvement Algérien Nationale' was assigned the task of recruiting those Algerians resident in France to support the cause of independence from within France. The first call by the FLN was over the radio from Cairo, to the people to rise up for the "restoration of Algeria's sovereignty, democracy and society within the principles of Islam" but what really constituted the effective movement towards liberation was the widespread activity on the ground. It's really on this type of 'presence' that will be discussed at length with particular regard to the systems and to the politics adopted. Even though the large influence of the professional associations, the feminist organisations, the Algerian student institutions is historically true it remains still an object of study and interpretation how much the influence of 'programme of violence' in its various guises had on the struggle for liberation. Even if, in complete hindsight, we are able to accept as an hypothetically 'proportional' response to the declaration of hostilities by the Minister of Internal Affairs Francois Mitterand "The only available path open to us is one of war" it remains difficult to understand the motivation that pushed the FLN to put into action - after previously only exclusively attacking French military and governmental targets - the massacre of civilians in Philippeville in August 1955. The 'commander' of the Constantine region had decided, and it's not known how autonomous various individuals were within the structure, to up the stakes; 123 people were killed including women, children and the old. But the reaction by the French was objectively disproportionate. In the following bloody reprisals another 1,200 'maquisard' (guerrillas) lost their lives, but however according to the FLN the actual figure killed by the police and the army exceed 12,000.

We must however take into account what happened prior to the Algerian War (1954-62) to understand completely the bloody spiral of events that characterized the years of struggle for independence. The first armed insurrections against the French colonial government broke out in the region of Aurès and Cabilia after which the Prime Minister in Paris, Pierre Mendès-France, deliberated on the merits of conceding full internal independence to Tunisia (1954, which Tunisia actually received two years later). With the new French Premier Edgard Fauré - at the head of a radical coalition between the right wing and the ex-Gaullists - the situation became even



The President of the Algerian Republic, Abdel Aziz Bouteflika.

more difficult and during the initial talks in the UN headquarters regarding the 'Algerian Question' the French position was quite categorical: 'France refuses all and every form of United Nations intervention'. In 1956, after France had conceded independence to Morocco, a plane that was transporting, actually travelling between Morocco and Algeria, some of the leading figures of the FLN was rerouted by French fighter planes and the Algerian nationalist leaders including one of its founding fathers, Ahmed Ben Bella, were arrested. The idea was to head off the danger and the continually more experienced 'Maghreb Liberation Army' as well as placate the opinion of colonials and the 'colonial right' - already put to the test over the independence of Tunisia and Morocco. To complicate the already difficult situation within France there was the failure of the French-British intervention in Egypt (1956, concerning the reprisals against the nationalisation of the Suez Canal) and the then current constitutional situation for Algerians concerning 'The Public Health Committee', which was composed of French citizens who were allied to the extreme of the right wing and able to organize even clandestine associa-

"In 1830 among the dunes of the Sahara a group of guerrillas were preparing for resistance ... And among the sons of the ancient Berber kingdom - never really dominated - the Algerian Army was born"

tions for their 'Ratonnades', which even if literally means 'rat catchers' it meant in reality 'kill the Arab'. Even the officers based in Algeria, under the leadership of the General of the Parachutists Jacques Massu - a veteran of World War Two, who had fought side by side with Charles de Gaulle - had aligned themselves in favour of more marked military action against the rebels, in open contrast to the Paris Government

who were trying in vain to find a tiring compromise with the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN), even if only a few months earlier Mendès-France had announced to the National Assembly of Paris that 'The Algerian divisions are part of the French Republic. They have been French for a long time and they will irrevocably continue to stay French... between those



A unit of the Algerian Navy.

divisions and France there can be no imaginable separation'.

But the situation became extremely critical when news spread in France that (May 1958) some divisions of French parachutists had landed in Corsica with the precise intent to set off for the continent and 'take in hand the situation'. President Coty – strengthened by the support of the people and a large parliamentary consensus – decided to call back into power De Gaulle, nominating him Prime Minister (with exceptional procedures) on the 1st June 1958. On the desk of the General there were two big problems: the Algerian Question and the reform of the Constitution. The new Constitution (October 1958) sealed the birth of the Fifth Republic – with a presidential regime and a notable reinforcement of the executive power to dissolve parliament – and defined the free 'French community', clearly inspired by the tried and tested 'British Commonwealth'. On the 21st December 1958 De Gaulle was elected President of the Republic and the French Community, an area that in total comprised of 10,000,000 sq. km. (about the size of Europe around 1950) and a total population of 80,000,000 subjects. The old 'French Imperial Colony' was transformed into a 'federal state' within which the colonies and the ex-colonies could benefit, as well as being considered to have internal autonomy it could count on the support of France in matters of security, economy and foreign affairs. But the new 'French Union' didn't settle the 'Algerian question'; 'The Algerian and Sahara Departments are part of the integrated Mother country', or in other words France, and as so it was described in all official documents of that era.

And then comes the real problem: Algeria. At this point there is question, what was happening within the para-military forces that were working towards

liberation? What was its collective capacity and its ability to achieve its objectives? In effect FLN had created a military-political structure that was able to contrast well with the repressive activities of Paris and was able to condition – in the years to come – the formation of the foundational elements of the future Islamic State, Al Jazz'ir'. It was certainly Ben Bella who ordered the systematic use of violence in order to take over the territory, in which the psychiatrist Frantz Fanon (from Martinique) had already provided the suitable 'intellectual' justification to the people. Taking advantage of the fact that many 'pieds noirs' in the interior had sold their property to leave and take refuge and find protection from the Algerians (where there was a 'State of Emergency' in force to help the colony) the FLN had gained control of the rural areas, namely the area stretching out between the areas of Aurès, of Cabilia, the mountains around Costantine and to the immediate south of the strategic cities of Algiers and Orano. And it was precisely in this zone that the 'National Liberation Army' established an effective military administrative system which was able to gather the necessary funds for the struggle, to organize the logistics, to ensure food supplies and, obviously, to recruit more men. And as we have alluded to, even in the case of political-military action by FLN/ANL there was the typical use of 'planned violence' in order to increase territories conquered. Even if the original command had exclusively taken Muslim officers from the regular army the acts of violence against their countrymen – suspected of collaboration, if not exactly treason – were particularly atrocious. And it was like this for the captured French soldiers, expecting typical punishment ranging from mutilation to 'ritual killings', all practised with extreme cruelty. Even refusals of help to the soldiers of the revolutionary forces (refusal to collaborate or to hide them) were later punished by death: during the

first two years of the struggle it was estimated that the guerrillas killed over 6,000 Muslims and another 1,000 of diverse ethnic races, all Algerians in any case, and all without concern for age or sex. Hence a climate of fear and violence, justified only by the fact that it was an Islamic 'mission' to convert the Muslims against the French western invaders, and it had turned itself into a characteristic religious 'Holy War'.

It was continually the Muslim leaders of the struggle for liberation who organized – steadily but with ever increasing efficiency – underground civil activity, that ranged from the celebration of marriage to a basic constitutional structure for justice. As a political organization it was becoming more mature. In September 1956 the FLN had decided to strengthen and consolidate its military-political project with the creation of the 'National Council for Algerian Independence' (CNRA – Conseil National de la Révolution Algérienne) composed of 34 members, and the 'Committee of Co-Ordination and Execution' (CCE – Comité de Coordination et d'Exécution) with 5 members who represented the executive and had the responsibility of diplomatic lobbying not only to the French Government but also to 'Arab and communist' members of the United Nations. According to the considerations here developed it is feasible to imagine the level of military activity of the Liberation Army, the military wing of this sophisticated and complex political organization. Armed with French weapons (but also with light arms from America and Germany) the 40,000 men of the ANL had become a well organized and disciplined fighting force. There was even the fine tuning training of guerrilla warfare that would allow ambushes and night raids – consistently avoiding a direct confrontation with the French forces – against such targets as military camps, Gendarmerie stations, post offices, agricultural agencies and transport and communication systems. The training and quartering camps were in general abandoned (or requisitioned) convents and sanctuaries along the borders with Morocco and Tunisia and they contributed to the growth of 'casual recruitment', or in other words the 'part-time' participation of guerrillas for single military operations, hence the variance in estimates of the number of 'irregular troops' is between 10,000 and 25,000 men.

And this was the reason why Paris was obliged to send over 400,000 men to Algeria (among them the famous French Foreign Legion) and to enlist about 170,000 Algerian Muslims – almost all voluntary – who remained faithful to the mother country. Even air-transport troops were sent (divisions best suited to greater mobility and hence intervention in the mountainous regions) and various naval units were deployed along the coast to intercept any rebel supply lines coming from 'abroad'. It is interesting here to note the activity of the 'Special Administration Services' (SAS, Section Administrative Spécialisée)



Algiers: the Monument to the Martyrs.

created in 1955 to help stabilise the area by creating a direct contact with the local 'loyal' Algerian population. Known as the 'Képis Blus' (The Blue Berets), the officers of this Special Section managed to recruit about 150,000 Algerian Muslim volunteers ('Harkis') that were to become an important anti-insurrection instrument, until when they were 'forgotten' by France at the moment of Algerian Independence.

From the start of the 'Battle of Algiers' on 30th September 1956 until the feared 'coup d'état' of 24th May 1958 (General De Gaulle had only been elected by Parliament 15 hours before 'Operation Resurrection') the events were bloody and dramatic: from the bombardment of suspect villages, to the use of torture and of imprisonment of 2,000,000 Algerians in concentration camps. In January 1960 and in April 1961 there were two dangerous attempts at a military coup against De Gaulle (the military felt betrayed by the new Constitution) only the charisma of the General and the divided attitudes of the army avoided the worst, meanwhile the powerful and well trained OAS (Organisation de l'Armée Secrète) continued to kill and destroy in its aims of 'counter-terrorism'. It needed to wait until 3rd July 1962 to see the white and green flag with the red half moon fluttering from the old fort of Kasba in Algiers.

THE DRAMATIC CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND THE HARDLINERS

The government was for a long time controlled by the Armed Forces, as is usual in countries that had to achieve independence through military means. The initial impression was of 'socialist and non-aligned', with the characteristics of a intransigent anti-imperi-



The port of Algiers.

alistic political stance (Ben Bella, Boumedienne and Bandjedid were those 'chosen' by the Popular National Army, and who had to nationalize the industries from scratch, create cooperative farms and develop the links with Eastern Europe), which was substantially modified in 1989 with the new Constitution which decreed that it was the end of the one party socialist system. This new constitutional Order – made necessary after the 'piazza revolt' of 1988, known by its name as 'Cous Cous' – delimited new powers for the army, confining them within the democratic institutional functions, in other words the defence of the national sovereignty and the territory of Algeria, which was a marked difference from Article 82 of the 1976 Constitution that stated "The National Army, an instrument of the Revolution, should participate in the general development of the country and in the construction of a socialist system".

But during the first election rounds, on the 26th December 1991, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) obtained such a large victory that meant it had abruptly brought the army back into the limelight: the second round was suspended, the FIS was officially closed down and its leaders arrested. Even if this wasn't really a true military dictatorship it is undeniable that in the subsequent bloody internal struggle that the political decision making power remained firmly in the hands of the Armed Forces, namely the ANP (Popular National Army) who were the product of the Liberation Army straight after liberation. The intervention by the army in such a delicate phase for the country finds a justification for its actions in that already by June 1991 there had been dramatic and bloody clashes between the Islamic hardliners and the police (the FIS had proclaimed a 'Holy War' against the Algerian Army!) forcing the Prime Minister Ahmed Ghazali to announce a 'State of Siege', and when the FIS obtained 47.5% of the votes in the first round of elections governmental power was taken over by a 'High State Committee' (15th January 1992, presided by Mohamed Boudiaf, who was later assassinated after only five months) who then later arrested the FIS leader, Abdelkader

Anchiani, and declared a 'State of Emergency' (9th February 1992) and made illegal the Islamic Salvation Front: the bloody civil war, which would result in 100,000 deaths, had just broken out. The GIA (Islamic Army Group), an extreme hardline group was responsible for the bloody 'executions' of Algerian intellectuals, 'western' women, journalists and foreigners.

In 1994, after the security forces had managed to kill the head of the GIA, Djaafar el-Afghani, and General Zéroual was nominated President of the Republic it began a move towards a 'peace project' with the prospective of new elections. In the following year the elections took place and Zéroual was elected President with a vote of 61%. Deemed to have been carried out correctly by UN observers it had been boycotted by the FIS in protest against the massive attacks by the army on the Islamic fundamentalist bases in March. Even if the President was employed in attempts for national reconciliation (his RND, 'National Democratic Group' also won the legislative elections) the civil war continued with a series of appalling massacres perpetrated by the GIA against the civil populations of entire villages, with the macabre death toll of nearly 1,000 just in the summer of 1997. It had to wait until 1999 with the dismissal of Zéroual and the election of Abdelaziz Bouteflika as President who was supported by the military (achieving a vote of 73.8% with the usual suspicions of cheating) for the 'renouncement' of the armed struggle by the Islamic Salvation Army, the military wing of the FIS – who was still illegal. The assurances by the president were important: amnesty for those who were not murderers or rapists (later approved by popular referendum) and a series of projects for national pacification. But the new millennium still started with the same political and social uncertainty: in January the Government announced that about 80% of the Islamic fighters had handed in their weapons and surrendered, but in December (during Ramadan) there were numerous assaults on small villages in the south of Algeria and 250 people were killed, provoking what has since been termed 'casual terrorism' that still today bloodily mars the tormented Republic of Algeria.

THE ARMED FORCES

With its forces 'orientated' towards the borders with Morocco (western border) and Libya (eastern border) the National Popular Army (as we have seen the 'daughter' of the Liberation Army that fought against the French colonial occupation) it is considered to be organized along western army structures. The Armed Forces – divided into Army, Navy (MRA), Aeronautic (QJJ) and Air Defence – consists of an estimated 119,000 to 127,500 servicemen, with a Reserve of about 100–150,000 men and being a country of a little more than 32 million inhabitants the call-up 'avail-

ability' of men in 2005 (men of the ages 15-49) was estimated at above 8 million. The terms of duty - there is obligatory national service once the person reaches 19 - has recently been reduced from 24 months to 18 (October 2005). Even if we cannot be certain of the accuracy of the 'operational responses' of the troop numbers it can be compared quite easily against two other Islamic countries, namely that it is a larger force than Syria but smaller than Pakistan.

The last major restructuring of the Armed Forces came in the early 1990's, or to precise when the responsibility of the Chief of Staff was given to General Khelifa Rahim in the spring of 1992. Even though the territory had been divided into military regions straight after Independence the new organization structured the corps in and around the larger cities, and not just regionally, as a measure against the continued antigovernment insurrection. In addition to the first four mechanized divisions (founded in 1966, with a large influence from the soviet military) in 1992 there was added as principal front line units two armoured divisions (each one with three tank regiments and one mechanized regiment) and two mechanized divisions (each one with three mechanized regiments and one tank regiment). In 1993 five motorized infantry brigades were added and a 'special force' air transport brigade (each brigade consists of four infantry battalions and a tank battalion, in total about 3,500 men), there are also seven independent artillery battalions (Soviet 122mm and 152mm canons and over 100 multiple missile launchers of 122mm, 140mm and 240mm) five Air Defence battalions (naturally armed with SAMs, the land-air mounted SA-8/9 and the hand transportable SA-7) and four battalions of engineers. The control of the borders is bestowed upon 12 companies that constitute the 'Desert Troops' (each company comprises 400 men) that, even if originally they travelled along the borders on camel back, today they can count amongst their resources light modern reconnaissance vehicles. Finally 2 anti-riot units (estimated at about 15,000 men), trained in the 'Commando Infantry Academy' based in Bistra, entrusted with the responsibility of keeping the security of civil order (the main Military Academy is that of Cherchell, to the west of Algiers, the training lasts three years plus a year of specialization before being assigned to a division). The 6 corps that today constitute the military regions (the first at Bilda/Algeri, the second at Orano, the third at Bechar, the fourth at Ouargla, the fifth at Costantine and the sixth at Tamanrasset) are all under the Supreme Command of the President of the Republic, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, it is interesting to note that before the reforms in 1992 that it

was requested that the Corps Commander was to be of Colonel rank. With regard to heavy armour, about 1,000 Soviet made tanks, over 600 T-62 models and over 200 T-72 models. Even the Armoured Personnel Carriers (APC) are of Russian origin, with the first models BTR 50/60 and the subsequently more modern BMP-1 and BMP-2 that are mounted with 73mm cannons and 'Sagger' anti-tank missiles, as well as the French donation of 'Milan', by President Mitterand following French will. With to the above mentioned 'Security Forces' we must remember the 'Presidential Guard' (about 1,000 men), the 'National Gendarme' (clearly inspired by the French system, which contains about 30,000 men employed in the rural regions) and the most important 'Sureté Nationale' that with about 10,000 operatives, is concerned with intelligence operations, in the widest sense of the terms, under the control of the Minister for Internal Affairs. The original structure of the DGDS 'Delegation General de Documentation et Sureté' was dissolved in 1990 to be split into 'Management of National Security', 'Anti-terrorism Detachment' and the more political 'Nucleus' which surrounds the State High Council. Even if the new Constitution does not allow political

“ One had to wait until 1999 ... for the 'renouncement' of the armed struggle by the Islamic Salvation Army, the military wing of the FIS ... which was still illegal ”

parties to have ideology concerning race or religion (hence Islamic religious parties are outlawed) Islam is considered the state religion and its illegal to practice religions that conflict with Islamic morality. And this is how we can view the current situation, it is still dependent on military divisions, of the political Commissioner. No longer finding

justification in the original Soviet role this official refers to 'Dar el-Ifta', the religious institution created by the Governor of Algiers in 2003, to train 'indications and prescriptions' in matters of faith.

The Navy includes 3 frigates of the Koni class, 1,056 tonnage, 'Mourad Rais' (901), 'Rais Kellik' (902), 'Rais Korfu' (903), that even though they were built in the early 1980's are still able to fire of 20 SAM missiles (Gecko SA-N-4) and 2 anti-submarine torpedoes (RBU-6000) as well as the latest versions of search radar, as always from Russia. Also 3 Corvette missile-launchers of the class Nanuchka II of 675 tonnage, 'Rais Hamidou' (801), 'Salah Rais' (802), and 'Rais Ali' (803) can be considered to be modern armoury systems, as before Russian. There are between 8 and 10 patrol gun boat units of the Kebir class, plus three that are in the shipyard in Mers al-Kabir being constructed. There are only two landing craft of the class Kalaat Beni Hammed, of about 2,130 tonnage able to land 240 men and a load of 650 tonnes. More interesting is the presence of two diesel-electric submarines of the class Kilo ('Rais Hadi Mubarek' and 'Hadi Slimane') to replace



Flag bearers of a military unit.

two submergibles of the class Romeo, once again of Russian origin. Chinese naval patrol boats of the class Djebel Chinoise (collaboration with the Peoples Republic of China began at the beginning of the War of Independence) – 'Djebel Chinoise' (351) and 'El Chirab' (352) – the coastal patrol ships 'El Idrissi' and the rescue boat 'El Mourafik' complete the principal structure of the Navy, substantially 'equal' in respect to that of Morocco and Libya even if we could be better able to examine this type of information.

One particular area that merits attention is the Algerian Air Force (QJJ, al Quwwat al-Jawwiya al-Jaza'eriya) in light of the important recent purchases made in this sector. The air force began with their first MIG-15's (1962) and with the successive MIG-21 (1965-78) to the more up-to-date MIG-23 – in the different versions BN and UB – these arrived into Algeria in the early 1990's – and finally the latest generation MIG-29 supplied by Russia at the end of the 1990's (and it was on this fighter plane that the symbol changed from a 'yellow and black serpent' of a clear Egyptian inspiration to a more aggressive 'black serpent' design). While France and the United States are key suppliers of air transport and helicopters (in 1993 they purchased from America 16 Lockheed Hercules C-130s, followed straight after by 6 Russian AN-12s of the same capacity and 2 Super King B-200s for sea patrols) the Air Force is comprised of 11 squadrons – among which interceptors and low flying air craft – with a total of 250 aircrafts almost all of which are Soviet produced, namely MIG-21 (75), MIG-23 (74), MIG-25 (29), MIG-29 (36), SU-22 (27), SU-24 (10) and SU-25 (10) – however it is unknown if they are fully operational or even out of service. The core armoury for these fighter planes are 'Atoll' Soviet air to air missiles, models AA-2 and AA-6 and pilot training takes place in Russia, Syria (Syrian

pilots are deemed the leading MIG-29 experts) and Egypt, other training takes place in the flying school near Tafraoua, near to Orano.

Coming into the spotlight in more recent years has been the development of armaments. This news was distributed by the Agency INTERFAX in January 2006: 'Algeria has purchased armaments from Russia at the value of \$7.5 billion!' To better understand the size of this sum it is worth remembering that – the second largest exporter of arms after the USA – sells every year arms worth in total \$5.5 billion and the previously large and important purchase was by India for \$2 billion. After the visit by Putin to Algeria in March 2006 (the first Russian President after 50 years) there was the signing of a 'complicated scheme' to cancel part of the debt of Algeria to Russia and reduce the figure indicated to \$4.74 billion. In addition to the certain satisfaction of the Moscow Government (their principal clients – China and India – are changing suppliers) there was the confirmation of the armaments that had as of then not been confirmed. Specifically, the 36 to 40 MIG-29s, 20-28 SU-30s, at least 8 air missile defence systems (S-300MPU2 Favorit, the latest update to the S-300 with a range of 200 Km) and about 40 T-90 tanks, as well as other as yet unspecified military supplies. Looking at the details of what type of 'advanced technology' Algeria is buying we can see that the MIG-29s in question are probably the SMT Model (some sources say that they could even be 49) and six examples of the UBT, similar to the SMT model but derived from the MIG-29UB for training purposes with the double seat. The MIG-29SMT identified as 'Product 9.17' is the latest update to the famous MIG-29, a sophisticated 2 mach multi-role plane, first in use soon after 2000, it has now been incorporated into 21 air forces worldwide as well as being the only airplane adopted by NATO after the German Luftwaffe had perfectly incorporated it into their ex German Democratic Republic air force. Single seat, a 11.36 meter wingspan, initially 2 turbo-jet Tumansky R-33D engines (each one with a 8,300 kg thrust) the SMT model has opted for two R-43D engines with a single thrust of 9,800kg, but still with after-burner. Even the original flying range was enhanced to 2,100 km with the addition of other fuel tanks, and so there was also the increase load capacity (4,500kg), in the basic model there are 6 missile pillions for AA-10/11 missiles as well as a 30mm canon. It also has the NO19MP air to ground tracking radar to map the terrain below and guide missiles into targets. Finally it is even 'dressed up' the cockpit display with two multi dimensional MFD (multi-functional) liquid crystal screens. But we have to add that according to many observers (among whom we are including the Federation of American Scientists) it is recognised that the current MIG-29 – NATO code FULCRUM – is potentially better than the 'Eagle F-15' and the 'Falcon F-15' – but there is always the limit of the capability of its pilot.

The T-90 represents the latest generation of that much tried and tested Russian tank the T-72 from which it almost completely based on (the T-72 is probably the tank most produced in the world) and is considered the most competitive combat transport in respect to what else NATO have, even if objectively it is less powerful than those latest generations from the west. With a reserve armament of rocket launchers and machine-guns, a 125mm canon and a three man team. It's important characteristics are its trustworthiness and robustness - it can withstand two antitank rockets at the same time from two different directions. The engine choice is interesting which is a simple and economic diesel (a polycombustible diesel, with 12 cylinders and 850HP) instead of a turbine engine, and it has a top speed of 70 km/hr, a relatively heavy weight of 46.5 tonnes and a range of 550km. Low and profiled like the Soviet original (the height is the same 226cm), it was the target of an important deal by India in 2000 - more than 300 complete tanks, accessories and exchange parts - a large part of which were made under licence locally - with a visit to the site by Vladimir Putin to New Delhi.

As regarding the remaining possible supplies there is the hypothesis of the purchase of light armoured reconnaissance vehicles (the 'T2', a joint Russian and Byelorussian venture) equipped with 30mm automatic machine guns, grenade launchers anti-tank and anti-air missiles. Made with 'Stealth' technology (in other words nearly invisible to radar) they are able to reach speeds of 100km/hr and remain suitably silent. But the real potential of this transport consists in the fact of being able to mount a 'non-piloted reconnaissance plane' that would enable the considerable increasing of its 'tactical intelligence' activity, that is to say to greatly extend the area that can be observed and controlled. It would appear therefore the ideal purchase for the purpose of surveillance along the long desert borders of Algeria, which was the reason they had shown interest in the T2 in 2001 on the occasion of its presentation to Algeria, Egypt and UAE.

WHY SUCH IMPORTANT AND DIVERSE ARMAMENTS?

The response that comes most simply is that we are simply facing the updating of the Armed Forces - they haven't been updated since the 1990's - or instead should we be concerned with an exceptionally large arms build up in what is considered a 'quiet' zone of the Mediterranean? The western Intelligence agencies that have reported this news haven't put forward any theory as to the interpretation of this data and activities. But the events are exceptional and we will search a way to analyse the information in our possession and then to elaborate an interpretation that takes into account the current geo-political situation in Algeria.

We will start by analysing the principal internal dif-

ficulties of the country, i.e. the 'casual terrorism' of which we have already mentioned. Even if we consider the GIA (Armed Islamic Group) is defeated - or more accurately the second generation of Algerian ex-combatants from the Afghanistan War of the late 1980's - now reduced to a few hundred guerrillas hidden in remote villages with little capacity for action - we cannot underestimate the role played today by the Salafita Preaching and Fighting Group (GSPC). These men, the sons of the Islamic Salvation Front and easy enemies of the GIA have already been promoting Islamic terrorism in a large part of southern Africa. Even if, like the GIA, they do not enjoy the support of the majority of the population, these fundamentalist hardliners can count on a 'force' of an estimated 2,000 men and sophisticated arms and communications. Of specific interest to western intelligent agencies (it seems that GSPC intend to oppose the pacification of the Darfur region and also create other conflicts in regions such as Guinea, Senegal, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast - where in effect the first signs of tension seems to have arrived) this hardline group is also at the centre of the 'Pan Sahel Initiative' (PSI) - a programme from the Washington government - in accordance with Algeria, Libya, Nigeria and Niger - to increase the internal potential of the zone in terms of military, policing, anti-terrorism and intelligence. The collaboration of the various governments seems to have given a favourable stimulus, as well as including the USA with its satellites and 'elint' points system on the area. This situation would seem to be 'under control', or rather not able to justify the expenditure of the Algerian government, specially if you consider their mix is much more suitable for a land battle than anti-insurrectionist activities.

And what about the strategic situation? The 'uncomfortable' neighbours of Algeria are Libya and Morocco, and even if there was a brief border battle in 1976 which put into the spotlight the problems of the ANP, today there doesn't seem to be any real military threats between the two countries. But let's try to examine the 'balance' of the two armed forces: Morocco has a larger sized army but Algeria can count on superior artillery and armoured transport. The Moroccan Air Force has an inferior number of American planes in comparison with the more numerous Soviet planes in the Algerian Air Force. Libya could boast in numerical terms with regards to the Air Force and Navy - in respect to Morocco and Algeria - but remains significantly lacking in the 'global structure' of the Army. So even here we seem to have reached a parity in the status quo, but let's look a little deeper. We have stated that the Algerian new purchases could include the T2 reconnaissance planes that would be able to patrol the long Algerian desert borders. The population (27.5 million inhabitants, 1993) is concentrated along the coastal strip - about 100 km long - with an average density that quickly decreases as you move north to south away



Algiers: the Great Mosque.

from the sea. This means that in practice great swathes of the desert are deserted, technically making Algeria vulnerable to an attack from the west by Morocco which would give great advantages if one considers the natural boundaries of the Atlas Mountains. Also with Libya the problem of the south-west border seems difficult to resolve; it's a zone isolated from the rest of the country and it's sole connection is the road to Edjeleh that would be easy prey for the superior Libyan mechanized divisions. The extreme south cannot realistically be under threat; the distance and the desertification of the area – even if it's a problem for Algeria is an insurmountable problem for Mali and Niger. Furthermore an agreement on the frontier with Mauritania has already been signed in 1985 after three years of negotiations. With Tunisia there doesn't exist any real motive for danger. Even here a 20 year border dispute was finished in 1983 and the continual reduction of the Tunisian army means there are no concerns for the Algerian general staff. The opposite in fact, when Libya had tried a 'roar' (a violation of air space, threats and troop movements) Algeria didn't hesitate to deploy troops along its border in Tunisia's favour. Even if the information at our disposal doesn't concern the naval forces it would be thorough to examine the Mediterranean issue too. Already by 2001 the Atlantic Alliance had in place a project called 'DM' (Mediterranean Dialogue) with Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia. The common aim is the 'Security of the Sea' and under this banner there was also deployed Israel (2005) and Russia (2006) with joint forces operations strengthened by our Ambassador Maurizio Moreno (the Italian resident Ambassador to the Alliance) that had wished a type of 'partnership' between the countries involved – not only putting great value on NATO-Russian cooperation but also putting value on seeing Israel and Arab countries together at the same table.

Let us now look at the Algerian armament in terms of politics. Already by 1999 the President Abdel Aziz Bouteflika had announced a new military politics with

the objective of transforming the Army from a traditional institution to a modern professional apparatus. Even if we have to recognise that attentive observers of the financial situation and military investments (especially Ruth Leger Sivard with his "World Military and Social Expenditure") have seen that the Algerian expenditure in comparison with other North African countries as being lower in the last ten years, the amount that the government will be spending with Russia seems disproportionate in relation to the other problems in the country (mass unemployment, housing shortage and a insufficient water and electricity supply service and grid). Furthermore, even if we recognise the necessity of buying arms from abroad due to a lack of sufficient national arms industry, the percentage of the military expenditure in 2003 (3.7% of GDP being already accounted for) it will go skyhigh putting it above other North African averages but also Europe. And we can add that its normal division of expenditure, namely 86% for the Army, 6% for the Navy and 8% for the Air Force will be completely skewed, unless it also intends to apply to China for a similar commission for the Navy. President Bouteflika is certainly busy with good intentions (the National Peace and Reconciliation Charter, the approaches to the United States, the focus on the new international image of the country, and the recent

“...are we simply facing the updating of the Armed Forces' operational capability or should we be concerned with an exceptionally large arms buildup in what is considered a 'pacified' context?”

laws on carbohydrates, 22nd May 2005, which opens the doors for investment by foreign companies) but his state of health is perplexing international observers. The latest generation of Generals, who have preserved a type of monopoly on recent economic power, share the political power with the President, or is it that wield the power in Algeria? The Generals Larbi Belkheir (ex-personal advisor

to Bouteflika), Khaled Nezzar (ex Minister of Defence) and Mohamed Lamari (ex-Chief of the Army General Staff) are often under criticism, as for example by Abdul Qadeer Shareef (Chair of Science and Technology at the University of Ajman) "The military behave as if they are at the top of the jurisdiction of the civil institutions... as if they don't have to answer to anyone about their activities." Perhaps it's a sign, the military are forcing his hand, or perhaps Russia is able to exert some sort of pressure. It is out of the question the type of intense marketing that occurred in the last few years by 'Rosoboronexport' – the state owned company dedicated to the exportation of Russian arms – who are exercising a role as a protagonist for themselves in the Middle East and North Africa. It is clear that in response to the drop in sales by their chief clients (China and India) Russia is shifting its attention to these favourable areas, having already secured important commissions from Jordan, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Sudan and the United Arab Emirates. It's a type of politics that we can certain-



A patrol on surveillance duty.

ly consider 'aggressive', and the confirmation comes from 'SOFEX' (Special Operations Forces Exhibition), an exhibition of great interest for the Middle East and North Africa, which was held in Jordan between the 27th and 30th March 2006. Notwithstanding the attention on arms and innovative equipment for Special Forces operations 'Rosoboronexport' decided to present in this occasion the latest and most sophisticated weapons: air defence systems, rocket launchers, naval weaponry, armoured vehicles and helicopters! Therefore their objective could really be the reconquering – first via a military profile and then later political – the old 'leadership' exercised by the Soviet Union, which was put in crisis by the offers of military technology made by the new republics – such as Poland and Ukraine – and become in a certain way the 'Western' protector.

Another important key to this sector could revolve around hydrocarbons which makes up over 50% of government income. It has the fifth largest natural gas reserves and the fifteenth largest for petroleum making Algeria at the centre of attention for Russia and the United States. The American strategy in the area (we have already noted its anti-terrorist activity) also concerns energy sources in the Gulf of Guinea, that could supply 25% of the total American domestic demand for petroleum. The accord includes Algeria, Nigeria, Liberia and Niger and even the inclusion of the tormented Republic of Angola that together with the others add up to one tenth of the world's supply of petroleum. And let's have a look more closely at Moscow's strategy. Russia is the world's number one gas producer and has recently discovered that its export to Europe could be strangled by the new republics that surround it. The Gas War with Ukraine only resulted in a truce on the 4th January 2006.

“...President Abdel Aziz Bouteflika announced a new military policy with the objective of transforming the Army from a traditional institution into a modern professional instrument”



Ahmed Ben Bella, historic leader of the National Liberation Front.

Russia decided to focus its attention on new projects, that start with gas pipes to Europe (across the Baltic Sea, directly reaching Germany, and with the 'Blue Stream' that reaches the Turkish terminal at Ceyhan) to a new energy axis between Russia and Algeria. With two important companies already present in Algeria – 'Lukoil' in the petroleum industry and 'Stroitransgas' which deals with gas – Russia has already guaranteed itself a key strategic position in the international gas market. Algeria is in effect a depository of raw materials that is just waiting for the advanced technology, therefore it is necessary to 'buy it' from abroad even if it is at the cost of the emancipation of the country politically and socially.

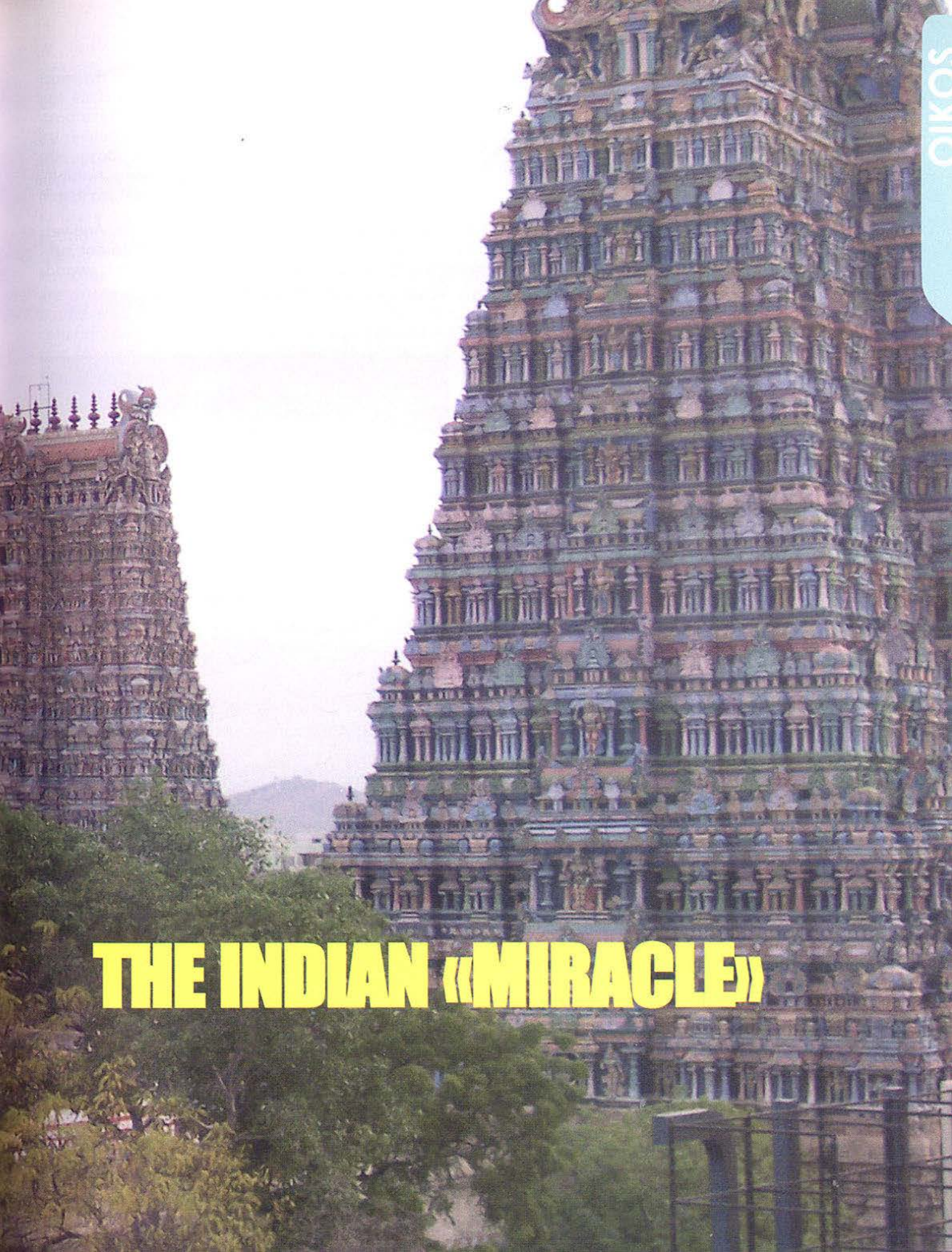
In order to answer our question we have tried to examine the most important aspects of the geo-political situation in Algeria and probably the answer 'ties' everything together all the factors analysed. But in reality it was already supplied by the Foreign Minister (Abdul Bedjaoui) straight after the famous and historic visit by Vladimir Putin in March 2006: "Russia has substantially contributed to the development of the Algerian Armed Forces in terms of armaments and training... and the natural resources industry offers a real possibility of association between our countries... Algerian and Russian companies will develop their cooperation within the gas market and could even work together in other regions of the world". Now the alignment of the pieces on the chessboard of North Africa is clear: Russia is the Queen and Algeria is its Bishop!

Daniele Cellamare

Expert in History of International Relations



THE INDIAN «MIRACLE»



THE INDIAN «MIRACLE»

A new giant of the XXI Century, India concentrates and emphasizes potentialities and contradictions. And yet, it presents a stability and reliability that are certainly greater than other important realities and do not suffer the effects of cultural prejudice, not even in today's problematic relation with the Islamic world. Meanwhile its economy and society continue to grow...

Referring to the attention that two important international meetings, which have been recently held at the Universities of Rome and Siena, have dedicated to India and to the increasing political, economic and strategic interest that this nation generates in the West, deepening the knowledge of this reality and considering its collocation in the system of international relations is an highly topical issue. India is one of the most important countries in Asia and in the world and today it represents a big reality that is destined to become a great power. It can be defined as a multi-ethnic country and as a democracy that is surrounded by non-democratic countries. It is led by a stable government which Hindus, Muslims and Catholics, who represent 82, 12.1 and 3% respectively in the country, belong to. It is the second most populous country in the world and it is placed seventh with regard to geographical extent: it has a population density of 274 people per km². Its inhabitants speak eighteen principal languages, which are all recognized by the Constitution. Its judicial authority is independent and conforms with English model. Its banking system (which is different from the Chinese system, where banks are public even though they work according to criteria that are based on competition) is efficient. Like China, it has a high economic growth rate. To make an analysis of India we need just a few data. In the last years its economy has grown by around 8%. This country distinguishes itself in the sector of high technologies (computer technology makes up 20% of exports), has an efficient pharmaceutical industry and stands out as the leader in lots of sectors. The number of universities, graduates, research centres is impressive: there are more than 380 universities, with 15 thousand faculties,



Right.
A statue of Mahatma Ghandi.

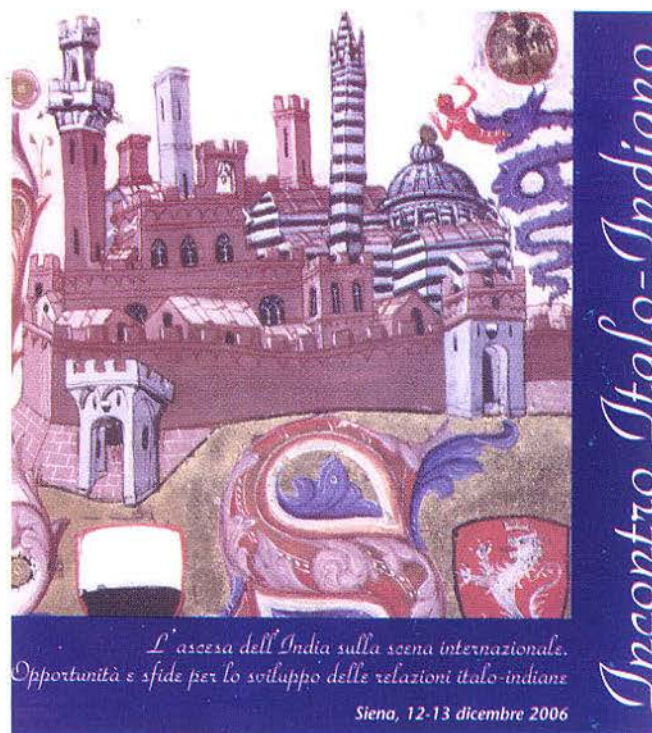
Title pages.
Madurai, temple city of southern India.

from which two million and half graduates come out each year: among them there are 150 thousand engineers that are specialized in technological research. The number of the graduates is twice that produced by the American universities. In addition, universities around the world are full of Indian professors and students. We should consider these data carefully. Who is afraid of the competition in traditional sectors (like textile sector) should think that this situation will open up new horizons for all our products, provided that they are of top quality. With regard to this, Italy does not have to miss the opportunity to establish close collaboration even in the sector of high technologies for defence; this necessity was recognized by the Italian industry of that specific sector, which in February 2006 attended Defexpo India - which was organized by the Indian Ministry of Defence and by the government - together with other companies, in particular of the Finmeccanica Group.

In the research field there are important collaborations between their respective universities about nanoscience, nanotechnology, electronics, automation and applied mathematics. India is not perceived as «place of difficulty» by foreign entrepreneurs: with regard to market, they have a different approach from that adopted by the Chinese, because of greater brand protection and because of the Anglo-Saxon model; despite this there are still corruption and excessive bureaucracy.

The rise of India does not start today, in the age of globalization, but it dates back to the first decades of the 20th century, when it started to fight for its own independence, which was gained in 1947 thanks to the adoption of unusual forms of fighting, like the non-violent resistance that was supported by Ghandi, which led India to free itself from the trusteeship of Great Britain. After it became a sovereign state, this fascinating state, which has lots of facets, went through a process of modernization and «it did not have any help from the Marshall plan either, on which the countries of western Europe could count at the end of the Second World War». With regard to foreign policy, India, at the instigation of Ghandi and Jawaharlal Nerhu, opted for nonalignment and was one of the greatest opponents of the logic of power blocs. In fact, in 1955, at the Conference of Bandung on the problems about decolonisation, it was one of the greatest inspirer of the principles the final declaration of peace and cooperation between populaces refer to. These principles represented the essential aspects of the movement of the non-aligned countries. With

“The rise of India does not start today, in the age of globalization, but it dates back to the first decades of the 20th century, when it started to fight for its own independence”



Logo of the Conference of the University of Siena which was held on 12th and 13th December 2006.

regard to domestic policy, India tried to stimulate the development of the country despite some accidents: in 1984 a terrible accident happened in Bophal, which is the capital of Madhya Pradesh, when a great cloud of toxic smoke coming out of the factories of the American multinational Union Carbide caused about 3 000 victims, infected 20 000 people and affected an area of 60 Km².

In the Nineties there was a significant change, but only in 2000 the world started to realize the «Indian miracle». However, although it sets a good example to lots of developing countries, in India there are still wide pockets of poverty, despite the recent attempt to integrate the more underprivileged classes into society: the untouchables and the Muslims, whose political importance has been increasing recently. In this country, whose economic growth is extremely dynamic, the manufacturing industry is behind because other sectors have been given priority; even infrastructure (roads, ports and airports) is not sufficiently developed and, consequently, the links, and in particular the air traffic, can be improved.

The military aspect, agriculture and the struggle against poverty are today the Indian priorities.



Ambassadors Dogra and Pacifico.

Having said that, in order to analyse the role of New Delhi in the international context and its role in the fight against terrorism, it is necessary to focus on what the director of OPINT and organizer of the Conference of Siena, Giovanni Bucciatti, has highlighted. India plays a key role as privileged partner of the US in nuclear matters. In fact, the US considers New Delhi a reliable interlocutor and therefore trustworthy. For this reason, it made a treaty with this country in 2005 (which provided for nuclear technology to be transferred for civil purposes).

It is a thorny issue considering the different attitude of Washington towards Iran. As the analysts of «Limes» have pointed out, in a strategically relevant area the American choices could become convergent. This policy, which has turned out to be able to manage the numerous communities in the country has proved the US to be a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional democracy that is able to handle relevant religious minorities. In fact, we

should consider that the Muslim Indians are 200 million whereas the nation with the biggest number of Islamists in the world, Indonesia, has just 20 million Muslims more. With regard to the Muslim population, India is the second country in the world. However, their presence in the Armed Forces is marginal.

The alliance between the US and India must be assessed taking the unknown quantity of China and a series of other important factors into account, such as:

the need for a balance towards Peking;

the growth in the technological service sector;

the fact that the analysts see India as the future forth world economic power. Professor Heston B. Carter, who was assistant of the Secretary of Defence in the first Clinton administration, has compared the current agreement between the US and India with the famous policy of opening-up that was adopted in 1971 by President Nixon towards China. However, he has said that whereas China of Mao Zedong represented a communism that was not non-aligned with the Soviet system and shared with the US the need to face the threat of the Soviet power, the present China is a democracy that is not likely to follow and support the American interests uncritically.

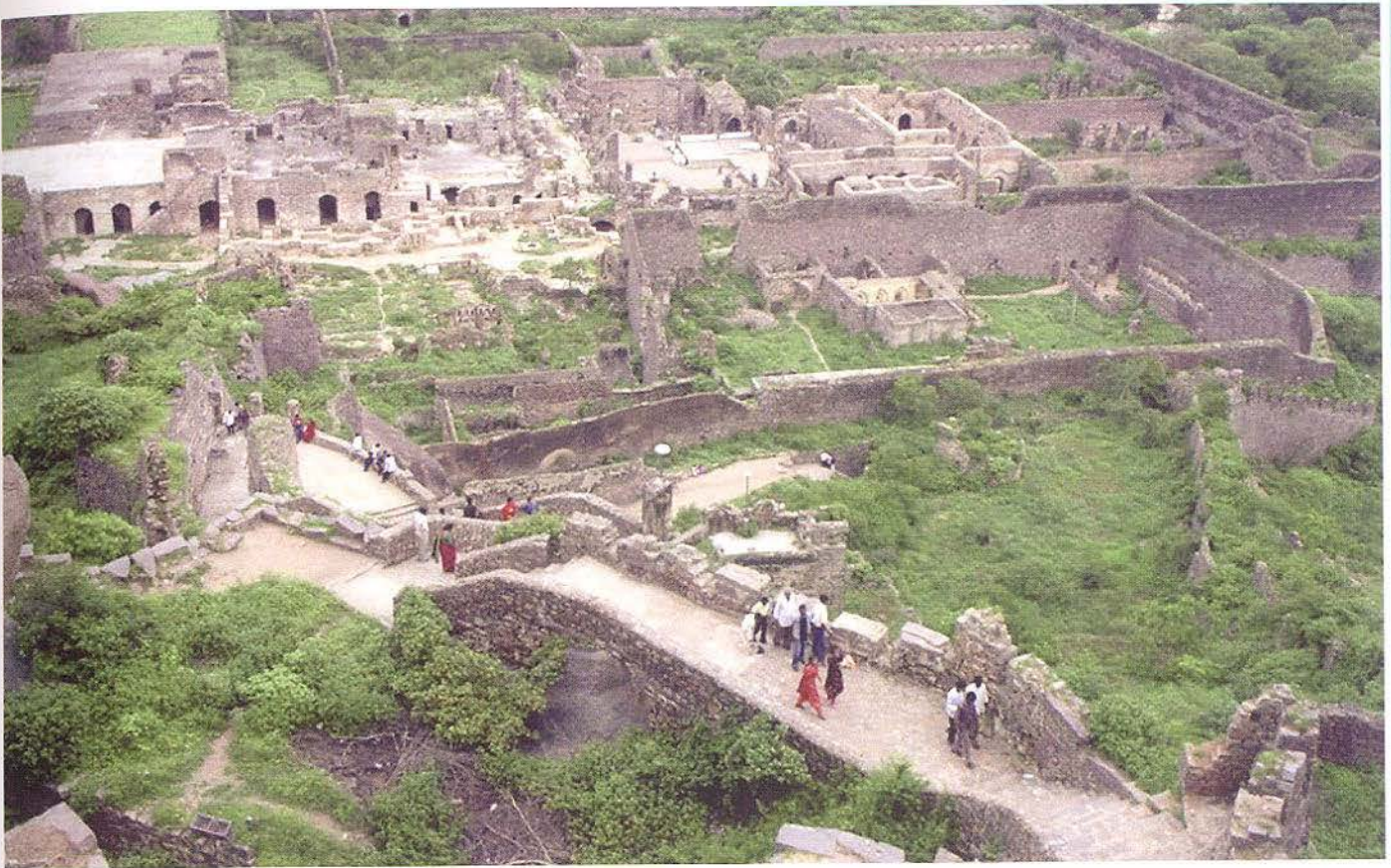
New Delhi, which is not traditionally prone to establish close international links signed agreements with Peking, which are no less important than those reached with the US, and turned to Russia to obtain military vehicles and technology, as if it wanted to highlight the flexible policy this country has adopted.

With regard to the role played by India in the maintenance of stability in the Asian continent, it has become more and more important and precious, especially in the last fifteen years.

Today the West in general and Italy in particular aim to involve it in Afghanistan more than in the past, together with other countries, in order to

INDIA AND ITALY: SIMILARITIES

Millenary culture	Great historical heritage
Sense of hospitality	Common values (family, education, etc.)
Ancient bilateral trade traditions (silk, jewels)	Importance approach to the problems of defence
Culture of beauty	Ethical approach to the problems of defence
Dr Jacob Rose, representative of the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Italy, from his intervention at the Italo-Indian Meeting. <i>The rise of India to the international scene</i> . University of Siena, December 13, 2006.	



The archaeological Area of Hyderabad.

make this area and the entire continent more stable.

A burning issue concerns the deep rift with Pakistan, which resulted in three conflicts (1947-48, 1965, 1971) and laid the foundation for the rise of two new nuclear powers: this goal was reached in 1998. With regard to this, it is necessary to reflect on the following aspect: having allowed India and Pakistan to equip themselves with a nuclear arsenal has led some countries, which aim to play a regional role, to claim the same right. Therefore, even if the policy aimed at achieving a balance in the Asian area between China, India and Pakistan has turned out to be valid, its limitations have become evident, as the Iranian and North-Korean cases show. With regard to the relationships between Islamabad and New Delhi, Jammu-Kashmir, which is a part of the Indian Republic, and the area of Azad-Kashmir (the territory of Kashmir that has been occupied by Pakistan), have led to occasional clashes between the armies and to terrorist violence that has caused thousands of deaths among civilians, Indian police forces and the separatist fighters of Kashmir. Up to now, because of the oral and material support that has been provided by Pakistan to the militant separatists, India has maintained in

loco a strong military presence, which aims to counter the combatant groups, who are divided into those who call for independence from Kashmir: (All Party Hurriyat Conference- APHC and Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front - JKLF) and those who fight for its annexation to Pakistan (Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Muhammad).

Save Kashmir Movement, Harkat-ul-mujahideen and Lashkar-e-Taiba are terrorist movements. Recently, the improvement in the relationships between India and Pakistan has made the situation of Kashmir better, laying the foundations for a diplomatic solution. The Indo-Pakistani relationship has improved since the fight against terrorism started. Afghanistan has acted as a catalyst in this process and diplomatic solutions have settled the differences between India and Pakistan. India supported the Alliance of the North and backed Karzaj when he came to power in order that the Taliban were not able to «export» the Islamic fundamentalism to the relevant Muslim minority of India. Pakistan entered into partnership with the US and sent troops with modern equipment and technology to the border with India to prevent infiltration trying to make its borders less porous. In 2005 the relationships between India and Afghanistan have flourished and the improvement in the relationships with Pakistan led, in 2006, to the common statement of two Foreign Ministers, who arranged a new meeting for January 2007.

TABLE OF MIGRATIONS - FORECAST FOR THE YEARS 2005-2030

NORTH	+ 39 MILLION IN TOTAL
	- 65 MILLION OF WORKING AGE
SOUTH	+ 1 695 MILLION IN TOTAL
	- 1 037 MILLION OF WORKING AGE

The European population is decreasing. The Chinese and Indian populations, who represent about 40% of the world's still have a potential of growth. In India, the working age population will have grown by 2050, whereas Chinese and American populations will have increased and China in particular will have closed its demographic window by 2025.

Dr Cristiano Marini, University of Rome "La Sapienza": from his intervention at the Conference: Meeting Italo- Indian. *The Rise of India to international scene*. University of Siena, December 2006.

According to Kashmir India has proposed the demilitarisation of the region and according to informed sources Pakistan is disposed to accept. It is to India's advantage to work towards solutions to arrest the internal development of Islamic fundamentalism: since 1998, in fact, zones that previously were immune to ethnic-religious tension have started to be faced with this problem.

To analyse this question we should refer to knowledge and experience that qualified members of the Armed Forces have gained. It is no coincidence that they were speakers at the Italo-Indian Conference. The rise of India to the International scene, which was organized by the University of Siena, there were two Generals of the Army: Giuseppe Cucchi, associate professor at the University of Siena, who has recently been nominated General Secretary of CESIS, and Fabio Mini. The report that was made by General Mini on this country highlights the importance that India has for our country. It could turn out to be extremely important in lots of sectors and act as potential partner in the sphere of security. This cooperation must concern the fight against terrorism as well as the economy. If this cooperation were bilateral, it could not influence the situation decisively because there is not an important interlocutor: Europe.

In fact, Europe alone is on the same level as the so-called «Giant Nations»: the US, China and India, which are different from smaller countries (with regard to numbers and territory). Today, Europe, which is not a large nation, realizes that since it has focused on the economy rather than problems of security that it has not been able to

solve despite the missions in Bosnia and Macedonia. The present Europe is not united in front of the Atlantic Alliance and is confronted with conflicting opinions that different nations, which take part in the operations, hold. Italy, which is not a significant country in military terms, has been able to assume a different attitude, which was unanimously appreciated by our interlocutors, in lots of missions, which have been carried out abroad: for India and China, which undertake these missions for the first time, the Italian approach represents a significant point of reference. The relationships between India and

“ This Country could turn out to be extremely interesting for Italy in lots of sectors and act as a potential partner in the sphere of security ”

China would improve more and more if these «Giant Nations» had as interlocutor a united Europe that is able to operate in foreign policy according to the Italian model. However, as Lucio Caracciolo, who is director of «Limes», says, Europe as unitary political actor still belongs to the sphere of unreality. With regard to internal

dynamics of Asian continent, India seems to be flexible in the competition with China. This is surprising considering that the relationships between these two countries, in the Fifties and Sixties, created difficulties for international community. Today they have in common lots of interests, especially economic interests that Italy wants to share with both of them. In particular India seems to be more stable and reliable than other realities (for example, the experience of the so-called «Asian Tigers») and is not influenced by cultural prejudices even in the problematic relationships with the Islamic world. All these reasons pushed the former President of the Republic, Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, to visit India in February 2005 to



A 25 pound English gun in service with the Indian artillery, photographed during the war against Pakistan.

make the potential and the perception of Italy tangible in this country, which aims to obtain arms of strategic projection in the sector of defence. In fact it has shown an interest in the project aimed at the creation of an aircraft carrier like «Cavour» in order to replace its «Vikrant». Rome, in fact, had realized how India considered, as European points of reference, France, Germany and Great Britain and how this could become a problem for us in future though in the framework of a legitimate European competition.

Prime Minister Romano Prodi visited China and India (Chennai, previously known as Madras) in February 2007. This shows how Italy pays attention to these big and dynamic countries.

In conclusion, it is evident that the political and economic axis is shifting towards Asia and the Indian Ocean. Statistics provide us with this information; therefore it is unavoidable to study and understand these changes without getting ideas for all policies, including the policy of security.

The role played by the academic world, the inter-

academic observatory for International Policy and the analysts of this sector to provide entrepreneurs and political and military authorities with useful instruments of understanding is extremely important.

This criterion is applied with the help of the diplomatic, economic and entrepreneurial world and focuses on the positive aspects of bilateral relations rather than critical aspects: this is not a fault, but a peculiar aspect of this kind of approach.

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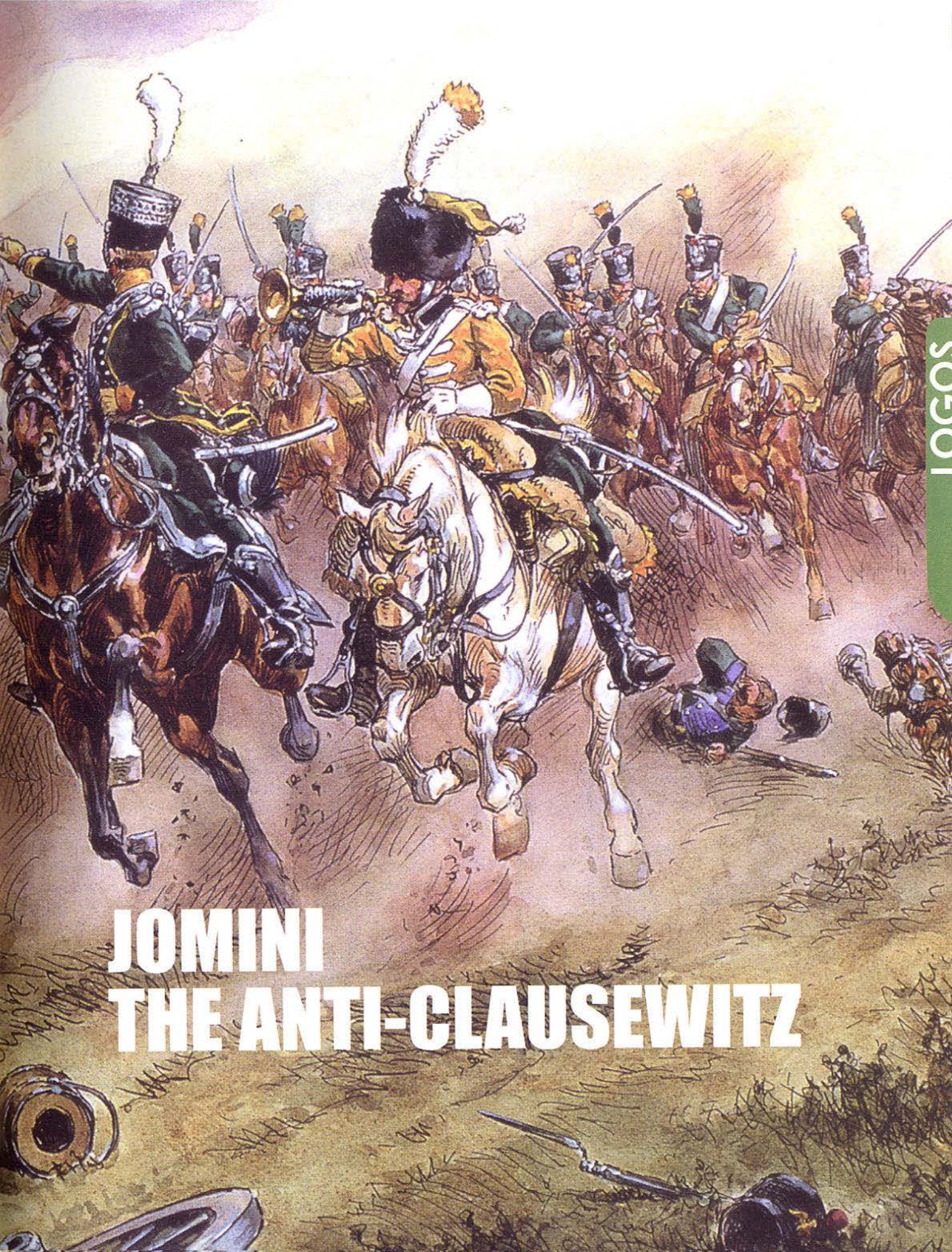
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LOGOS

JOMINI THE ANTI-CLAUSEWITZ

JOMINI

THE ANTI-CLAUSEWITZ

A Swiss-born general, Jomini served Napoleon and the Czar and, although a self-taught man, he was able to spread his ideas.

Considering strategy an exact science rather than an art, he was in complete disagreement with von Clausewitz. But a deeper knowledge of his treatises reveals a surprising complementarity which, still today, finds application in the theatres of operations.

In a previous article we highlighted some Clausewitz's assertions because they are of high topical interest even in the complex context of the «asymmetric war», although it is very different from that war between regular armies that is fought in the plains of Central Europe, which is one of the subjects the Prussian General, whose model was Napoleon, reflected on. In the previous article we also mentioned the antithesis between his theories and the coeval theories developed by General Jomini, who has strongly influenced the strate-

gic thought up to now. So, who was Jomini? Differently from «About war» by Clausewitz, his works, especially in Italy, have captured very little attention up to now and during the 20th century they were never translated into Italian: however, in his work of 1912 «Stratégie - historique, evolution», Commander (and General-to-be) Mordacq, who was a teacher at the French War School, pinpointed in the European strategic thought two opposing schools of thought: both of them aim to interpret the training of the Napoleonic wars: on the one hand, the ideologists - led by Clausewitz -, on the other hand, the doctrinaires, led by Jomini. Although he praises the Prussian General's theories, which won his country the victory of 1870-1871 against France, Mordacq stresses the major criticism the school of ideologists has met with: it flies too high, philosophises, wanders from the topic, talks in abstractions and loses sight of important and concrete aspects of the reality of war; it puts a great emphasis on the doctrinaires, who «are very keen on learning from the Napoleonic epic deeds but end up losing their way and developing one of the narrowest doctrines. They reached the following conclusion: the art of war cannot be refined [...]. They aimed to reduce war to equations».

Before making a comparison, it is important to give some information about his life and his works. Differently from Clausewitz - who died



Left.
Antoine Henry Jomini.

Title pages.
General Lasalle leading a charge of Light Horsemen.



An Officer of the Light Horsemen of the French Imperial Guard (Napoleonic era).

in 1831 - Antoine Henry Jomini (1779-1869) took part in the Russian-Turkish war in 1828, in the war of Crimea during the period 1854-1856 and in the Italian Wars of Independence in 1859 and 1866. Differently from Clausewitz, although he had developed an early military vocation, Jomini never did military studies and never led units in war; he served in the General Staff of the Great Armée and was unpopular with the French Generals for his Swiss origins because he was a *parvenu*, as well as being a well-connected, touchy, pretentious, arrogant theoretical self-taught man. After having dedicated himself, in Paris, to business and the Stock Exchange, in 1803 he wrote the first version of his monumental work *«Traité des grandes opérations*

militaires», which would be published as a eight-volume edition in 1811-1816. In this first version he explains his thought: the rapid concentration of the mass of forces at a crucial point, where he finds the secret of the Napoleonic wars. Field Marshal Ney is keen on his work and gave him a job in the General Staff. In 1806-1807 he joined Napoleon's General Staff, who had read a new more extensive version of *«Traité»*. After the peace of Tilsitt (1807) he went back to serve Field Marshal Ney but, because of misunderstanding within the General Staff, in 1810 he decided to go to work for the Tsar. In 1812, however, he left him because he did not want to fight the Great Armée and returned to work under Napoleon, who appreciated his collaboration and in 1813 appointed him as Chief of Staff. Even though he distinguished himself in this new job, feelings of envy came out again and, in 1813, he returned to work under the Tsar definitively. For this reason he was accused by the French Generals of treason. He was nominated by the Tsar as General of Division, aide-de-camp and his adviser and went with him to International Meetings. In addition, he became preceptor of the Russian crown prince. Finally, after having retired to private life in Belgium and then in France, he suggested to Napoleon III the plan aimed at winning the French-Piedmontese war of 1859 against Austria.

The period he spent at the Tsar's service was very fruitful. In 1830 he published *«Tableau Analytique des principales combinaisons de la guerre et des leurs rapports avec la politique des États»*, where the art of war is divided into five branches: the politics of war (which artificially distinguishes itself from the military pol-

“...he has pinpointed in the European strategic thought two opposing schools: on the one hand, the ideologists - led by Clausewitz -, and on the other, the doctrinaires, who followed Jomini”

icy), strategy (or art/science of moving the masses in the theatre of war), the great tactics of manoeuvres and fighting (which involves moving the Armies in the battlefield), the art of the engineer including the attack and the defence of strongholds and the tactics of detail. Both the strategy and the «great tactics of manoeuvres and fighting» are summarized in the concentration of forces at a crucial point. The strategy concerns the compilation of the plan of campaign, which involves the analysis of 15 factors; the plan of campaign is carried out by «the great tactics». Strategy - unlike the tactics - is an exact science, more than an art. The «tactics of detail» includes the training of personnel and the



French infantry at Waterloo.

employment of minor units in the fighting. In «Tableau» he introduced for the first time the term “logistics”, but this new branch was not considered as a part of the art/science of war yet and he gave it the role of «handmaid of strategies», which consists in organizing the movement and the stationing of troops according to the strategy. The current contents of logistics are included in the military administration, whereas the branches of artillery and Corps of Engineers maintain a logistical-administrative organization.

The most important and complete work is «Précis de l'art de la guerre ou nouveau tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la stratégie, de la grande tactique et de la politique militaire» (two volumes - 1838). In disagreement with Clausewitz (who is not cited in the opening chapter when he refers to the masters of the art of war), but making concessions to his anti-dogmatism, he confirms and deepens the contents of his previous works and, for the first time, defines logistics as an

autonomous branch of the art/science of war, which for him is more science than art - contradicting himself - and has as immutable basis, as point of reference that should always be considered, some principles motivated by historical experience. This process makes the formulation of a complete theory of war possible. He makes logistics a real science of detail or of General Staff and divides it into 18 branches among which - as well as the branches that today we consider as included in the field of logistics - the organization of reconnaissance and security, the issue of orders and other things. In addition, as «old» Official of General Staff he says that leadership skills are not sufficient: a Commander needs to count on capable and loyal soldiers, on a well-prepared and efficient Command, on armed and well-trained troops and a good logistical organization. He also considers geography extremely important. In particular, he thinks that the study of the characteristics of the theatre of war and the battlefield and the study of the enemy devices enable us to find the key point at which forces must be concentrated and show how they must be moved and fuelled rapidly and precisely.

Before the Napoleonic wars, the wars of Frederick II provided him with a good model because they were rapid, decisive and conducted by small volunteer armies without bothering the civilians: for this reason he considered the probable occurrence of bloody Napoleonic wars

“ Both Jomini and Clausewitz are real interpreters of the Napoleonic model and both of them consider strategy as dependent on politics ”

in future, which would originate from the French Revolution and be based on compulsory military service, as a misfortune. He also highlighted the negative aspects of the system of the Napoleonic French armies and of those of the Revolution which had aroused the public hostility because

of extortion and robbery, in wide, sparsely populated or poor geographical areas (for example, Russia, Sweden and Poland) leaving them without any provisions; therefore, it is necessary to be able to exploit the resources of the countries that have been invaded sensibly and moderately.

According to Jomini the activities of guerrilla warfare and counter-insurgency cannot be included in the system of principles which he formulated. However, referring to the consider-



Napoleon inciting the troops.

able difficulties that the French Armies encountered in the Spanish guerrilla warfare during the period 1808-1813, he observed that «in these kinds of wars it is difficult to subdue people without separating them from each other; if soldiers join each other in the fighting, they will be likely to lose the provinces that have been conquered. The only solution is to have an Army that leads campaigns and some independent Divisions that organize the zones behind the front line. These Divisions must be commanded by well-educated Generals who are good administrators and resolute and fair people in order that their soldiers can subdue, with the force of arms, the provinces that have been assigned to them». In addition, he emphasizes the positive aspects of an Army (like the English Army in the war of Spain) that can be provided with supplies by sea.

Both Jomini and Clausewitz are real interpreters of the Napoleonic model and both of them consider the strategies as dependent on politics: whereas Clausewitz sees war as an art,

Jomini regards it as a science, with its own principles that are immutable. Clausewitz considers the principles in a different way: he recognizes that they exist and are useful but he points out that the Commander needs them for his personal training but «he does not have to apply them in the battlefield», where they can be put aside if need be. According to Clausewitz, «war is a chameleon», consequently, although he considers it necessary to look for the concentration of forces at a crucial point, he does not give to it the same importance as Jomini. What is more important is that he considers war as «social phenomenon» that is unexpected because it is subjected to immeasurable moral and spiritual forces, where the skills of the leader prevail: in fact, he is not subjected to common rules but to rules that only he, through his genius, can understand. Consequently, it is not possible to formulate a complete theory of war. Differently from him, Jomini tends to rationalize the war and is able to formulate a complete theory of war, which is based on *exemplum historicum* that has an enormous value for him (for Clausewitz, on the contrary, it is just a useful point of reference,



Battle of Wagram, 1809.

that is to say a base of departure that has a variable importance). Other differences arise from the importance that is given to material, weaponry, good organization, training and logistics: Jomini considers these factors fundamental; on the contrary, Clausewitz refuses categorically to consider them because he thinks they do not have any influence on the conduction of operations. From this opposing approach a different division of art/science of war arises. For Clausewitz it consists in two parts that concern only the conduction of operations (strategy and tactics) and not his preparation, logistics and other things; whereas Jomini gives us a more complex definition of war. According to Jomini, there is a gap between the strategic theory and its being carried out (which coincides with tactics), for Clausewitz – whose thought is directed only to action – there are not artificial differences between theory and practice, because a theory measures up to expectations if it is able to

adhere to reality. However, differently from Jomini, he realistically says that it is more difficult to formulate valid strategic concepts rather than to make decisions in the field of tactics, where the doctrinal regulations are a more valid point of reference because they adhere to reality more easily than the strategic concepts. Even the lower cadres need a point of reference.

There are also significant differences in other fields: for example, Clausewitz is ironic about geography and criticizes the concept of «dominant position» which had a rather negative influence until the First World War. Whereas Clausewitz rightly forecasts that in future wars between the masses based on the «armed nation» will be inevitable, Jomini considers this as a danger, that is to say something bad that must be avoided, and thinks that the governments should work towards an agreement in order to prevent these wars from «reaching the absolute», to which Clausewitz gives a great importance – in contradiction with other assertions he has made about the different aspect the war could take on – attaching higher impor-

tance than Jomini to «popular wars» and guerilla warfare. Granted that no author is a prophet, but he is a man and a man of his time that publishes works that have their merits and limitations that need to be pinpointed; these two key figures, which must be studied and compared, are of topical interest and this emerges clearly from the comparison that has been drawn above. Without any doubts some concepts that have been formulated by Clausewitz, such as his strong anti-dogmatism and his assertion that war is a chameleon and a social phenomenon, are of highly topical interest; however, he is not the only one to find the relationship between politics and war and his strong spiritualism does not match a highly technological war – which aims to keep the losses to a minimum without making use of mass and conscript armies – that western societies must fight in the 21st century. Even in the two World Wars of the 20th century the winners were those who had many more weapons and supplies, as it had happened in the American Civil War during the period 1861–1865.

For all these reasons Jomini's theories, despite their dogmatism and the claim to make war a rational phenomenon conforming to well-defined rules, match the western modern wars very well, where equipment and technology have a dominant and even excessive role because they tend to replace men. It is no coincidence that Jomini has had a strong influence in the US from the American Civil War up to now and has inspired the theories of the famous American Admiral Arthur Thayer Mahan and of the Italian Giulio Douhet. This influence – whether it was unconscious or not – still lasts in the West for the simple reason that the current joint employment of powerful and complex forces, which belong to different Armed Forces of different countries, and their logistical support require a different training, which is neither easy nor brief, and meticulous advance planning that must keep the unexpected to a minimum. Consequently, they also require the important work of the General Staff whereas the Leader's genius, which is exalted by Clausewitz, has very little room for manoeuvre.

In addition, we should consider that the regular Armed Forces of any States have always needed strict and complete doctrinal rules based on principles. For example, Jomini's principle of the concentration of forces at a

crucial point that, although it does not assume the categorical and absolute significance of the past, applies even to the terrorist organizations which operate in the «asymmetric war», whose success depends on their ability to concentrate the forces at the most convenient points rapidly, taking the enemy by surprise and then breaking up. On the other hand the negative aspects of Jomini's thought are the excessive historicism that has given substance to the accusation that the General Staffs of the 20th century were preparing wars like in the past, to the excessive schematism and ordeliness showing attention to details. These aspects are not only typical of the French General Staff. The «line Maginot» originated from this school of thought and it was wrongly seen by the French army between the two World Wars as a sort of philosopher's stone to win – cheaply and without strategic alternatives – the aggressiveness of the new German Wehrmacht. The General-to-be De Gaulle stigmatised prophetically this tendency in his work «The Edge of the Sword» (1932): «it seems that the French military spirit does not recognize the empirical nature the action of war should have. He tries incessantly to develop a doctrine that enables him to orient the action and determine its shape a priori,

without taking into account the circumstances that should give it a solid base. Thinking that you have an instrument to avoid the dangers and the surprises of the circumstances and dominate them means giving your mind the rest it strives for incessantly [...]. Without any doubt the French spirit strives for it because it is driven by its

great love for abstraction and the system, by its worship of the absolute and the categorical concept...». These are the dangers the Armed Forces must avoid and this is truer today than in the past, without preconceived ideas. What we need is the constant and deep study of the real situation of each conflict and both Jomini and Clausewitz give us precious material to do that. In addition, in their works – and the political-military leadership consists of this – it is necessary to be able to choose what is more useful: this operation is difficult since the regular Armed Forces have lots of limitations and faults and the enemy who does not consider them gains a great advantage from this.

“What is needed is the constant and deep study of the real situation of each conflict and in that respect both Jomini and Clausewitz give us precious material”

Ferruccio Botti
Colonel (ret.)



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THE EVOLUTION OF THE ARMY

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE ARMY

All complex systems tend to change with time in order to adjust to the experiences matured or to prepare for future challenges. The Army, like, and perhaps more, than other organizations, along the years has been the subject of continuous changes, which lately have undergone a decisive acceleration. This article has been written by the former Chief of the Department of General and Financial Planning of the Army General Staff, on the basis of a conference he held last October for the students of the Centre for High Defence Studies.

The evolution of the military instrument, which has been concerning our Armed Forces during the last decade, has been developed in accordance with norms, directives and documents, as well as on the basis of the results of the analyses of possible scenarios: elements that constitute the necessary conceptual ground of the change. Among the documents, the Ministerial Directive and the Strategic Concept of the Defence Chief of Staff represent fundamental guiding instruments and clearly outlined courses.

The Ministerial Directive (1) is the document that "identifies the political intentions, in terms of objectives and method of development of the military instrument so that it may contribute to achieve the objectives of security and national defence in synergy with the "Country system". The 2006 version is based on the following main points:

- Centrality of man, within a military instrument, interservice and interoperable in international contexts, with expeditionary characteristics,

"...the Ministerial Directive and the Strategic Concept of the Defence Chief of Staff represent fundamental guiding instruments and clearly outlined courses..."

working in an operational framework based on network-centric technologies.

- Validity of the 190,000 model, which, nevertheless, could have to be trimmed down for financial reasons.
- Pursuit of synergies within the operational components, exploiting the professional characteristics of each Service, avoiding the uneconomic acquisition of "all-range" capabilities in each component.
 - Professionalization, as a fundamental and irreplaceable element of personnel policy.
 - Priority in programming given to the needs of the fighting soldier, the main actor, who carries out the tasks connected with peace maintenance and international security.

The Strategic Concept of the Defence Chief of Staff is the document that "outlines the conceptual frame of reference for the planning of the Armed Forces, as a concrete technical-military implementation of the politico-military guidelines". The version published in 2004 precisely defined the essential elements of the three principal dimensions:

- Qualitative: with reference to the characteristics and quantity of assets, materials and instruments, all interoperable in multinational environments;
- Quantitative: defined as volume of force suitable for complying with the level of national ambition (known as 190,000 Model);
- Capacitive: gauged to accomplish a wide range of possible missions, according to the probability of the single events.

Title page.

A "Lagunare" employed in Lebanon in operation "Leonte".

Left.

A company of the 66th Infantry Regiment on parade.

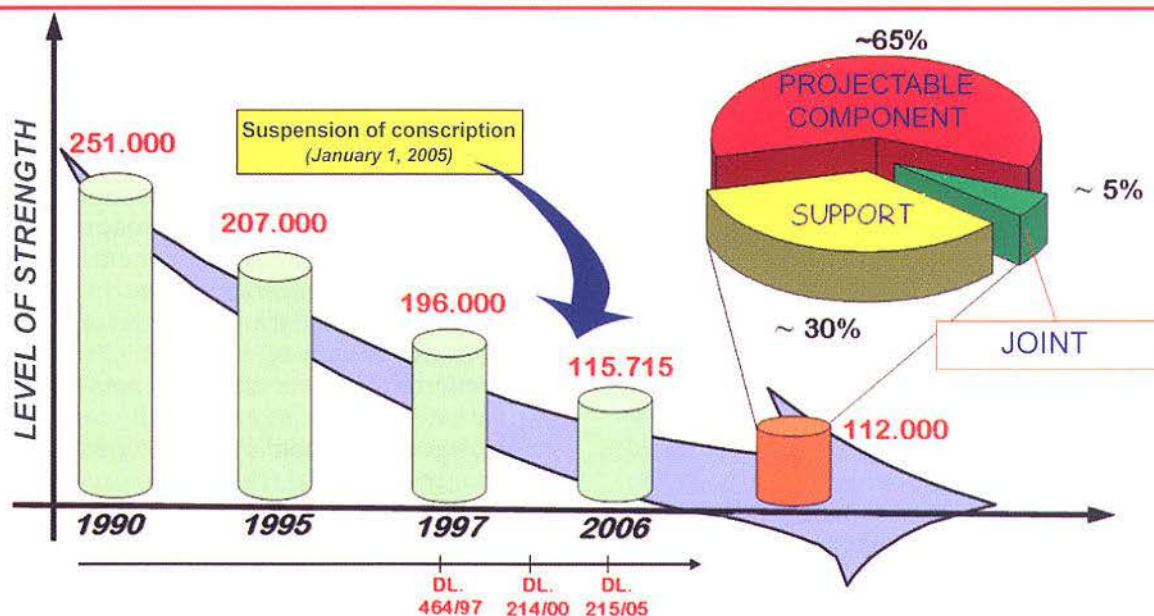


EVOLUTION TRENDS

FROM CONSCRIPTION
ARMY



TO PROFESSIONAL
ARMY



- General Support (C2, Schools, Support Logistics, Territorial Area, personnel on training)
- Projectable Component
- Personnel employed outside the Service (Joint, International)

The dimensions, therefore, are evaluated and defined in order to allow the Country to play a protagonist role in international contexts.

The assumed scenarios are all marked by a high level of uncertainty and great heterogeneity of the actors, especially the non-state ones, potential threats to the security of the Country. Hence the necessity to have forces capable of carrying out a wide range of missions, some of which may be very far from the traditional ones. These forces should be able to react in a diversified and flexible way and, in a short time and above all in a post-conflict dimension, should be able to carry out, simultaneously in the same area, activities of peace support, humanitarian assistance and restoration of infrastructure; area security; war on terror.

DIRECTION GUIDELINES

In order to govern such a many-sided and complex process, initially there has been a will to define clear directions, which could lead towards a single big objective all the numerous structures involved. In fact, the process now in progress follows four main trends, divided into projects that concern the entire Service in all its components:

human, conceptual and technological. A process which, being of course "son" of the pre-existent geostrategic bipolar context, is based on the so-called "Summits Law" and is conditioned by the tragedy of September 11.

1st direction: from "potential" force, mainly static, to instrument with capabilities of high projectability and rapid deployment. It permits to have a readily employable force, taking advantage of the experiences made in the missions carried out from "Lebanon '82" to this day.

2nd direction: from conscription Army to professional Army, reducing the "quantity" parameter in favour of the "quality" component. Consequently, an instrument that could no more correspond to a model based on conscription. Therefore, we have proceeded to the professionalization of the Army. A process that is still going on, which, when completed, will permit to have operational forces of about 78,000 men, from which a projectable component of about 67,000 men could be drawn (65% of the entire Service), excepting possible further reductions, which at present cannot be quantified. In the last 15 years the Army has reduced by 45% the number of its effectives.

3rd direction: from a concept of single Service to that of component of an interservice and multina-



An Italian patrol on reconnaissance activity in Afghanistan.

tional instrument. The employment of the forces in multinational contexts, supported by an ample consensus, suitable for operations in the three dimensions and under joint command, has induced the Army to develop capabilities that in the past were non-existent, or greatly undersized; some of them, on the other hand, have taken the lead worldwide. In fact, in the last five years we have:

- Constituted the Italian-led NRDC-ITA Command, at Corps level (one of the main NATO, recently deployed within the ISAF operations in Afghanistan). employment assets
- Strengthened the force package for the conduct of special operations, assigning to the Special Forces, based on the 9th "Col Moschin" Regiment, two FOS units, precisely the 185th RAO Regiment and the 4th "Ranger".
- Participated in the constitution of the Command of the Sea Projection Force, on a group of joint landing forces (Army and Navy), which can operate autonomously in areas distant from the national territory for a long period of time.
- Guaranteed contributions to the NATO Response Force, to the EU BG, to the Multinational Land Force, as well as to EUROFOR, as multinational initiative for the constitution of a Command for the management of operations under EU and NATO aegis.
- Constituted the Cimic Group South, another fundamental part of the NATO Force Structure (NFS), which permits to fully accomplish the CIMIC function through the creation of CIMIC Centres and the conduct of CIMIC activities on the ground, the realization and maintenance of the relations of cooperation and collaboration with all the civilian actors in the area of intervention (IOs,

NGOs, population and local institutions), and the formulation of informative evaluations on the civilian aspects of the situation during the operations.

- Constituted the 28th "Pavia" Regiment, achieving real PSYOPS capabilities.
- Reinforced the 7th NBC Regiment, which participated, as force of surveillance and ready intervention, in many events of national and international importance.

4th direction: from mass force to quality and quantity force, in order to give effectiveness to the national ambition and ensure continuity to the current and prospective engagements. The land instrument, whose employment remains decisive in the present scenarios and in the future ones, needs adequate volumes of personnel and technologically advanced materials. The "modernity" of the latter, in particular, is expressed in operational versatility, besides raising the level of protection. However, it should be underlined that, in the long run, the financial framework supporting the whole process did not conform to the prefigured assumptions; this constitutes a limitation to the achievement of the qualitative objectives within the planned time and causes a progressive exponential decline of the effectiveness of the entire system.

THE CONCRETE ACTIONS

The abovesaid "directions" constitute "roads" to be followed and point out goals to be achieved; nevertheless, specific sectors of intervention should be developed in order to accomplish concrete actions. In particular, the sectors that have been selected will give substance to the process. They constitute the weft in which to weave the warp made of interventions at all levels, in order to obtain a fabric of efficiency and operativeness including:

- Doctrine;
- Organizational structures;
- Training;
- Leadership;
- Logistic support;
- Infrastructure;
- Personnel;
- Interoperability.

A new doctrine. The cyclic nature of the process, if well carried out, ensures a "dividend" of professionalism re-investible in the overall quality of the Instrument. The depth of the analyses, never separate from a good deal of programming capability, characterizes the current studies, particularly for the newly-developed particular capabilities, constantly compared with those worked out in the

main partner Countries. It is a sector where every event is a cue for new thorough studies, where experience is the starting point for new analyses and the finishing line of insightful investigations. Among the most significant initiatives started by the Army, there is a plan for an Excellence Centre responsible for operations of stabilization and reconstruction. Among the main tasks of the institution there are:

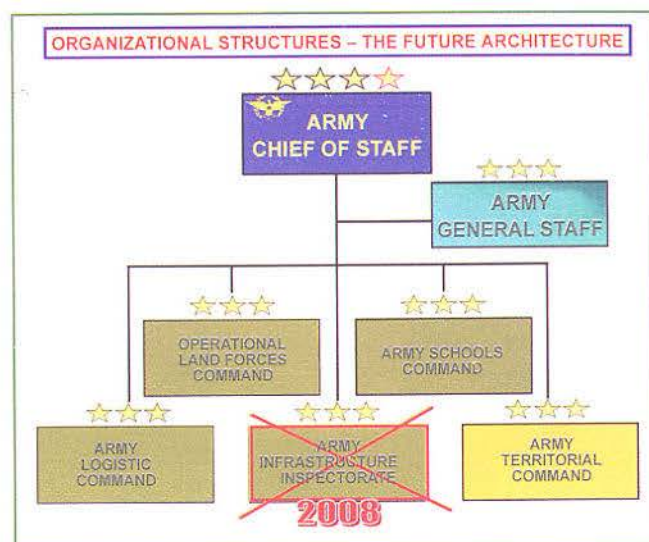
- Functioning as binding agent in the matter of concepts and doctrine, to the advantage of the institutional actors that have an active role in "out of area" interventions.
- Perfecting the training programmes of the personnel connected with the operations following the conflict (post conflict operations), envisaging also the participation of the allied Countries.

Organization. Today the Army is organized in five functional macro-areas subordinate to the Army Chief of Staff. It is the goal, not definitive, hinged on Law 25/97 and articulated by successive norms. Decree 464/97 instituted the Command of the Operational Land Forces, the Logistic Inspectorate and the Branches Inspectorate, structures where the pre-existent Inspectorates of the single branches, specialities and services converged. Later, in 2000, the frame of reference of the professional instrument was further enhanced by Law 331/2000, which also specified the tasks of the Armed Forces (2). Decree 214/00 later modified some preceding provisions, constituting the RFC Inspectorate (which took on the top role for the whole territory, replacing the three Military Regions), the Infrastructure Inspectorate and the Training and Specialization Inspectorate (which took over ISPEARMi and ISPESCUOLE). Recently, Decree 253/05, concerning "integrative and corrective provisions of Decree 464/97 and the following modifications and integrations, containing a structural reform of the Armed Forces", operative within 2008, will implement further simplifications of the Army's Chain of Command and Control.

The five areas that constitute the current structure, ensure simplicity and consistency of the command action by having:

- The entire operational component of the Service under the orders of the Command of the Operational Land Forces (Verona).
- The Inspectorate for the Recruitment and Completion Forces being transformed as Command for the Army Territory (Florence), responsible for activities concerning recruitment and selection, garrison, State property, management of various bodies (museums, logistic-training bases, firing

"The depth of the analyses... characterizes the current studies, particularly for the newly-developed special capabilities, constantly compared with those worked out by the main partner Countries"



ranges) and aspects connected with security.

- The Schools Command (Rome), responsible for basic training, specialization and the following qualification of the whole personnel.
- The Logistic Command (Rome), responsible for the management of the resources of assets and materials of the Service.
- The Inspectorate for Infrastructure (Rome), responsible for the maintenance and modernization of the entire infrastructure property. The responsibilities of this Inspectorate will be redistributed to the other four areas within 2008, year when it will be dissolved.

Training. Despite the vagueness of the scenarios, Warfighting remains the scenario suitable for complete training. For this reason, the availability of convenient areas and ranges is an indispensable prerequisite. In this regard, the increased activities in ranges abroad, started a long time ago and gradually increased, have permitted to refine procedures that have subsequently been profitably transferred to operational fields. An activity that, in any case and like other activities, risks a progressive atrophy as the mentioned financial problems become chronic. Nevertheless, the successful introduction of training methodologies based on simulation, in the last years has permitted to integrate the training assets available with simulative systems and models, realizing scenarios within which real systems, simulated systems and virtual models operate in an interactive and coordinated manner. The Army has been considering for a long time and with attention this opportunity; the introduction of simulation in the operational cycle is by now a primary objective of the Army, as was

LOGISTICS – INVESTMENTS

PROTECTION AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE FORCES IN OPERATION

PROTECTION



EFFECTIVENESS



proved by the recent establishment of the Simulation and Validation Centre at Civitavecchia (Rome), which is already using a system for training the Command Posts of the operational units, at both regiment and Brigade level.

Leadership. A factor much less virtual and evanescent as one might believe. It is developed through an accurate character's forming of the personnel, based on an interdisciplinary, interservice training approach at university level, with large employment of courses in the Defence and multinational ambit, provided by the attendance in theoretical and practical courses at institutes of other Countries.

Logistic support. Where the gravitation of the efforts is aimed at ensuring:

- Protection of the forces, considering the safety of the personnel an element of absolute priority, not only for evident ethical-moral reasons, but also for the induced personnel's motivation.
- Forces effectiveness, as the irreplaceable factor for carrying out every mission.

A set of tasks that are constantly at risk owing to a permanently negative financial picture.

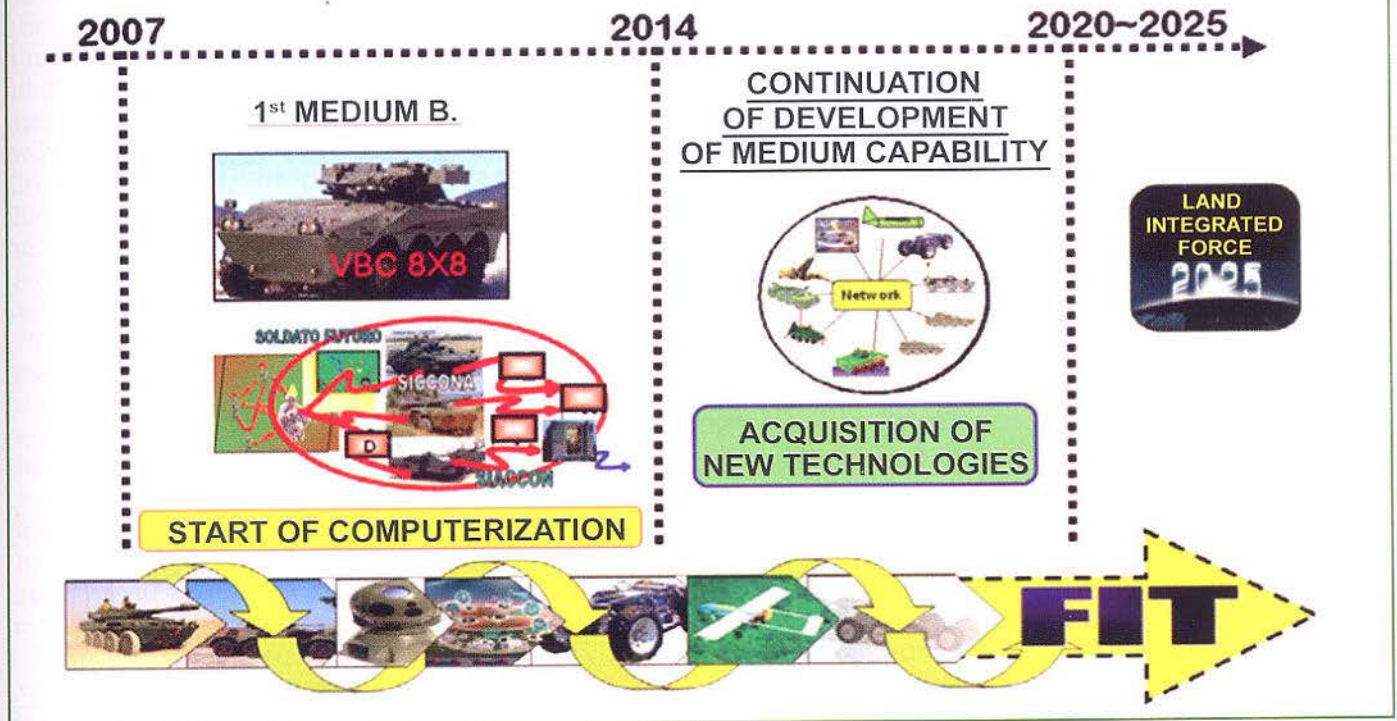
Infrastructure. A large part of the approximately 4500 infrastructure now available to the Army go back to WWII (some as far back as the end of the 1800s). In view of the transformation of the military instrument into a professional one, and the opening to the female component, the present

availability, numerically excessive vis-à-vis the actual needs, does not meet the standards envisaged for the functions it performs. The efforts in this sector are therefore mostly concentrated on:

- Building of new housing for the volunteers.
- Modernization of the infrastructure, adjusting it to the changed needs, sorting out at the same time the no more usable infrastructure that may be transferred into trade-in or casting-off programmes.
- Rationalization of the infrastructure, through the unification in a single place of homogeneous functions. A process that is very much conditioned by costs and local problems due to the repositioning of detachments and units.
- Recourse, when possible, to exchanges with the local administrations, through the transfer of desirable infrastructure against the construction, at no cost for the Defence, of new complexes, preferably outside the inhabited centres.

Personnel. The human component doubtlessly remains the most important component of today's and tomorrow's Army, as it was in the past and perhaps even more today. No technology, as advanced as it may be, can express its potential if it is not employed by well-trained and motivated individuals. The education and training of a soldier are fundamental activities, factors of a product that risks to be annulled if the capability of performing correctly comes to an end. To find and prepare individuals continues to be a wide-rang-

EVOLUTION OF THE OPERATIONAL INSTRUMENT



ing challenge, which provides the individuals not only with technicalities, procedures, information, but also consideration and respect.

Interoperability. It is implemented through the participation in a series of working and study groups, besides other numerous multinational joint initiatives. We also wish to mention the working groups – within NATO and FINABEL (3) – which concern all the development sectors of the Service (logistics, interoperability, new capabilities), as well as the bilateral talks with the main partner and allied Countries, in order to share the experiences, points of view and knowledge acquired with the employment, as well as the lines of development of the respective land components.

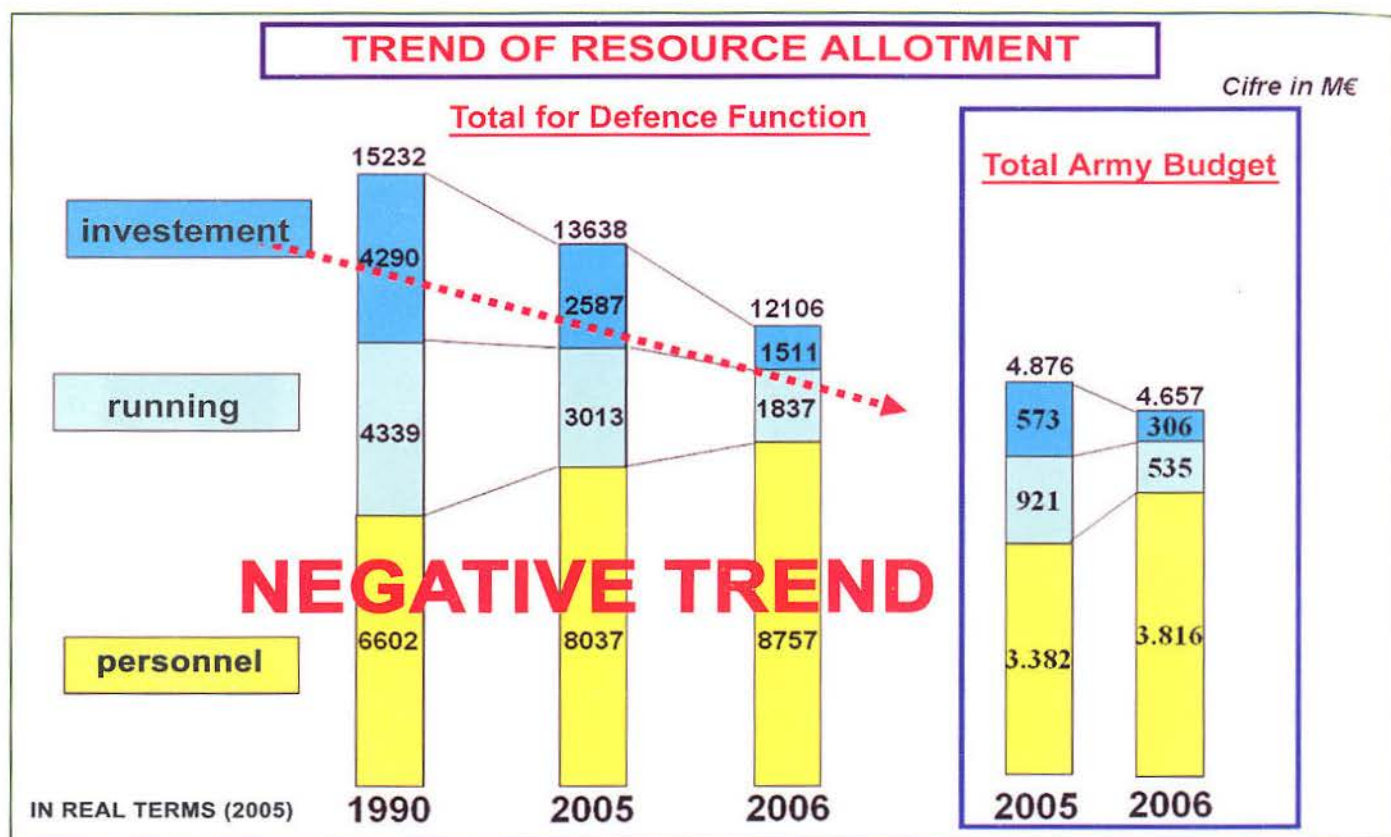
A LOOK AT THE FUTURE

A change that concerns a so much complex reality that it cannot be gauged on intermediate steps, even if it is in order to make amendments and re-modulations on the basis of conditionings and restraints that may have intervened, be they endogenous or exogenous. The choices made up to now, in the short/middle term, envision an Army substantially constituted by a light, a medium and a heavy component, of just

“The choices made up to now envision an Army substantially constituted by a light, a medium and a heavy component...”

about the same size, with low/medium availability of technologies, but in a position to carry out the missions found in the modern operational scenarios and sufficiently capable of interfacing with similar NATO/EU formations. However, in the long term, the hypothesis being studied envisages the establishment of a robust core of intermediate units, with high technological contents and with multifunctional capabilities, boosted by a set of heavy and light (specialized) forces that will be their real enablers.

The process should lead to the completion of an Integrated Land Force (FIT); a flexible force, balanced in every component, in a position to project packages, also joint, suitable for being integrated with allied forces. The FIT will have not only very high characteristics in terms of projectability and flexibility of employment but, like the objectives of the evolutionary trends in progress within our main international interlocutors, will be expeditionary, net capable and effect based oriented. The military instruments of the West are mostly employed in operations characterized by short phases of high-intensity combat, followed by more or less long periods of stabilization, marked by peaks of tension that require the application of the force according to techniques and modalities very near



to the high-intensity ones.

In view of this, the attention is concentrated more on the "effect to be obtained" than on the objective to be achieved. A change of method, which means to acquire the capabilities to monitor the manoeuvre space continuously, is the synergic employment of all the components however available. The minimum dimension of the force to be modernized is a divisional complex of about 9000 men, with Brigades of various types, one of which for "early entry". On the basis of these parameters, the Army has worked out a project for an Integrated Land Brigade (BIT), which should be realized by 2025. Conceived as evolution of the modern medium Brigades, the BIT will be developed according to an evolutionary spiral, which at the moment envisages the completion of the first unit, organized on a VBC platform and equipped with digitised systems, within 2014. Subsequently, the updating process will be conditioned by both the level and type of the new technologies on the market and by the availability and continuity of the financial resources.

THE FINANCIAL ASPECT

No farsighted and complete planning can do anything if it is not supported by a flow of certain

and adequate resources. The progressive cuts in resources observed during the last years corresponds to a constant increase in operational tasks and a continuous rise in the costs connected with professionalization. Considering only the Defence Function, the resources allocated for 2006 total € 12,106 million and represents 0.843% of the GNP. One of the lowest amounts in Europe and the historical minimum since the end of WWII. The process of transformation accomplished until now has weighed more on the Army, as it is the Service that needs more personnel. On the other hand, the incidence of the expenses for the personnel, which has now reached 72% of the entire budget of Defence (an anomalous amount in the European and world's context) represents a dis-

"The financial prospects for the immediate future do not leave much space to optimism,"

torting element only due to the reduction of the resources destined to Investment and Operation. The fact remains that in absolute terms the per capita expense for the Italian soldier is far from what is destined to the American,

British, French or German soldier; a situation which reflects also on the budget of the Army, for which there has been a remarkable increase in the resources employed for personnel (related mainly to professionalization), compared with a drastic reduction in the resources for Operation and Investment.

REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The financial prospects for the immediate future do not leave much space to optimism. Even a turn-about of the present negative trend could not allow sufficient margins for the implementation of all the projects envisaged. It should be pointed out that the wished objective of the budget is that of bringing the financial trend of the items of Operation and Investment back at least to that of 2005, incremented with the financial volumes necessary for redressing the capacitive decline generated by the anomalous budgets of the past years.

In order to better understand the impact on the instrument of the present "sinking" of the volumes of the resources, one should refer to the parameters that, in fact, express the Strategic Concept of the Defence Chief of Staff. In this regard, the only lever on which it seems possible to act is the "quantitative" one, with an immediate transfer of the level of national ambition. Considering that the latter element is also conditioned by capacitive and qualitative parameters.

Surmising the persistence of the present financial scenarios and imposing an allocation between Personnel/Operation/Investment of 50%-25%-25%, the entire military instrument should reach 136,000 men, compared to the present model of 190,000, approximately 78,000 of whom for the Army, assuming that the present division remained unchanged. It is quite clear that a reduction guided only by financial conditionings would have large diversifications, for it would essentially affect the capabilities expressed by the Army, where the human element substantiates the realization of the potential. Therefore a re-examination of the Model of Defence would affect mainly the Army, owing to its man-centric nature and also because of the role of protagonist that the land component plays in every military operation; in practice, this would reduce the effectiveness of the entire military instrument, making it no more suitable for attaining the present level of ambition.

Neither can one envisage an instrument that ensures its existence to the detriment of its effectiveness and efficacy. Likewise, the theorem according to which the cuts in personnel are the road to a qualitative growth of the instrument, is an historical falsehood that can be easily demonstrated, also in financial terms. Therefore if there were no possibility or will to reverse the present trend in terms of financial resources assigned in the short and long term, it will be necessary to:

- Reconsider the level of national ambition, trimming it down.
- Redefine the role and tasks assigned to the military instrument.

- Reconfigure the model in all its components (qualitative, quantitative and capacitive) in the sense previously pointed out.

Therefore the decisional process related to a possible new reform, in its course should envisage:

- The assessment of the possible employment of the Armed Forces in view of the probability that the foreseeable operational scenarios may occur, considering also the political risk connected with a hypothetical intervention.
- The exploitation of the operational systems and of the capabilities that, for their versatility and intrinsic adaptability to the various situations of employment, show to have a more advantageous cost/effectiveness ratio.
- The balancing of the need to maintain the know-how in the field of highly technological weapon systems with that of keeping the acquisition and operation costs within acceptable limits, through a careful evaluation of the actual possibilities of employments of the assets to be acquired.
- The preference granted to choices that tend to confer complementarity among the components of the entire military instrument, emphasizing their joint quality and avoiding sectorial and specialized choices.

The measures that spring from the expressed line of action must be clearly politically backed and be the outcome of the general acknowledgment that the military apparatus is an instrument of political objectives and national and international security, always keeping in mind the centrality of man in the modern operational scenarios.

Giuseppe Maggi
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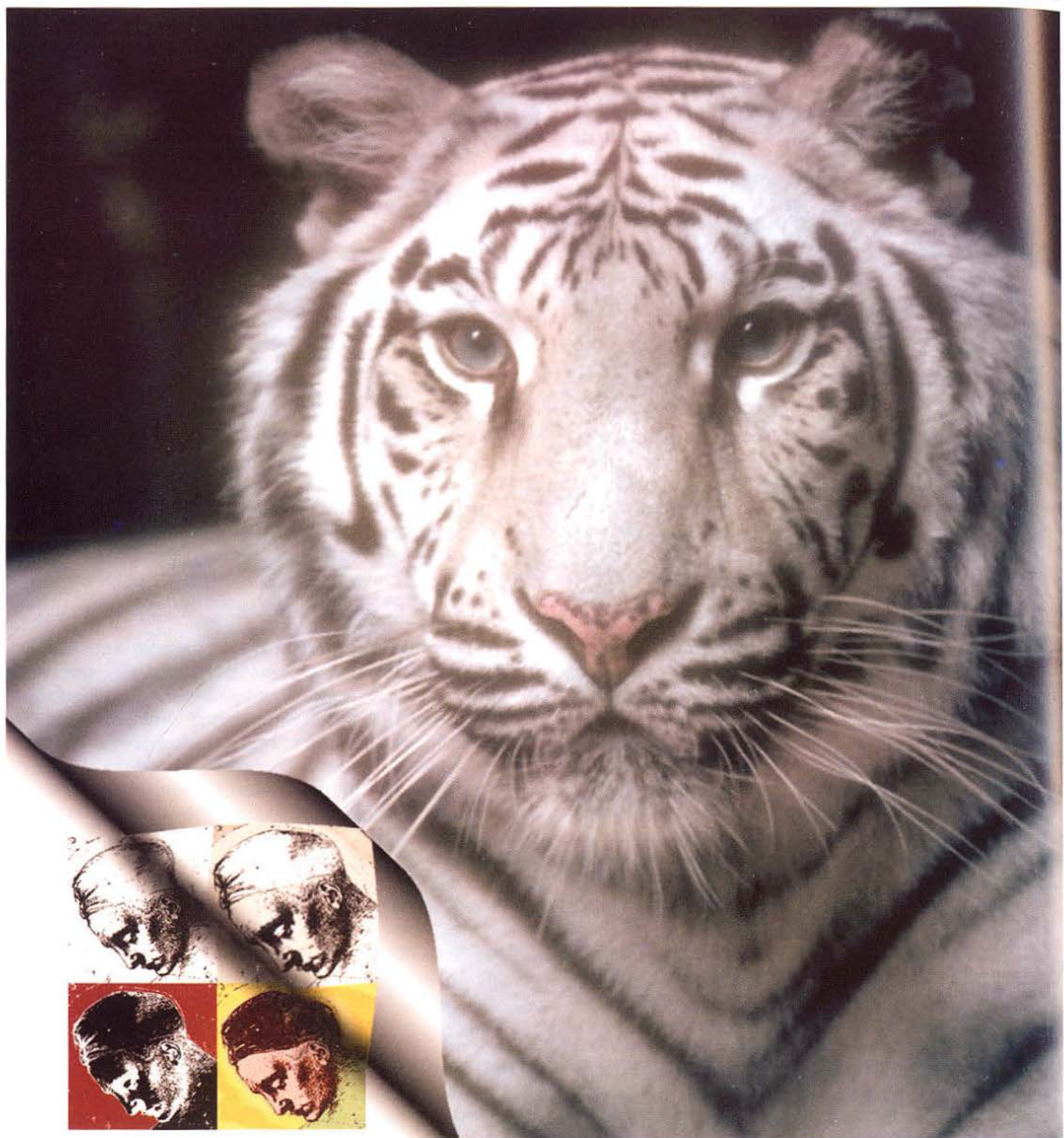
NOTES

(1) The correct denomination of the document is "Ministerial Directive as regards military policy, information and security activity".

(2) Art. 1, comma 4, of Law 331/2000 states that "the Armed Forces have also the task of operating in order to realize peace and security, in compliance with the rules of international law and the determinations of the organizations to which Italy belongs".

(3) The denomination of the initiative originates from the initials of the founding States (1953): France, Italy, Nederland, Belgium and Luxembourg, which have later been joined by Germany, United Kingdom, Spain, Greece and Portugal.

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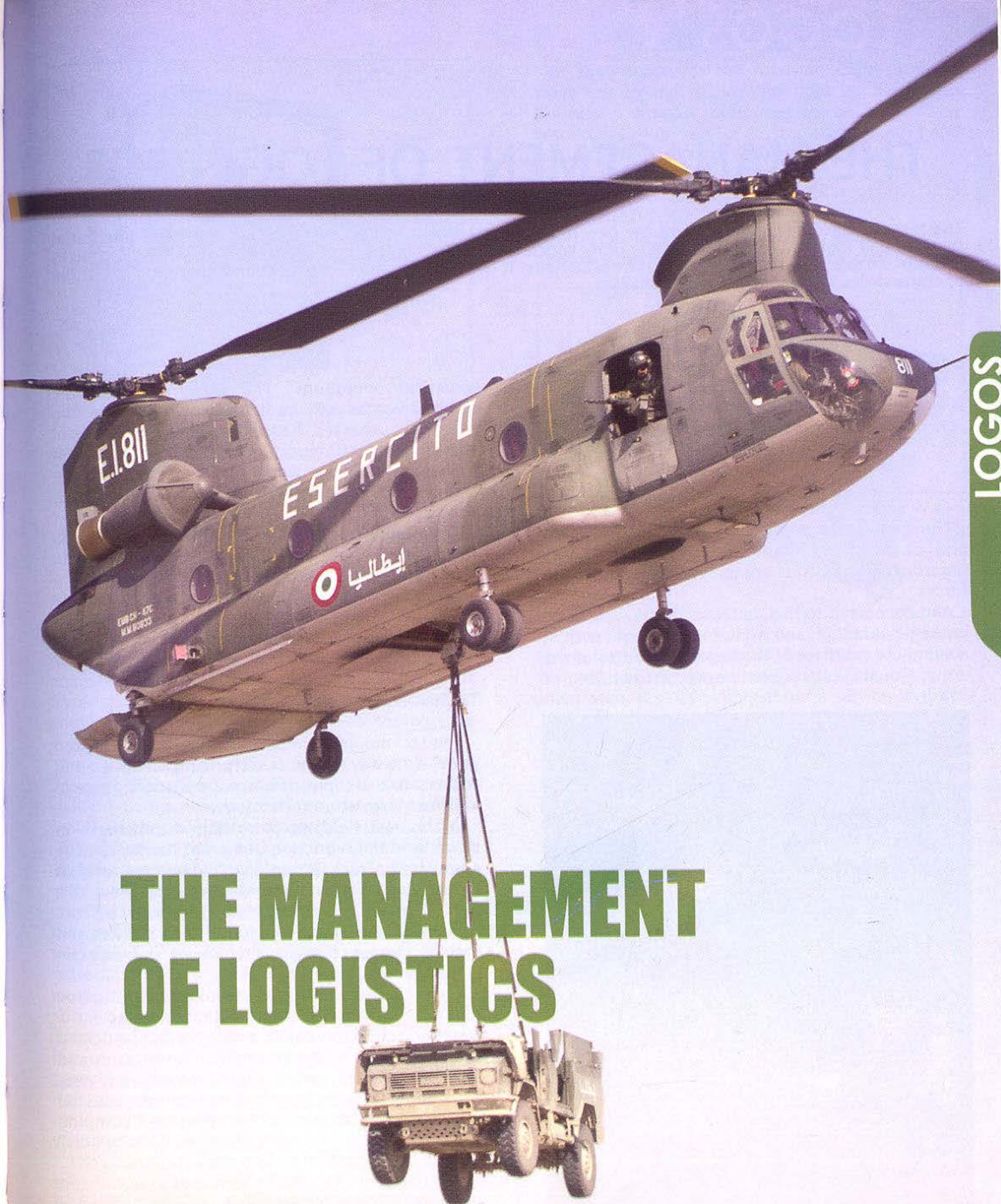


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LOGOS

THE MANAGEMENT OF LOGISTICS

THE MANAGEMENT OF LOGISTICS

The technological development and the new international scenarios require the development of integrated systems and logistics in support of the units which must be realized according to precise strategic choices and sustainable technical and economic evaluations. It is a difficult and complex course that requires of the operators wise choices and professionalism.

For a soldier the real problem is not to acquire a new idea, but to abandon the old one.

Liddell Hart

The final years of the last century constituted one of the few significant periods of history regarding the logistic organization of the armed forces.

And connected to this, in terms of the new world strategic paradigm and what it has brought with it, a complete overhaul of the tasks and duties of the army with the consequent entire restructuring of

logistical operations. The Gulf War, with the impressiveness of the initial intensity and the eventual successes, had made understood, again, the fundamental importance of logistics and such logistic complexity will also be needed for the transference of the Coalition forces into Saudi Arabia.

What follows will examine some of the aspects that characterise the new scenario, those elements that have been most useful in the impetus of the changes to logistics management, ideas that are innovative and up-to-date but above all adhere to the new reality and its needs.

TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

The technological impact on man of the last ten years is, to say the least, surprising – above all in regards to the sophistication of transport, materials and information technology.

In this last field, in particular, the increase in power and the reduction of cost of hardware have stimulated a real revolution. The average level of IT knowledge grows, and continues to grow at a ever increasing velocity, all facilitated by the transmission of data – the job of the satellites and mobile phones that have changed the way we communicate today.

In the civilian world it has resulted in a situation today that means any business that operates in the commercial sector could employ a sophisticated satellite system to get information on its sales and stock in real time, acting as a closed circuit tv network to keep managers and sellers informed on merchandising strategies. Bar codes and scanning



Left.

Unloading a CH-47 'Chinook' from an Antonov aircraft.

Title page.

A CH-47 "Chinook" transporting a VM-90.



Above.
A Command Terminal.

Right.
A portable terminal.

machines are able to available all the information with a rapidity that makes the traditional forecasts useless.

Even in the military world there have been software developments dedicated to transport management, to materials, to communications – that have allowed the armed forces to be able to employ an appropriate piece of technology for every new need.

In particular it is evident in the area of Asset Tracking the military world is as up-to-date as the civilian, being able to monitor conveys and the materials they are transporting.

Asset tracking is a piece of equipment able to supply, extremely quickly and with a lot of detail, information on dislocation, movement, status and identification of units, personnel, equipment and materials. Within this framework the development of the subsystem Consignment Tracking finalized the monitoring of resources, in terms of personnel, transport and materials and related transport vectors, assuming the importance and priority of guaranteeing complete visibility of all assets in transit.

The change also affected more traditional industries in a way that now all sectors are much more technologically focused than at the end of the last century. And this focus is extremely evident in the fields of transport and storage as well as information technology and health.

“...the impetus of the changes in logistic management is based on modern and innovative ideas that, above all, adhere to the new reality and needs”

In alignment with the focusing on technology there comes the deployment and integration of financial, human and technical know-how resources, all in respect to strategic alliances and research from external sources.

INTEGRATED LOGISTICS

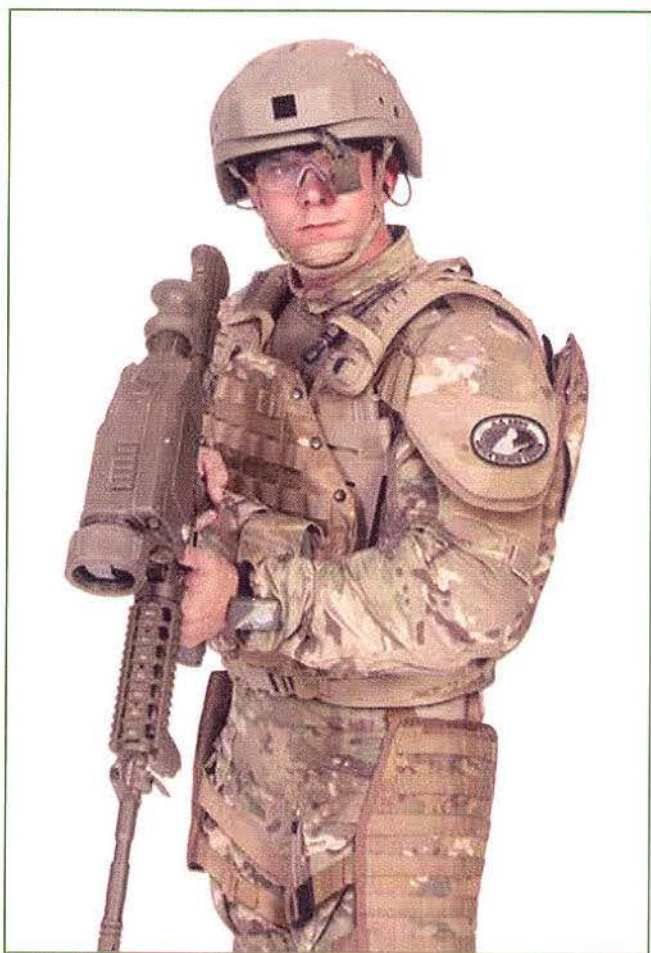
In recent years there have been changes in the approach of industrial apparatus as compared to



those for military purposes, becoming more specialized and specific, but above all becoming more integrated. It's not simply about a service contract but more about an operational integration by the Armed Forces that, in complete harmony with the latest logistic engineering, plans from the very beginning the weapon that will end up being introduced. An integration that, although in its initial stages seems destined to become the best way to organize managerial aspects that, in practice, are about substantial financial budgets.

In times in which the system is to be maintained in an autarchical way, with an opening towards the external world only in times of surplus, is in definite crisis, the tendency to now integrate the operational potential with that of the qualified industrial products has definite advantages. Such openings toward industry should be set in motion in the immediate future, setting off a necessary review of all the systems employed by the Armed Forces, based of course on it contractual, regulatory and legislative foundations.

In the achieving of such a hoped for change, there would have to be the abandoning of the culture of hesitation that surrounds the fear of losing



A soldier equipped with latest-generation material.

knowledge and ability since thanks to the synergetic activity behaviour of such complementary functions it will allow the interchange of the respective 'know-how's anyway.

THE NEW SCENARIOS: MULTINATIONALITY, COMMUNICATION, INTERACTIONS

The operational scenario is increasingly viewing stability as the key, amongst the countries that are adhere to the military and international organizations with a tight integration of multinational force that is able, flexible, completely interoperable, able to operate with institutions and non-governmental civilians forces. In order to be able to operate in this scenario the forces must be deployable, rapidly formable and completely assured of sustained logistic support from those backing them up in a situation of multinational and integrated logistics.

In this evolved context, just defined, the structure and logistic organization of the armed forces have the continued necessity to adapt themselves to new world pictures whatever is happening, with

“ Management must focus on speed, quality and structure ”

the reorganization that came in 1997 as the first and substantial example.

The constant current work by the Italian Contingent in out-of-area operations shows the need to have available, in real time, a flow of information regarding the complete complex situation they find themselves in.

It seems logical therefore to organize standard procedures and a “netcentrico” model that is able to hold a single logistics system able to integrate in a co-ordinated, synergetic and harmonious manner across the telephone network.

In such regard the Logistics Command of the Italian Army have already started, for a while now, the creation of a series of projects that have the purpose of defining an initial model for a Network Central Logistics (NCL) operation.

Above all the various aspects of operations, logistics, technology, management information comprise, in terms of today, a complete system in which one aspect can not be more or less important than another. For example, how many of the just mentioned aspects would be involved in influencing the decision in which one must decide about a new means of transport or whether or not an ‘out-of-area’ operation is viable or not?

In the first place, though, it has to be argued that of the characteristics of transport technology it must be stated that the specific military requirements and subsequent analysis must answer to the needs of the Armed Forces before all else. It would be important therefore in this aspect for research to be done by those involved in research at the cutting edge, with the purpose of assuring the supply of, other than operational requirements, but also the guarantee of the security of personnel.

Next is the choice for operational needs, to assure the availability of a suitable logistic support system that is focused on its eventual future activities right from the moment it is being acquired.

Closely connected to the technological factor and to its repercussions to the needs of security of personnel, today more than ever, it must be taken into account the effect on the moral of the soldier and the socio-political impact that such new systems could have on the local population in the operational area (the employment of wheeled instead of tracked transport).

Finally at the end of the supply process other issues are brought to light, possible remarks by the community or public opinion about the

acceptance of missions or the minimizing of risks, or also regarding the Armed Forces being able to manage the news that sprouts from all kind of sources and which the media can manipulate and distort.

As we have seen therefore it means that as a whole the process is rather complicated and only a management of all the activities in its global entirety, can assure a winning formula, all encased in a general ambience of modern methods, network-centricity, integration and above all professionalism by operatives.

A MODERN CONCEPTION FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF LOGISTICS

Based on the above mentioned assumptions management should focus on three fundamental aspects that characterize and represent the way forward: speed, quality and structure.

The speeding up

The marked focalisation on the speed of processes (decisional, informational and communicational) is a consequence of the technological development of recent years.

The availability of information in real time underlines how everything could happen much faster. The performance development in total shows that it could have a direct impact on three different areas of logistics operations: processing, information and the taking of decisions.

It is obvious that where the process of speeding up takes place that there is at least a maintenance, if not an actual increase, in the efficiency and quality of the service offered. The aim is to accelerate the process while maintaining the same standards, or preferably improving standards.

Speed of information is a reality in today's technology and is a need oft requested, making possible now the carrying out of operations in all parts of the world yet with a chain of Command and Control able to communicate in complete real time. Not all organizations have this complete capacity or are able to maintain an accurate information system of the highest quality. It is certain though that the challenge of these years is for the achievement of the sharing of information amongst the organizations, remembering that the speed of information takes on a different connotation when there are various interested parties. It is worth stressing that the problems connected

with the accessing of data and being able to connect up with others are assuming a primary importance. It can be affirmed though that it is not only an issue of the technology within the organization, nor in just one sector, but rather it is an issue that includes the whole of the supply chain.

Finally, the speed of decision-making seems to be the issue hardest to address, this area is the step in the process which is remaining behind all others and this is not an issue related to technology but rather the unwillingness of command authority to delegate.

The quality

It is clear that clients (units) expect that they are supplied with products/materials or services of high quality.

Quality for the manager of logistics is divided into three areas; 'zero defects', continual improvement and performance maintenance.

'Zero defects' is the 100% performance target. Even if it is not always possible to achieve in prac-



Proposed integrated communication apparatus for the Future Combat System.

tice the idea of completely satisfying the needs of the unit is not an exaggeration. In itself 'zero defects' stress the creation of the right item, in time, every time. The reaching of a performance level below perfection is like promising to some units a level of dissatisfaction. Guaranteeing a success rate of 95% also ensures a failure of 5%. Performance based on the average would have been acceptable in the days of less precision and when information was slow, and it was in part justifiable in the sense that there was no way to predict with certainty.

The idea of planned defects is obsolete in the real time environment and the time has now come that organizations have to be measured in terms of perfection.

The task concerning continual improvement is a mental attitude of continual research of new ways and procedures to improve logistics. It's about continually setting, calibrating and improving something which is already functioning well. It consists in the continual refinement and perfecting and not in 'great leaps forward'. In situations of very advanced logistics such improvements are only possible through strategic alliances, which could include alliances with industry and the private sector.

Therefore, to be sure of continual improvement every organization, and in that is included military organizations, would need to be disposed to make experiments with new concepts, even if they need to revolutionise the mental approach from a previous traditional viewpoint of which way was best to follow for a particular function.

The concept of maintenance of performance is simple. All new levels reached have to be entrenched and this cannot happen if only the surface symptoms are tackled and not the more fundamental problems that support all change. The technique to ensure that a level is maintained is normally at the cost of performance. In order for this to happen there is a loss in the relationship with cost and efficiency, of rationalizing the resources at their disposal, but it must be made clear to all, without illusions, that the entire process of modernization cannot occur without the availability of all the system to accept change.

The structure

Already by the 1980's all organizations, both private and public, and the economic system general started to undergo significant changes. The typical single management structure of organizations had

started to change and to make room for the technology that was emerging in that decade and that was to become even more prolific in the years to come. At the heart of the structural changes were three fundamental changes: Net-working, the recourse to external consultants, ethics.

Net-working. The tendency to increase the extent of the organizational network of representation, nowadays, is not a choice if you want to stay up to speed with the other partner countries. And help came to aid this activity in the form of the Electronic Data Interchange (EDI) an old idea that found itself reborn through renovation thanks to the increased capacity of management via the use of outsourcing through the use of information technology. It's certain, however, that the increased efficiency of a system makes many operational problems surface that require a overhaul of work systems and foundations. Furthermore some experts insist that traditional organizations had to first split apart before being able to start the process of evolution that would bring them to a position of being able to completely take advantage of the power of information.

“The technological development and the new world scenarios are increasingly calling not only for grand works, but also for integrated systems and logistic services for the units...”

The organizational structures of yesterday became subject to incredibly disruptive changes. At the heart of this change was the focus on teamwork in order to carry out certain tasks and processes, or on network groups with determinate 'skills' distributed amongst all the organization that were dealing with such changes. Consequently it was

to create a network for particular tasks to be distributed within and to allow the creation and dismantling of specialist teams as and when needs required. In summary it can be confirmed therefore that the management of networks constituted the principal challenge to the traditional organizational structure of the command and control hierarchy.

The use of external consultants. In recent years it has become commonplace to base activity on the use of external specialist consultants. For the reason that they have been able to expand the opportunities for an efficient management. The concept of external consultants is old and owes its roots to the economic specialization, of which strategic alliances are a modern day example. By outsourcing certain professional and specialist functions it allows the focusing of a company's internal resources on its core business (and the Armed Forces are no exception). It's clear that the proliferation of this form of activity requires the availability to use funds in an ad hoc manner, and



Electronic helmet of the "Felin" System.

not the constant but steady use of financial resources via in-house structures. It's also clear that the approach to this type of collaboration requires new attitudes that consequently allow and favour the emergence of strategic alliances in the long term between client and supplier. The strategy of value added service could even reach the supplier of the supplier and the client of the client. Little by little businesses are reducing in size and are moving towards structures ever more lean and flat, it is probable that they will be entering into other alliances and then having to face the need of expanding their horizontal management structure.

Ethics. In whatever activity man is involved in it becomes a central issue. The reconsideration of what is right or wrong in a functional relationship is a reaction, above all of a financial character, both to ever increasing needs, which are not just the basic everyday needs, and to past reckless choices. But in today's world, considering the wide range of sources a typical logistics organization encompasses, the potential to violate ethics is significant. As a consequence there came the time that the traditional practice of procurement had to be closely and attentively examined, and so to the

general practices that are becoming leaner, less bureaucratic and necessarily more transparent.

CONCLUSIONS

Technical developments and the new world scenario are increasingly calling for, in terms of the area of logistics, not only for the needs of grand operations but also of system integration and logistic services to be united in order to achieve precise strategic objectives as well as the evaluation of technical versus economic choices that provide a sustainable resolution.

In the current situation clearly characterized by multinational joint integrated operational forces, not only in terms of war but also 'peace support' and humanitarian aid, the capacity to integrate and enter into the true spirit of "joint" and "combined" becomes fundamental, in terms of the allied European and Atlantic forces, for achieving a greater capacity of interoperability and complete integration.

It can however not be forgotten that technological progress imposes a steady and constant adaptation to every military piece of equipment so as not to become outdated, inefficient and incompatible with the equipment of other countries.

On their part the economic restrictions impose, in accordance with budgets, choices that must be long-sighted, intelligent, efficient and focused on the acquiring and development of primary purposes.

At this point in the fields in which it needs to express itself best the distinguishing element between countries will be the relevant technology. As a result there will be the need for the all the Armed Forces and for industry to combine their separate specializations, in a 'big pool' of knowledge, in order for the achievement of a maximisation of utility.

To this regard there will be the need to invest human and financial resources, in a clear and dynamic way, taking account that the best of logistic competence requires to take into account the quality of performance of a static organization operating across an 'environment' characterised by the fact that every element is looking to be improved upon.

We are talking about a collaborative relationship between industry and defence that is becoming more intense and open, and above all with financial resources that are consistent, trustworthy and safe, and in the absence of such a situation there is left the risk that the final objective will remain unachievable.

Antonio Monaco
Colonel,

Head, Motorization and Engineers Div.,
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Army General Staff - History Office



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LE REGIE TRUPPE IN ESTREMO ORIENTE 1900-1901



ROMA 2005



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Maria Gabriella PASQUALINI

L'ESERCITO ITALIANO NEL DODECANESO 1912-1943 *Speranze e realtà*

I documenti dell'Ufficio Storico dello
Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito



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Size 17.5 x 25cm, 560 pages, illustrations in colour and b/w.
Price: € 20,00

FORTIFICATIONS IN COUNTERGUERRILLA WARFARE



FORTIFICATIONS IN COUNTERGUERRILLA WARFARE

Fortifications are one of the most effective instruments for ensuring freedom of movement and projection capability. Besides, they contribute to increase the chances of success for the forces engaged in the pacification of a region.

As stated also by the recent US Army publication FM 3-24/2006 "Counterinsurgency", to be successful in counter guerrilla warfare, a regular army must be able to control the territory, have the support of the population and enough time to conduct the operations. Fortified positions are one way to achieve this result. There is no univocal definition of these positions. The US doctrine, the most complete on this subject, calls a "base" any defensive position used in counter guerrilla operations. In particular, publication FM 90-8 (1986) "Counter guerrilla Operations" gives an ample description of the various types of bases in relation to the strength of the forces garrisoning the installation: "patrol base" at company or lower level; "operational support base" at battalion level; "support base" at Brigade or higher level. Furthermore, appendix E fixes criteria for the selection and construction of the position.

"...to be successful in counter guerrilla warfare, a regular army must be able to control the territory..."

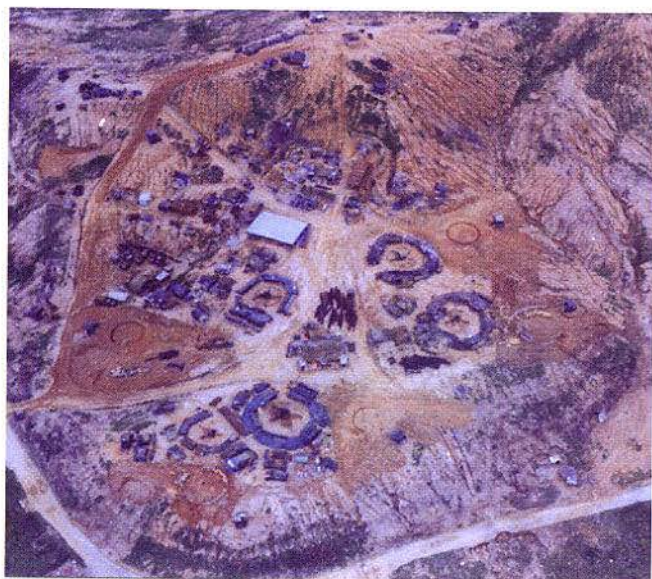
In counter guerrilla operations, where fighting starts in places and circumstances not related to the locations occupied on the ground by the troops, fortifications are the most suitable instrument for guaranteeing to the units freedom of manoeuvre and capability of projection outside the

main positions occupied by the forces. However, this situation is not new. In every non-conventional conflict of the past, fortifications contributed to increase the chances of success of the forces engaged in the pacification of a region. Suffice

it to remember, for example, the garrisons of the French Foreign Legion in North Africa, the forts of the US Cavalry during the Indian wars in the American North-West and the Italian redoubts in Libya.

The bases can be employed both in areas garrisoned by friendly forces – but not safe enough to prevent penetrations by hostile guerrillas – and in order to protect the borders from enemy infiltrations. As a matter of fact, any guerrilla movement, in order to last, must have safe places at its disposal, the so-called "sanctuaries", usually located outside the State where the insurgency takes place, where the guerrillas can fall back, recover their capabilities and, above all, get an easy supply of weapons and ammunition.

Fortifications kept their specific functions also in the post-WWII period, being amply used in the colonial and post-colonial conflicts and, today, in



Left.
The US Fire Base of Pleiku in Vietnam.

Title page.
An Italian emplacement for a 120mm mortar in Afghanistan in 2003.

THE FIRE SUPPORT BASES (FSBs) IN VIETNAM

The FSBs, also commonly known as Fire Bases (FB), consisted of protected artillery emplacements, located in a position commanding the surrounding territory, tasked with providing all-around cover to the infantry units operating within the range of the base's weapons.

Constructed by Engineers with expeditious procedures and defended by infantry units, the bases were occupied by transporting howitzers and mortars (together with their munitions and materials) by helicopter.

When the manoeuvre went beyond the FSB's range of action, new bases were built where the artillery was deployed, in order to continue supporting the infantry.

This necessity was further increased by the extremely rough nature of the ground, with remote areas in the northern mountains, rolling central plateaus, thick jungles in the centre and, in the south, an infinite number of swamps in the Mekong Delta.

This solution gave back full flexibility to the operations, permitting long movements with the capability of reacting, rapidly and with the necessary firepower, to the kind of combat conducted by the enemy.

(...) The 2nd mechanized battalion, 2nd infantry Regiment (less one company) provided the security of the perimeter of the Artillery Fire Support Base on Road 4 (...). Within the "caravan" type circular perimeter there were two American artillery batteries and a detachment of Engineers. These latter were building an airstrip and a camp for Special Forces. The perimeter of the fire base was protected by foxholes manned by infantrymen and soldiers from the artillery and Engineer detachments. At about every 50 metres there was an armoured vehicle for troop transport (...armed with 50mm, 7.62mm and M-60 machineguns). The vehicles were interred. The field of fire in front of every defensive position had been cleared (...).

Acknowledging the intrinsic value of these positions, the American Army gradually extended their functions, including garrisoning the territory and carrying out "search and destroy" operations. Thus the FSBs turned into Forward Operating Bases, where the indirect-fire component was only one of the assets available.

However, this entailed the need to increase its dimensions, both to accommodate the units that were progressively detached to the position and to adopt more effective measures of protection, since the bases rapidly became very important targets for the enemy.

The defences were improved in order to face large-scale or increasingly intense attacks, with internal "respect areas" for stopping possible intruders stolen into the outer perimeter. Extremely thick and elaborate barring systems were laid around the encampments. They consisted of concertina, Claymore mines, tripping wires, pointed bamboo canes and, in some cases, ditches.

Sources:

- Major V. Nicoli: "Fire Support Bases Development".
- Tom Carhart: "Battles and Campaigns in Vietnam 1954-1984"



Above.
South Vietnam: the US "Alpha" Fire Base.

Right.
A US Fire Base in Vietnam.

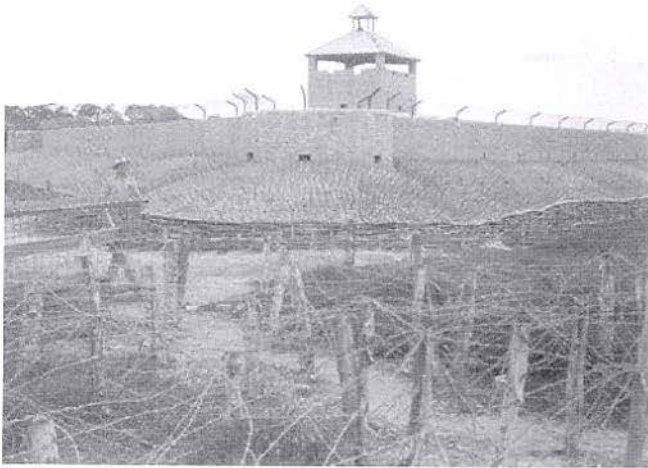
"geometrical" works by Vauban (one of the greatest military architects of all times), since they are built either by using pre-existing infrastructure or earthworks integrated with reinforcement materials.

On the other hand, these "expeditious" installations, with their sand bags, their trenches dug in the ground and their underground shelters, still follow the same principles: to put a barrier between defender and attacker, concentrating the heaviest volume of fire against the latter.



counterinsurgency operations in the struggle against international terrorism.

They are nevertheless notably different from the buildings of the past: their aspect is more and more "field-like" and they resemble very little the



French Indochina: often the outer fence of the French fortified positions was complemented with sharpened bamboo canes and several lines of barbed wire, in order to prevent the Viet Minh "death-volunteer" sappers from opening breaches in the defensive line, neutralizing the "blockhouses" with explosive charges.

These emplacements are often isolated, and their garrisons live in Spartan conditions, without almost any of the comforts that are now in fact indispensable for a western army, used to increasingly elevated standards of "field" life.

The positions are garrisoned by soldiers who – in a time characterized by "technological conceit", where satellite communications permit to follow "live" the operations conducted at distances of thousands of kilometres – carry out combats reminiscent of the battles of "other times" where man was always the decisive element of the clash.

Besides, starting from the Vietnam war (1965–75), they have taken on a new role, and from static elements of the deployment they have become pre-eminent in the conduct of operations, pivots of the land offensive manoeuvre.

The US Army, in order to take control of the contended regions – a goal that could not be reached by using helicopters – developed the "Fire Support Base/FSB" system (1), on the grounds of the experiences of its Special Forces which, already in 1961, had realized a network of camps in order to restrain the Vietcong activity.

As a matter of fact the battlefield, marked by a fluid and non-linear pattern, which besides prevented the artillery from adhering to the infantry actions by deploying behind the friendly lines, entailed new tactical procedures. The solution freed the wheeled vehicles of the manoeuvre

from using the scarce and difficult roads, and freed them also from the conditions of the ground, where many areas could only be reached by air.

Thus, acknowledging the intrinsic value of these positions, the American Army gradually extended its functions for the defence of the ground and the conduct of "search and destroy" operations. The FSBs became therefore "Forward Operating Bases/FOBs", where the indirect-fire component was only one of the assets available to the base.

THE CURRENT SITUATION

Today the fortified positions are still widely employed by the regular armies in counter guerrilla operations.

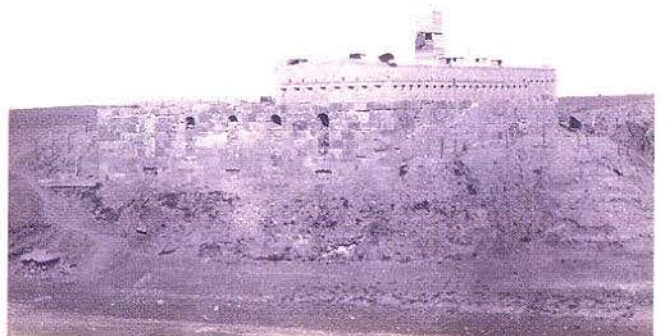
The US Army, based on the lessons learned in Vietnam, has adopted, as mainstay of its presence in the Afghan and Iraqi theatres, a deployment of permanent or temporary installations (Forward Operating Bases and Fire Bases/FBs).

The purpose of the former is to increase the Command, Control and Communications capability as well as to provide support (medical care, ammunition, fuel, etc.) to the operations conducted in the area.

Their structure can guarantee an adequate level of security to the garrisons and the to forces possibly present for carrying out special actions, and a better comfort compared to that offered by the surrounding area.

In general, the bases include a semi-prepared "aviation area" and/or a helicopter landing pad, as well as a mortar and/or cannon unit in a position to intervene all around, within the range of the munitions available.

In their turn, the Fire Bases, armed with howitzers and mortars, form an "advanced" network of garrisons located on the critical points of the ter-



The Lebda redoubt at Homs in Tripolitania, Libya.

THE ITALIAN REDOUBTS IN LIBYA (1911-1930)

The criterion by which the Italian permanent and semi-permanent field fortifications in Libya (called redoubts) were realized from 1911 to 1930 was that of opposing, for an indefinite length of time, the violent attacks carried out by rebels on foot or horseback. In order to face this threat, ample recourse was made to passive obstacles, consisting mostly of barbed wire entanglements and sandbags, with the addition of trenches and loose-laid low walls to protect the shooters.

Large numbers of sandbags were used to reinforce the structures.

Artillery emplacements were set up on rises of the ground in order to overlook the defence sector and permit the employment of direct fire, there was also a great number of observers on towers especially built to provide the widest field of vision, especially for the indirect-fire artillery.

Searchlights became very important for opposing the incursions of the Arab rebels, who attacked almost always at night.

When possible, pre-existent defensive walls, lookout towers and ditches were used. A rather large recourse was made to artillery shields and individual devices for protection from light weapons' fire. These defensive organizations often prevented the enemy from conducting strong attacks. Thus, they preferred to assault the Italian and Eritrean Askari units in the open.

The artillery and automatic weapons of the redoubts kept the rebels at a distance, compelling them to carry out mainly disturbance actions. (The Italian redoubts in Libya are well described in the film "The White Squadron", made in 1936).

(From the Archives of the History office, Army General Staff).

ritory, in order to support the units operating within the range of their weapons and limit the movements of the enemy.

Within an FOB there is also a "Quick Reaction Force (QRF)", a heliborne reserve, ready to intervene in favour of both the operationally subordinate FOBs and of patrols that may be under enemy threat.

A FOB controls several FBs as regards coordination of actions, QRF intervention and logistic/medical support (2).

In Afghanistan, in the summer of 2006 the British contingent resorted to several fortified garrisons, called platoon houses, in the northern part of the southern province of Helmand, to face the recrudescence of the Taliban guerrilla activity in the region.

In Colombia, the government authorities have reached positive results in counterinsurgency by establishing fortified police stations along the LOCs (Lines of Communication) of the guerrillas.

This network of outposts reduced the isolation and neglect of the rural communities, who have always been victims of internal conflicts, and increased the operating range of the regular forces.

In Pakistan, as in Colombia, the location of garrisons along the Afghan frontier permits a better control of the borders and, at the same time, it guarantees the security of the Coalition's LOCs.

"The emplacements of automatic weapons and the observation posts of the Pakistani stronghold of Mangrotai overlook one of the most sensitive frontiers of the world. This commanding position on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border is paradigmatic of all the dilemmas emerged from the front of the war against terror. Deployed on the snowy mountains of the lawless tribal area of North Waziristan, the contingent of 30 Pakistani soldiers



The Italian redoubt of Sidi dakis in Libya.

is hemmed in between the Taliban militias and the US/Afghan forces on the other side of the border...In North Waziristan there are 97 strongholds, deployed on the barren brown ridges or on the snow-clad peaks dotted with pinetrees. Here, the militiamen, using numerous gorges, cross the border and attack the US and Afghan garrisons..."(3).

In Amazonia, the Brazilian Armed Forces used combat bases, at company and battalion level, in the counter guerrilla operations of the '70s against the insurgents of FOGUERA (Araguaia Guerrilla Force, armed formation of Brazil's Communist Party) and FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia).

THE ROLE OF FORTIFIED POSITIONS

In order to be effective in the general context of a counterinsurgency campaign, a fortified installa-



A Soviet emplacement near Bagram, Afghanistan.

tion must be set up with a unitary vision and conceived so as to play an offensive role against the guerrilla movements, interacting with the other components of the manoeuvre.

In view of this, fortifications can be a central element in the system of control of the area, performing the following tasks:

Guarantee the availability of safe places in hostile or not completely pacified territory, from where the forces can be projected to the sector of responsibility while protecting friendly LOCs.

Interdict enemy LOCs, reducing the enemy freedom of action, movement capabilities, as well as concentration and transport possibilities, compelling the insurgents to abandon the Country's most important areas and/or drive the insurgents away from their sources of supply and recruitment.

Support a network of outposts projected to the most sensitive zones of the AoR (Area of Responsibility).

The deployment of the American bases permits to divide the AoR into Operations Areas, each assigned to different units, which, in periods of inactivity, carry out operations aimed at ensuring presence and surveillance in their respective areas, subsequently concentrating for a pre-established time whenever believed necessary for major operations.

"...The "Lumberyard" FOB was built at the beginning of May 2006 to provide a point of support for Afghan and US troops moving north in the provinces of Kunar and Nuristan...The Coalition forces move among the insurgents' most remote hideouts but cannot guarantee the security of the local population, who say they need help in order to drive them out for good. The inability to provide security to the population

in these areas thwarts the long-term effectiveness of operations such as "Mountain Thrust", a large scale offensive of the Coalition, launched recently in southern Afghanistan following an increase of the insurgents' activity. They control part of the country around the operational bases in the southern provinces. Instead of securing entire areas like those of the southern deserts and the northern mountains, the US forces have built bases such as "Lumberyard" from where they go on patrols, meet the village notables and check the roads in search of bombs and other devices..." (4).

Thanks to bases set up on the ground, the US Armed Forces can put a constant pressure on the enemy, applying the concept of operational balancing and selective employment of the units, to reduce the risks and achieve a force ratio favourable to the Coalition, also from the qualitative point of view. In substance, it is a matter of using the "quadrillage" technique ("quadrillage", from the French verb quadriller, i.e. to divide a town or a territory into square sectors in order to facilitate their control), adopted by the French in Algeria (1954-1962).

"...During the Algerian conflict the French, having isolated the opposition movement inside the borders, focused on the elimination of the insurgents' internal cells. They started special operations aimed at providing security to the population and to the various installations. All these activities were carried out by organizing the Country on the so-called "quadrillage system", which envisaged dividing the territory into geographic sectors to be kept under strict control. Each square was assigned to a garrison that provided security inside the area through an

Kabul, Afghanistan, 2002: a fortified position of the ISAF forces.



AN EXAMPLE OF FORTIFIED POSITION- THE SOVIET EXPERIENCE IN AFGHANISTAN (1979-1989)

The Soviet strongholds were organized on a system of trenches, dug-out emplacements and shelters for munitions, food and water. Personnel lodgings, ammunition dumps, Headquarters, common rooms, kitchens, water reserves and toilets were also fortified.

Generally, an outpost consisted of a motorized rifle platoon, one or two automatic AGS-17 grenade launchers, one or two DShk heavy machine guns, one or two 82mm mortars and a tank. The outposts could be joined together to form a security detachment (a company- or battalion-level motorized rifle unit, reinforced with artillery, tanks and Engineers).

These forward positions were active around the clock. In daytime, one man for each squad or tank was on guard duty, while a two-man patrol inspected the area. At night, each outpost set up one or two security points formed by four men placed 500/800 metres from the defensive perimeter and able to communicate with the outpost both by cable and visually.

Each garrison had a defence that could cover the entire perimeter; thus it could face mujahidin attacks coming from every direction. All platoons had a primary and secondary firing sector, with fields of fire overlapping those of the adjacent units.

The outposts were generally reinforced by artillery detachments. The artillery fire was planned so as to cover all directions from which the mujahidin could launch an attack. Targets were recorded and numbered. Fire could be corrected - in relation to the targets fixed during pre-planning - by the Commander of the security outpost, or, if he was unable to communicate directly with the artillery "subunits", by the battalion Commander. Normally it did not take longer than two-four minutes to take the artillery fire against a group of mujahidin.

Each outpost was enclosed within a double line of barbed wire, among which there were antipersonnel mines connected with tripping wires. Sensors and flares, also connected with tripping wires, were hidden at various distances along the access routes. At night entrances and exits of the outpost were closed and mined.

Warning boards about what to do and not to do - in Afghan, Russian and English - were affixed along the perimeter of the security area and outside the defensive boundary.

Sources:

- Lester W. Grau: "The Bear Went Over the Mountain: Soviet Combat Tactics in Afghanistan".
- "The Soviet-Afghan War. The Russian General Staff". University Press of Kansas, 2002.

organization of fortified posts and patrols to locate and intercept the insurgents. The garrison's main task was to ensure a level of security adequate to the threat and to the needs of its operations zone..." (5).

Conventional units garrison the bases and, at the beginning of an operation, fix the time necessary to control the critical areas, while the Special Forces move from the periphery to the centre of the "squares" concerned, neutralizing systematically the hostile elements present in the area.

"...Only a week ago this area, not far from Musa Qala, was nothing but a barren piece of desert, full of dust and completely useless. No later than last Thursday it has become an outpost full of activity, defended by 105mm howitzers and snipers, protected by a high sand wall. A US base built in the middle of nowhere, in support of the offensive against the Taliban in the unstable southern part of Afghanistan...In the camp there will be stocks of food, fuel and munitions, in support of Operation "Mountain Thrust"...The outpost is at the considerable distance of 180 miles from the Kandahar permanent base, and about five miles from Musa Qala, a small village in the Helmand province, where the Taliban are very active...In the small tent of the infirmary there is a surgeon,

"The garrisons are often catalysts for the local people..."

and simple meals are prepared at the makeshift mess. There is no running water, and the soldiers sleep under the stars, protecting themselves from the lashing sand with sleeping bags. More than a dozen Humvees surround the perimeter of the camp, providing a security corridor, while soldiers build an 8ft sand-wall around the base...(6).

As happened in the past, during guerrilla campaigns that had a favourable conclusion, these garrisons can achieve results going well beyond the mere organizational aspects.

According to the idea that the objective of a counterinsurgency campaign is the support of the population and not the conquest of the territory, the bases can also create the conditions for pacifying the area by gaining the confidence of the civilian settlements in areas not yet under complete control.

"...This operation ("Baaz Tzuka", a Pashtun term for "Falcon Summit") had the purpose of protecting from the rebels the districts of Panjawayi and Zhari in the Kandahar province, as well as providing general support to the Government in the very place where the ISAF forces had fought against the Taliban in Operation "Medusa" in September 2006... While "Medusa" was ISAF's firm response to the Taliban



Khost, Afghanistan, 2003: an "Alpino" watching over his sector from an emplacement of the "Salerno" FOB.

intention of entrenching near Kandahar, capital of the province, and besiege it, "Baaz Tsuka" is a larger operation with similar military objectives, with the addition of political and economic purposes, trying to win the "hearts and minds" of the population and to develop the infrastructure of the region...One of the main goals is to offer the inhabitants an alternative to the Taliban. The ISAF and Afghan forces are distributing humanitarian aid and materials for the reconstruction to the elders of the tribes, besides giving help to the Afghans dispersed by the rebels..." (7).

As a matter of fact, the garrisons can offer a wide range of services of public assistance (medical care, schools, grants), make interventions of various nature (political, legal or military) on the local authorities and/or leaders. They also know better the situation of the area.

The garrisons, furthermore, are often catalysts for the local people, who tend to gather near the positions, both to be protected and to take advantage of the military as a source of sustenance.

"...At Paktica, the presence of the US forces permitted the materialization of some kind of progress. Hundreds of camps, consisting of mud and brick houses, occupied by very numerous families, have risen around the Shkin and Orgun Fire Bases. Some shops and some industries have moved to the area, and schools have started their activity..." (8).

Finally, in some cases, such as the Brazilian reach of the Amazon River, military garrisons can play a determinant role for the growth of the scarcely inhabited areas, helping the socio-economic development of the region (9).

OPERATIONAL LIMITATIONS

If the fortifications are planned only for defensive purposes and centred on force projection, security of LOCs and of the main and most vulnerable targets (i.e. oil pipelines, dams, etc.), the emplacements could turn out to be useful immediately, but will not contribute to the success of a wider offensive strategy.

So as to avoid it being a useless waste of resources that could be better employed, a fortified deployment must be sustainable in terms of mission, availability of forces and logistic support: if this is not the case, the fortification risks to turn into a limitation in the conduct of the operations.

Besides, one should not forget the effect on the media if a position falls into the hands of the adversary, owing to the strong emotional and symbolic repercussions of the event.

The Soviet concept for the security of LOCs in Afghanistan (1979–89), for instance, envisaged a series of strongholds, where the personnel had the task of garrisoning the position and wait: a passive and reactive approach, which did not include aggressive patrols or reconnaissance activities.

On the contrary, guerrilla warfare has no need to attack those who are already on the defensive: it has only to move its activities elsewhere, leaving the enemy where it is, entrenched in a place that becomes peripheral and unimportant. In this regard, T.E. Lawrence (better known as Lawrence of Arabia) wrote, *"...By then we were blocking the railway, and they only defended it. The garrison of Medina, reduced to inoffensive proportions, remained crouched in the trenches and destroyed their possibilities of movement, eating the animals they did not know how to feed. We had deprived them of the possibility of harming us and now we also wanted to seize their city. But what for?..." (10).*

An isolate garrison is useful for those who build it only if, to besiege the post, it is necessary to employ a force larger than the fortification's, or if the position can block an important enemy line of communication.

"...the posts located along the roads and the itineraries of the enemy contributed to a remarkable reduction in the Mujahidin's provisioning of materials and arms, forcing them to adopt special measures to neutralize their effectiveness. When their convoys and caravans were passing (usually at night), the mujahidin blocked the activities of the fortified posts close to routes used by them. In fact, they were able to determine the strength of the garrison, study the terrain and organize the attack while the supplies were going by...(11).

Col. Roger Trinquer, a French Officer with a great deal of experience in colonial wars, in 1961 observed *"...The military emplacements, set up with a great waste of energy in the areas to be pacified, usually have no influence at all. They are mostly placed on the points of passage that we have to keep in order to move our heavy equipment safely, and they do not disturb in any way the guerrillas who have no need to go through these areas. Their bands can circulate freely inside the large areas that separate the fortifications, without having to worry about them, organizing and controlling the population to their advantage. Later on, some wisely planned terrorist attacks will be sufficient to subject the inhabitants to their will. Furthermore, the layout of these emplacements is displayed like an open book under the eyes of our enemies that can observe them as they please. Thus, no activity carried out inside the fortification can escape their attention. The only real usefulness of these emplacements are the needs they create: to maintain and supply them compels us to open roads and to guarantee, sometimes over long itineraries, the security of the convoys, therefore conducting a certain military activity, which otherwise would not exist..."* (12).

The Russian Army in Chechnya, taking for granted their centrality in the overall scenario, employed the strongholds as key instruments in counterguerrilla warfare, dispersing its forces in numerous small fortified garrisons, convinced to achieve territorial control with only the presence of the troops. On the contrary, the raids of the insurgents compelled the Russians to concentrate in less and less fortified garrisons, which, after all, turned out to be insufficient and with a limited capacity to counter the guerrillas' activity effectively. The same situation occurred during the fights for the Chechen capital, Grozny, when the Russians, as they progressed, set up defensive positions in the urban version of the outposts, thus scattering their forces and making them much more vulnerable.

In Iraq, the logistic support of the large bases had required a very burdensome supply system, involving a continuous flow of logistic convoys, exposed to guerrilla attacks. As a matter of fact, the protection of the convoys is one of the main tasks of the Coalition.

In southern Afghanistan, in the Helmand province, in 2006 the British forces had to reduce the "platoon houses", owing to the difficulties inherent in a regular supplying of the isolated and besieged garrisons, where helicopters could not fly without great risks, while the convoys on the roads were often ambushed by the insurgents.

"...The so-called platoon houses, which are nothing but reinforced government centres, have



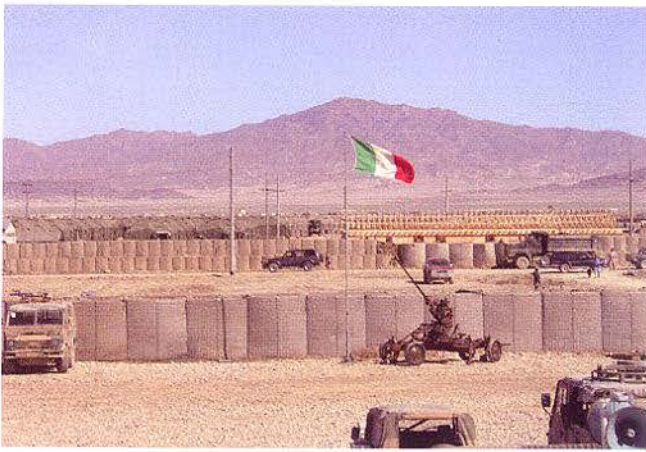
Khost, Afghanistan, 2003: an observation turret of the "Salerno" FOB.

scarce amenities. The combats have been so intense that the helicopter could not re-supply the troops...Food, water and ammunition must now be carried to the positions occupied by the platoon with convoys travelling on the roads, risking being ambushed and running into explosive traps set by the rebels. An American convoy was ambushed in nearby Uruzgan by insurgents that launched rocket-propelled grenades, killing two civilian contractors...The platoon houses have witnessed the British troops of the 16th Air Assault Brigade engaged in the most violent and fierce clashes since the Korean war (1950-53), which often ended in individual hand-to-hand fight" (13).

In Iraq, the Forward Operating Bases were so expanded that they became an obstacle to the manoeuvre and, among other things, caused the separation of the troops from the population, thus violating the basic principle of counter-guerrilla operations: never lose contact with the territory.

In order to avoid this isolation, the US Command has recently introduced a new type of deployment in the areas freed from the hostile forces, setting up a system of outposts called "joint security stations", jointly garrisoned by American and Iraqi units.

" The 100 American soldiers that live there call it "Alamo", even if their superiors hate any reference to defeat. It is a camp consisting of six heavily fortified buildings, in the front line in the infinite war between Sunnis and Shi'ites at Ghazaliyah, in the western part of Baghdad. There is no water, no heating, the lavatories are primitive latrines. The only hot meal of the day



The peripheral protections of the bases are erected with the increased employment of container belts called "hesco bastions". These are baskets of different sizes that are named after the producing firm. They have a wire-netting framework and are filled with sand or earth.

is transported by a vehicle. All windows are protected by sand bags. The soldiers sleep side by side and are wakened by shootings and explosions. This is the first of the 20 JSS that the American Command wants to place in the hot areas of Baghdad, with the arrival of part of the 21,000 reinforcements. These garrisons will have to repress fights, train the Iraqi Army and encourage the local population to revolt against the Shi'ite militias and the Sunni guerrillas. It is a big change, compared with the idea of caging the US troops inside large isolated bases...the JSS is surrounded by barriers, sentry posts and concertinas. The Americans occupy two buildings. Two other buildings are inhabited by an equal number of Iraqis. The last two edifices are used as barriers against fire. The troops go on patrol every day, on vehicles and on foot. They talk to the Iraqis instead of knocking down the doors of their houses. The soldiers take workers with them for repairing the electric lines and, for the first time after many months, have organized gas supplies for eating and cooking...(14).

LOCATION OF THE BASES

The effectiveness of a base is not represented by the installation in itself, but rather by its location, which must be easily defensible and command a view over the surrounding area, with an ample field of vision and fire, permitting fast deployments in various directions, in order to facilitate patrolling and offensive activities, as well as a regular logistic supplying.

"...The American soldiers have opened fifteen out of about 30 Joint Security Stations that were planned in Baghdad. They have also set up a certain number of small "combat outposts" ...The American Commanders have stated that the joint security stations and the combat outposts have been located where they can restrict the freedom of action of the insurgents...(15).

An appropriate positioning of the bases can also be useful for engaging enemy forces, preventing them from being employed in other areas of greater operational interest.

" The Soviet strategy along the border with Pakistan was based on keeping a great number of outposts, both large and small. Their purpose was to close the border and preclude our supply routes. During the whole war the majority of these garrisons were under siege, at least partially...With hindsight, those towns and camps diverted our efforts from Kabul and other objectives very important for the guerrillas. Trying to take isolated garrisons located near the border was too tempting. They were close to our main bases, with all the advantages that this entails. It was not difficult to achieve small successes, and the Commanders could be sure that their victories were going to be acknowledged. The rewards for this type of low-risk triumphs, relatively easy to achieve, were booty and propaganda. Probably the continuous and costly efforts made by Soviets and Afghans to keep these garrisons were fruitful. It is in fact unquestionable that they managed to keep engaged a great number of Mujahidin..." (16).

THE REALIZATION

There are no handbook solutions or standard designs for building a fortified position. Its configuration can vary according to operational situation, type of mission, availability of pre-existing infrastructure, nature of the ground and the garrisons' degree of creativity.

"...Lagman is the fire base from which the helicopters take off for their raids...The outposts scattered in the region of Zabul, in Afghanistan, are trying to keep it under control. They are typical Afghan farmhouses, occupied by the Americans. Squares of mud and clay, which serve as rooms, a well, a stable, and a boundary wall all around. They are trenches rather than outposts, where 30 members of a platoon of the 173rd Brigade of the US Army have a breather between raids..." (17).

The criteria for building a base have not basically changed in time, and are very similar in all operational theatres.

THE "SALERNO" FOB OF THE "NIBBIO" CONTINGENT IN KHOST (2003)

The "Salerno" FOB was occupied by the US Forces in September 2002. Initially it consisted of a single pre-existing brickwork building, protected by a fence of sandbags, and was progressively expanded to include:

- Protected boundary system integrated with fire centres, lookout and combat posts, observation posts.
- Central area for normal daily activities, with Headquarters, field hospital, service area, encampments for personnel.
- Storage area for fuel and ammunition.
- Parking lot and general depot.
- Landing strip with control tower for air traffic.
- Landing pad for helicopters and protected area for aircraft parking.
- Fire base for howitzers and/or mortars.

Close to the FOB, an FB for fire support.

The protection system, based on several lines, envisaged:

- A very high and strong external barrier, made of a triple concertina and barbed wire, set at a distance equal to that of the throw of a hand-grenade.
- An internal anti-intrusion barrier, at a certain distance from the former, very close to the base itself.
- Further protections for the most sensitive sites (Command Posts, dormitories, munitions and fuel depots, etc.) with embankments and/or Hesco Bastions and sandbags.

The access to both the perimeter and the interior of the active base consisted of a series of Hesco Bastions, concrete obstacles or 200 litres barrels filled with sand or earth, in order to compel vehicles to take sharp turns in different directions, thus reducing their speed (chicanes) and preventing a car bomb from smashing through the barrier or the entrance gate.

(«Camp Salerno/Forward Operating Base Salerno», www.globalsecurity.org/military/facility/fob_salerno.htm).

"...The emplacement (Algeria, 1954-1962) is located in an old farm near the village. It is surrounded by barbed wire and sandbags. The entire position is progressively reinforced...Soldiers live in Spartan rooms, with no comforts. Their only means of communication with the outside world is through the mail. The outpost's task is to guarantee the security and control of the village and its surroundings..." (18).

The external protection is put up by employing, besides the traditional systems of field works (ramparts, sandbags), belts of containers called "hesco bastions", filled with aggregate, which at present distinguish all the installations of the multinational forces engaged in operations.

The works must be carried out progressively, and require constant improvement, in order to adequate the defence and find a level of protection corresponding to the highest assumable threat, even if unconceivable at the moment.

Pre-existing buildings are used when possible; they are suitably fortified by employing strengthening or recyclable materials found on the spot.

Moreover, not infrequently also pre-existing fortifications may be utilized because of their particular features.

"...The British troops occupied also the ANP Hill (Afghan National Police), a strategic position overlooking that tormented town (Nowzad). The out-

post, heavily defended and nicknamed "Dragon's Lair" had been built by the Afghans during the Russian invasion..." (19).

THE ORGANIZATION

The fortified camps, precisely because of their functions, are still located far from the main concentrations of friendly forces, in areas where the quality of life depends on security, survivability and reaction to the attacks of the guerrillas.

For these reasons, together with the need to avoid "habituation" phenomena among the personnel, the units occupy the installations by turns for a given period of time.

As in the past, airplanes and helicopters are the most suitable means for ensuring the provisions, considering the long distances and the conditions of the roads, when they

exist, in terms of security and practicability. On the other hand, this could represent a limitation in the flights' regularity both in periods of bad weather and for the level of risk in the area concerned; therefore, in some cases, owing to the enemy threat, airdrops become necessary.

The quartering and daily activity areas must be spaced out inside the camps, envisaging, in the vicinity, protected shelters for personnel.

"The fortified camps, precisely because of their functions, are still located far from the main concentrations of friendly forces..."

MAIN PURPOSES OF FORTIFICATIONS IN COUNTERGUERRILLA OPERATIONS

- Divide the battle space into more easily controlled sectors.
- Improve the units' ability to move rapidly and without obstacles in the area of responsibility.
- Contribute to the preservation of the forces, by not exposing them unnecessarily to enemy attacks.
- Reduce or neutralize the threat and/or the insurgents' activity, block the enemy LOCs to increase the tactical limitations of the guerrillas.
- Protect the main friendly LOCs and support allied patrols and convoys.
- Aggregate groups of local people for socio-humanitarian interventions.
- Support the fixed or mobile check-point networks.
- Be a constant demonstration of the strength and presence of the legitimate Government and its allies.

The bases must also include spaces destined to take in units temporarily detached there for a special operation.

As the organizational works become more established, recreational structures are also realized and enlarged, so that the soldiers may be able to recover their physical and mental capabilities worn out by combat stress. Through the widespread use of technology (the Internet, satellite phones, etc.) the personnel can remain in contact with their home Country also when they are in operations areas.

The use of FOBs has changed the American soldiers' way of fighting. Instead of being a simple stationing area for projection forces, they have become a sort of "home away from home", places where many causes of discomfort, which are considered endemic in operations areas, are assuaged; where the fighting spirit can be rekindled and the difficulties of war can be psychologically evaded.

The need to perform their task without interruption (the time is not beaten by the rhythms of garrison life as on the national territory) compels the forces inside the bases to organize their daily activity in the entire space of 24 hours and to envisage, in times of operational stasis, a daily employment-oriented training programme.

The rehearsals of the action and the repetition of the technical and tactical procedures, based on lessons learned, are useful for keeping the personnel alert, secure, and operationally, physically and psychologically prepared to fight.

THE DEFENCE

The defensive organization must ensure a full operativeness of the assets present in the installation, without conditions/limitations in their employment.

The defence can envisage both ordinary and emergency measures, and include directives aimed at protecting the neighbouring civilian communities. The factors to be considered are:

Characteristics of the pre-existent usable infrastructure.

Natural features of the terrain.

Use of artificial obstacles, in order to improve the natural features of the ground.

Existing roads and/or watercourses usable as military and commercial lines of communication.

Control of the surrounding ground over a range wider than that of the enemy mortars and rockets.

The main elements of the defence are vigilance and effective security measures, as well as aggressive actions conducted with continuity. These measures reduce the possibility of enemy interferences in the operations carried out in the area, and prevent the enemy actions from converging there.

"...The fortified posts of the 27th BCA (Battalion Chasseurs Alpins) are supplied once a week...Mahagga is a village of small houses covered with reddish tiles made from the clay of a nearby forest...a small post protects it. It was fortified at the end of 1955 by old Indochina veterans and, "just as down there", it has a tower made of wooden poles and a triple line of barbed wire. The post's mortars and heavy machine guns are ready to intervene at the first sign of alert, or at the slightest doubt of a passage of a column of rebels through the forest". (George Fleury: La Guerre en Algerie).

The modern means of surveillance and observation permit an optimal economy of forces to the western armies, which are characterized by a reduced strength and need to limit the losses.

An air system of infrared sensors stands out among these means: it can be used from an aerostat or a stationary platform of appropriate height, and is able to detect the presence and/or movement of hostile forces at great distances. The system, called "big brother" in soldiers' slang, is used by the US Armed Forces both in Afghanistan and Iraq.

In order to limit the effects of the attacks made with VBIEDs (Vehicle Borne Improvised Explosive Devices), the bases are integrated with a system of passive defence, segmented in depth on bar-

riers and embankments spaced out on several levels, controlled by personnel tasked with ensuring its protection through observation and fire.

The systems must be sufficiently far from the most sensitive targets, to avoid that the explosion of a suicide vehicle, blocked by the first level of defence, could still have effects on the personnel and equipment of the compound.

Furthermore, the forces present there must be included in the base's external defence. Each unit must provide personnel and weapons, in order to garrison the perimeter or be a part of the QRFs.

The defence plans must be tested with routine exercises, for every man to know his tasks and responsibilities.

Besides, combat emplacements will have to be built along the external boundary (not only places where to take shelter during the attacks) from which it should be possible to react also under mortar/rocket fire.

THE FIRE-BASE SYNDROME

Life inside the fortifications, where the units in the periods of calm perform only routine daily tasks connected with the garrison of the positions, can condition the combat capability of the personnel, creating a "bunker" mentality, also as a consequence of the presence of many comforts available in the home Country.

In Iraq, the need to meet the expectations of the American soldiers and to limit their exposure to the attacks of the guerrillas, has led to increase and enlarge the bases, so as to include the shelters used as dormitories and work areas, with air-conditioning, large messing facilities, roomy post exchanges, well equipped gyms and internet-café.

This fact had already occurred during the Vietnam war, where the increasingly large dimensions, the elaborate constructions and the complex fortifications of the "Fire Bases" ended up creating a "Fire-Base Syndrome", which caused a reluctance to leave those safe and relatively comfortable places and the request for life standards very similar to those prevailing in permanent garisons.

This situation is also reflected by the relations among servicemen, which create a mutual antagonism between those who go "beyond the lines" (perimeter of the structure) and those who never leave the base, going as far as calling the latter "fobbits" (from "hobbits", the apparently peaceful characters who tend to hide in the woods, but are actually the real heroes of the movie series "The Lord of the Rings"). In any case the US Army, in



Afghanistan: an Italian external patrol seen through a snooperscope.

order to acknowledge the risks run by the soldiers inside the FOBs (rockets and mortar fire, etc.) has instituted the "Combat Action Badge", awarded to the troops present in the base who have come into contact with the enemy, albeit indirectly.

CONCLUSIONS

In the non-conventional conflicts of the post-WWII period, fortified garrisons continued to have a significant tactical and sometimes strategic weight, even when they were simply made of sandbags or filling materials (and now, more and more, of "hesco bastions").

The high sophistication of the battlefield, which provides the soldiers with a perfect view of the ground, also at night and in bad weather, does not exclude the need to guarantee a constant protection to the soldier, always enabling him to fight under the cover of something that may be more or less assimilated to a fortification.

Fortified posts facilitate the timely deployment of the forces and the decentralization of the Command-and-Control functions of the operations in the area of responsibility, ensuring a rapid and effective response to enemy actions.

In order to support the purposes of a counter-guerrilla campaign, the bases must meet two essential prerequisites: presence and continuity. The presence of the troops must be kept at sufficiently high levels, in order to extend stability outside the areas where control has already been achieved, while the use of the bases must not be limited to that of a place for quartering troops or rotating forces to more advanced posts, excluding the daily interaction with the population, since this would weaken the purposes of the operation.

The fortified bases have also a fundamental political importance within the general conduct of a conflict. They are low-cost solutions permitting to save resources and operate in remote areas where it is possible to achieve the necessary show of force, asserting the presence of the Central Authorities, where otherwise it would be impossible to maintain a permanent unit. For example, this has been done by Pakistan by stationing several garrisons in Waziristan, a tribal region in the north-western part of the Country, historically known as a territory not easily subjected, and Baluchistan, a region bordering on Afghanistan and home to violent independence movements.

The bases are also a solution that allows the foreign contingents to perform their role within a coalition, without the political exposure of a direct offensive action.

A network of bases, appropriately located, divides the area concerned into more easily controlled compartments, within which one can systematically conduct operations of elimination of the enemy (*quadrillage*).

“A network of bases, appropriately located, divides the area concerned into more easily controlled compartments...”

“...After 2003, the Americans had to take again the difficult lessons of guerilla warfare, facing an invisible enemy that wears out their forces with single shots or IEDs placed on the roadsides. Applying the old methods of the colonial wars, they try to control the ground by multiplying the number of stations tasked with hunting the insurgents...”(20).

According to a French Officer engaged in the Algerian war as Commander of a unit in Kabilia (21), it is better to have units stationed in the same area, with responsibility for a specific region, rather than move units here and there. As a matter of fact, the garrison forces are the ones that know the situation, the population and the local problems, and can intervene with greater timeliness in case of need.

“...This region has been traditionally ruled by tribal groups, which entered into an alliance with traffickers and insurgents to let weapons and fighters pass through the narrow paths crossing the valleys. Even after the Americans in 2002 had established a base at Asadabad, capital of Kunar,, the Coalition’s control did not go much beyond the barbed-wire fence. This summer the American Commanders changed

their strategy and started an intensive programme of road building, in order to replace the old gravel paths with two-lane roads. The new roads enable the troops to move faster, promote economic growth and loyalty to the Government, and are less easily mined. To protect the men employed in the construction of the roads and increase the influence of the Government, the US Army has established a number of small outposts in the valleys, manned by one or two platoons living in Spartan conditions. They have primitive latrines, no showers, fortifications are reduced to a minimum and there are no tents. The troops can take a shower and call their families once very two weeks, during the 24-hour rest at the large operational bases. No internet, telephone, television or radio...” (22).

The soldiers in the garrisons are the first who have to face an implacable enemy that uses different rules and is not conditioned by shining leds, but is capable of waiting for hours and hours the arrival of the convoy that he wants to hit, and is determined to reach his purposes even at the cost of his life.

“...Last summer (2006) these American soldiers (3rd squadron of the 71st Cavalry Regiment) arrived in the Afghan province of Nuristan, a jumble of steep and wooded valleys in the mountains of the Hindu Kush bordering on Pakistan. The camp, probably the most vulnerable American outpost in Afghanistan, was attacked every day during the first ten days since its establish-



British servicemen building a shelter at an advanced base in the desert, making use of a pre-existing structure and “hesco bastions”.

ment. The outpost is placed at the foot of peaks 5000m high, at the confluence of two watercourses...The unit has the task of preventing the insurgents from crossing the border towards the Kunar province. Until last month, every time the Chinook helicopters reached the camp, after a difficult flight to the narrow landing strip by the river, the rebels fired at them with rockets. Because of the enemy fire or for bad weather no helicopter could land for a certain period of time, with serious repercussions on supplying. Until a month ago, before heavy snowfalls closed the mountain passes, the soldiers in the camp were constantly attacked by RPGs coming from the hills nearby... The insurgents use weapons hidden inside caves close to the position, and almost all patrols on wheels are ambushed during their movement..." (23).

Giorgio Battisti

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In these scenarios that take us back to R. Kipling's stories, the soldier remains the most important and irreplaceable element, ready to carry out close fights based on surprise and quick reaction: these men do not identify themselves in "technicality" but still believe in the traditional values of the "warriors".

NOTES

- (1) A typical FSB deployed six 105mm M102 howitzers and a company- or battalion-level infantry unit, armed with 81mm mortars, communication systems, medical and administrative personnel.
- (2) The FOB organizational concept has also been applied in the US, owing to its flexibility, in Operation "Jump Start" and carried out by the National Guard since August 2006, in support of the "Border Patrol" units controlling the southern borders against illegal immigration. This solution permits to provide an adequate level of logistic support without burdening the local communities and building permanent installations. *American Forces Press Service*.
- (3) Borderlands where the terrorists thrive. *"The Telegraph"*.
- (4) Afghans tell troops: No security, no help. *"The Christian Science Monitor"*
- (5) L. Dimarco: Losing the Moral Compass: Torture and "Guerre Revolutionnaire" in the Algerian War". *Parameters*.
- (6) "U.S. military erects Afghan desert base". *The Associated Press*.



U.S. soldiers placing a concertina in defence of an advanced base.

- (7) "NATO: Many Afghan insurgents die". *CNN.com*.
- (8) Going in Small in Afghanistan. *The Christian Science Monitor*.
- (9) William W. Mendel: The Brazilian Amazon: Controlling the Hydra. *"Military Review"*.
- (10) T.E. Lawrence: "The seven pillars of wisdom".
- (11) "The Soviet-Afghan War. The Russian General Staff", *University Press of Kansas*. The events of a typical Soviet stronghold are told in the Russian picture "9th Company" (9ya rota) by Fyodor Bondarchuk, which is based on real events occurred in 1989.
- (12) Roger Trinquier, *La Guerre Moderne. La Table Ronde*.
- (13) Afghanistan helicopter use rationed, *"The Herald Tribune"*. British hire anti-Taliban mercenaries, *"Timesonline"*.
- (14) At Fort Alamo the US Baghdad, *"The Times"* and *"La Stampa"*.
- (15) Soldiers Shift to Baghdad Outpost, *"Washington Post"*.
- (16) Mohammad Yousaf & Mark Adkin.: "The Bear Trap" (Afghanistan's untold Story) - The Bear Attacks".
- (17) All'inferno e ritorno from *"Specchio"* of *"La Stampa"*.
- (18) "La guerre des appelés en Algerie", *Association des Professeurs d'Histoire et de Geographie de l'Enseignement Public*.
- (19) In the Line of Fire, *"Soldier" - Magazine of the British Army*.
- (20) Dans le triangle de la mort irakien, *"Le Figaro"*.
- (21) D. Galula: "Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice".
- (22) 5 years later, a more sophisticated mission in Afghanistan, *"The Philadelphia Enquirer"*.
- (23) US outpost takes fight to the Taliban, *"The Telegraph"*.





THE FUTURE OF STRATEGIC TRANSPORT

TECHNE

THE FUTURE OF STRATEGIC TRANSPORT

At present the Italian Armed Forces are playing a leading role in various Operations Theatres, sometimes very far from home. Such role of peace force, projectable in extremely short times to any part of the globe, has required a remarkable operational and logistic reorganization in order to guarantee a flexible and effective instrument, which meets the requirements of our Nation and those of the International Community.

The concepts of intermodal transport, interoperability among allied Countries, network-centric logistics and integration within the system of commercial transport, have become a fundamental link for operational and logistic planning. These statements, in reality, must be translated into a common language, in standardized procedures, in vehicles and equipment that can operate in joint and multinational environments.

Today, no Service can guarantee a level of acceptable effectiveness without a logistic instrument adequate to the present requirements of projectability and rapidity of intervention. The objective of the modern logistics manager is therefore the implementation of the concepts that have by now become well established in the civilian world, such as the employment of pallets, containers, computerized management and monitoring of the materials in transit, all included in a network-centric context.

In short, the architecture of the future system of military transport will be based on the concept of the "matrjoska", i.e. a doll that contains seven identical but progressively smaller dolls.

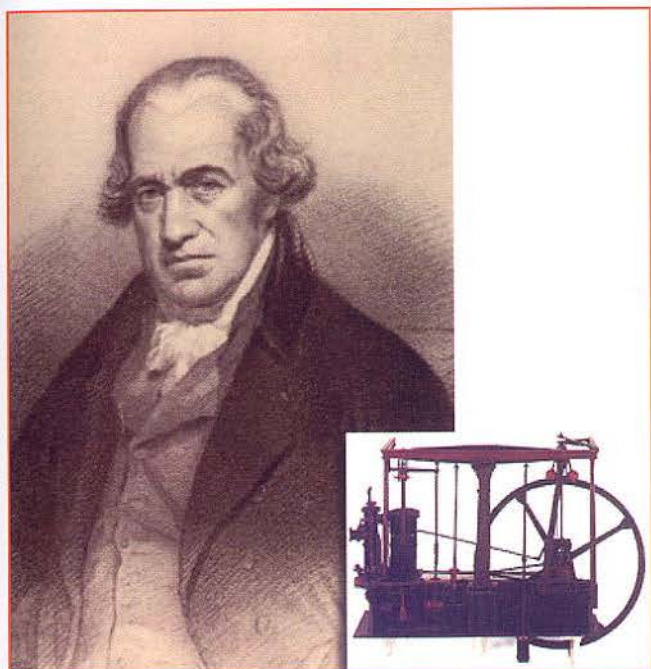
INTERMODALITY

The origins of intermodal transport

In the evolution of the world of transports, the advent of the railway has been a fundamental goal, so much so that it was defined the "first revolution of transports". Everything begins in 1769, the year in which James Watts invents the steam engine, until 1830, the year of the inauguration of the first railway going from Manchester to

Liverpool. The way of moving people and materials changes radically: just consider that the average speed of 8km/h for land transport already reached by the Romans, remained almost unchanged until the first years of the twentieth century, when the employment of the steam traction permits to achieve an average speed of about 40km/h. The transfer of big loads on medium-long distances was already possible at that time; only some phases of the cycle of transport required animal traction (what we call now terminalization). In fact, the goods were collected by horse cart at the customer's place and transferred to a goods shed at a railway station. They were successively stowed in railcars, on which the goods were transferred from one station to another. Once they had reached their destination, the reverse cycle was repeated, the goods were unloaded at a railway store and successively distributed to the new markets by animal traction. It is in this period that the necessity arises to have a packaging that facilitates the handling of the wares during the loading and unloading phases, and secures their integrity during the whole cycle of transport. The second revolution of transports coincides with the advent of the motor vehicle. Few know that the first step of the interesting story of the internal-combustion engine is due to the genius of two Italian inventors: Piarist Father Eugenio Barsanti and engineer Felice Matteucci. The "adventure" begins in Florence, where on the 5th of June 1853 the piston engine is born, and is later realized in England, where the invention is patented in 1854. Jean-Joseph Etienne Lenoir (1822-1890), French inventor of Belgian origin, is the first to employ it in 1863 for moving a vehicle. To see the birth of the first assembly line of a motorcar, one has to wait until 1908, the year in which American industrialist Henry Ford (Dearborn, Michigan 1863-1947) starts the mass production of his "model T".

Even if it does not change the cycle of transport, the motorcar in fact replaces animal-traction. Later on, after 1930, the technological evolution applied to the sector of road vehicles permits the road transport to impose itself, to the point of replacing the railway for longer and longer distances. The initial scheme, which envisaged the road transport employed only in the collection and delivery phases of goods, starts to change. Even if the distances to be covered are medium-long, now, to carry the supplies from the loading place



Above.
Railroad transport of military containers.

Left.
James Watt, the inventor of the steam engine.

to their definitive destination, more and more often people employ road carriers.

But the packing problem continues to remain a crucial problem. The optimal utilization of the volume and surface available and the necessity to guarantee the safety of the load require the employment of packaging systems that can meet these needs. In the fifties, the operators of the system solve the problem by having recourse to the "unitization" of the cargoes, i.e. their standardization. It is commonly believed that defining in advance the dimensions and the other qualifying elements of the packing can result in an easier handling of the wares during the loading and unloading phases, thanks to the employment of mechanical means, a grater protection of the cargo and the optimization of the employment of the surfaces and volumes inside the vehicles.

Finally, the frontiers of mobility have moved forward remarkably with the invention of the air-

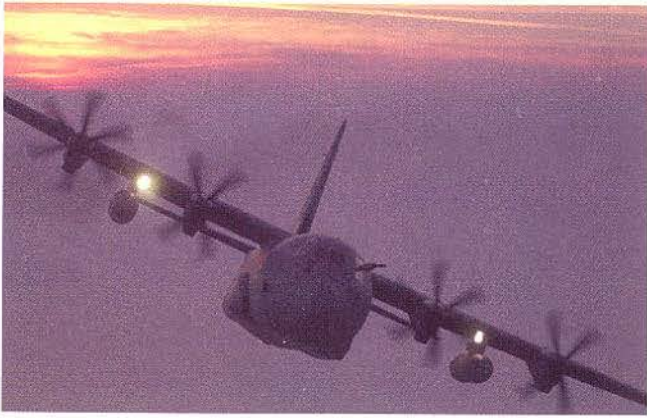
“ The future system of military transport will be based on the concept of the “matrjoska”, i.e. a doll that contains seven identical but progressively smaller dolls ”

plane, which is the third revolution. Many years before, Leonardo da Vinci had had the idea of realizing a machine which, by imitating the birds' flight, could enable men to fly. Subsequently, in various drawings that are still in our possession, he described its functioning, i.e. materials, parts and connections. It is in fact the design of an airplane. Later on, Santos Dumont was the first to exploit his idea. A Brazilian of Portuguese origins, born on July 20, 1873 in the city of Palmira, he was the first man to take off on board an aircraft propelled by an aeronautical engine, even if many Countries consider the Wright brothers the actual inventors of the airplane, for the takeoff they made on December 17, 1903. However, while Santos

Dumont's aircraft could take off by its own means, the Wright brothers' had to employ a catapult. Santos Dumont's first flight - where he covered about 60 metres, two or three metres above ground, at the Bagatelle field in Paris, on October 23, 1906 - was officially documented by the testimony of experts, journalists and by the Parisian

population. Finally, in 1927, Charles Lindberg flew across the Atlantic.

If we consider that Leonardo da Vinci lived in the same epoch in which Columbus discovered America, i.e. between the end of 1400 and the beginning of 1500, and that the first airplane that actually flew was that of Dumont and/or the Wright brothers' in 1923, we realize that to pass



The C-130J-30 military aircraft can carry up to 5 air landed pallets.

from the phase of project to that of implementation took about 400 years.

The fourth and last revolution of transport goes back to the sixties, a period in which combined transport and multimodality become intermodality, thanks chiefly to the employment of the container. The first two types of transport consist of a simple sequence of segments of monomodals between one knot and the next. The intermodal transport, instead, permits to transfer the entire cargo unit from one vehicle to another. The originality of this technique consists of its ability to combine several modalities without disrupting the cargo. In this third phase, characterized by the possibility of utilizing various types of transport in logics of integration and complementarity, the use of containers and a combined road-rail transport becomes established. The container is born as intelligent solution to a problem of regulation of road transport of goods. Upon request of shipping agents, the measures, haulers and methodology of construction of the new cargo unit are standardized by the International Standardization Organization (ISO), which permits a world diffusion of the product. The worldwide introduction of the new cargo unit permits to obtain several economic advantages, such as: reduction of port costs for loading and unloading goods; reduction of the ships' stops; drastic reduction of thefts and damage to the goods during handling in ports.

In the seventies, following the "revolution" in intermodal transports, many interports have been realized in Italy. These structures enable the logistic providers to manage an intense traffic of goods.

The evolution of military transport

In the past, the military transport organization reflected the strategic concept of the "Cold War": the heavy transport was made by railway convoys, the light one with military vehicles. In the postwar period, the number of vehicles issued to the Army was enormous and could be incremented through "requisition". There was moreover a total lack of military assets for strategic transport and especially of aircraft and ships, and recourse to commercial companies was made very rarely.

The end of the "Cold War" and the evolution of the international scenario, with the global threat of terrorism, the potential use of weapons of mass destruction, regional instability and the possible jeopardizing of the national vital interests, also outside the territory of the State, have entailed a complete reconfiguration of the logistic instrument, and of transport in particular.

The first tentative steps towards modernization were made already during the seventies with the introduction of new concepts, borrowed from civilian logistics, such as terminalization and general cargo service.

With transport terminalization we mean all the logistic activities that permit to deliver goods by road, in bulk or in containers, up to their final destination (door-to-door delivery). Therefore the

terminalization includes various activities such as: unloading of the goods (from a railcar, a ship or an airplane), handling, loading on a truck; road transport; delivery to the final consignee.

A general cargo service is made when goods of different types are transferred on behalf of a number of Units with a single vehicle. If one manages to

coordinate the consignments, one can make important economies, because the vehicle travels with a full load and, with a single journey-cycle, one can make several home deliveries.

After various reconfigurations occurred along the time (starting with the "elephantine" logistics of the seventies on four rings: 1st ring battalion, 2nd ring Brigade, 3rd ring Operational zone, 4th ring Central organization), the present logistic organization envisages, also for the transport activities, a structuring of the logistic instrument on two sectors or levels: adherence logistics, i.e. the functional structuring entrusted to the responsibility of the Commander of the Operational Land Forces (COMFOTER), responsible for the direct support of the Forces in Theatre; support logistics,

“ The end of the “Cold War” and the evolution of the international scenario have entailed a complete reconfiguration of the logistic instrument, and that of transport in particular ”



A container and a shelter carried by an Astra-HD-7 truck.

functional structuring entrusted to the responsibility of the Logistic Commander of the Army, responsible for ensuring the necessary "flywheel" of capabilities and resources necessary to meet the needs of the adherence sector.

The "bold" evolution of the past years was based mainly on the development of concepts such as: intermodality and interoperability; management technologies for intermodal transports; integration with the network of civilian transports and network-centric logistics.

Generally, the shortage of assets for military transport and the Nations' need to combine effectiveness with budget economy, has entailed a sharp increase in military transport made by commercial carriers.

Especially in the ambit of strategic transport, i.e. towards Operations Theatres (Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon) or to the areas of exercises abroad, the Army has resorted to assets of the civilian network, utilizing military-capability providers (bodies that can handle dedicated contracts with civilian companies).

With the well-established recourse to civilian companies and the definite development of inter-modal transport, the control of the movements becomes fundamental. This means planning, choice of the itinerary, planning and control of personnel and materials along the lines of communication.

In the future, the optimization of integrated logistics, in a network-centric framework, will permit to further unburden the logistic system and reduce the supplying times in the Operations Theatres.

In view of this, a joint, international cooperation will be fundamental, together with the recourse to the Host Nation Support (HNS), i.e. the operational function that supervises military and civilian assistance provided in time of peace, crisis and war by a Nation (Host Nation - HN) to another Nation (Sending Nation - SN).

The challenge will be that of constituting, among the allied Countries, what in the civilian sector is defined Cargo Community System. The CCS is a system that can be shared by all the operators of an integrated logistic chain, which permits to offer a service that covers the totality of the functional and administrative components necessary for transportation. This



Above.
A four-way wooden ISO standard pallet (Europallet). It can be handled on all four sides with a forklift.

Right.
A four-way wooden NATO standard pallet: it has a remarkable structural sturdiness and presents "protruding wings" on the sides (so as to be lifted by belts and cranes in field employment).

is possible thanks to a single telematic computerized network that permits to know, in real time, the carriers' offer as a whole (airplane, train, truck and ship), the necessary extra services (storage, refrigeration, insurance and customs procedures) as well as costs and obligations.

The first step towards such modernization will be constituted by the implementation of military interports.

Combined, multimodal and intermodal transport

Intermodal transport is a diversified transfer of materials without re-modulation of the cargo until its destination. Therefore, the materials must be conditioned as standard cargo units (on pallets or containers).

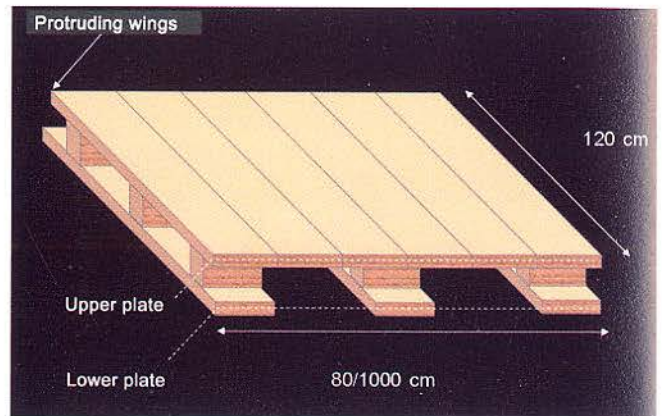
In the current meaning, the intermodality concept includes also combined and multimodal transports, which have instead different characteristics and therefore require decidedly less significant organizational efforts (planning, coordination, and monitoring) and infrastructural investments (interports, facilities).

In fact, combined transport is carried out according to two modalities that can be: road-railway, railway-sea or road-sea. On the contrary, in case of multimodal transport, the transfer of supplies occurs with the utilization of at

“The optimization of integrated logistics, in a network-centric framework, will permit to further unburden the logistic system and reduce the supplying times...”

least two types of carrier. The re-modulation of the cargo during the journey is envisaged in both cases (an operation that delays the delivery considerably).

In short, the effort of logistic planning must be aimed at reducing the idle time for the various additional operations: the cargo unit prepared at the home base must reach its destination in good time, without being re-conditioned or loaded and unloaded many times. For our purposes, intermodality, or modal integration, is the instrument that, when properly applied, permits to multiply the possibilities of transferring goods.



The main objective is therefore a radical change in the way of conceiving transport: from sectorial to "global carriers" for the mobility of materials. In view of this, a unitary organization based on pallets and containers becomes necessary.

To this end, it is useful to consult the ILE-NL-1200-0050-12-00B01 publication "Reference Handbook for the Employment of Containers, Shelters and Pallets (sub-containers) for Intermodal Handling and Transport of Army Materials", 2003 edition, issued by the "Ufficio Movimenti e Trasporti del Comando Logistico dell'Esercito".

Conditioning of the cargo: palletisation and containerisation

By "cargo conditioning" we mean the preparation of a certain number of items in packages or in a bulk, which, in relation to their dimension and weight, are assembled in a single consignment that can be handled mechanically and transported safely. In the past, the conditioning of the loads showed sectorial qualities (the load was prepared according to the characteristics of the carrier),

while today the attention is centered on intermodality and interoperability (materials are conditioned with standard NATO and EU procedures, regardless of the carrier).

With the concept of containerisation we mean the activity connected with the standardization of the transport modules, called precisely containers, conditioning and the securing of the cargo on pallets (pallettisation), preparation of the handling equipment and of the suitable infrastructure of modal exchange (interports).

With this working pattern the operators, when planning and organizing, can disregard the heterogeneity of the materials contained in the standard modules (i.e. weight, volume, fragility, compatibility with other materials) because the cargo, conditioned and predisposed by specialized personnel, has lost its identity and has become a standard cargo unit, transferable to its destination by any carrier, without any handling.

In substance, today, any material that has to be transported with criteria of intermodality must have dimensions that make its volume equal to the



basic cargo unit (pallet) or must be a submultiple of the dimensions of a container, in order to be transported without further arrangement operations (for example: reconditioning of the cargo or disassembly of components).

In case of air transport with a military carrier (i.e. C-130J-30), materials must be transported with a dedicated pallet, i.e. a light-alloy platform equipped with a series of hooks to hold the containment net. The latter is used to sling the items placed on the platform itself (the platform can hold 4 wooden pallets, or 8 pallets if the type of material permits to stack a second row).



Above.

Military transport made with a "Roll on-Roll off (Ro-Ro) civilian ship: this carrier has two ramps (on stern and prow) which permit direct embarkation/disembarkation of the vehicles, without employing lifting systems (cranes).

Left.

A standard cargo unit on a wooden pallet for artillery ammunition.

Also dangerous materials (munitions, explosives) properly conditioned in "large crates for goods in bulk" (GIR) can be transported with standardized procedures and containerised modules. GIRs are actually containers of different measures and types, suitable for being handled mechanically (i.e. with a fork lift), resisting the stress of transport and containing dangerous materials (solid, liquid or in bulk).

New projects for conditioning the cargo

In view of a global renewal of logistics, the Army has given its contribution, suggesting the introduction of new artefacts for intermodal transport, such as the NATO-standard 20 ft container and the CROP (container roll-on roll-off platform).

The NATO-standard container was born of the need to have a heavy-duty artefact, for transportation in extreme conditions (stress due to acceleration, stop, sharp turns). In order to safeguard military materials, in many cases particularly expensive and sophisticated, the Army has submitted to the NATO Standardization Agency a proposal for a modified container, suitable for military employment.

This has led to the implementation of a project for a NATO container, already acquired by the



Above.
Pallet for air transport.

Right.
Cargo unit on a 20ft "open side" ISO container.

Army and being standardized by the NSA. The NATO standard container is going to have 44 anchoring/raising points, distributed on four sides, with high resistance to traction.

The CROP – Container roll-on roll-off platform – that can be handled and transported by loading it on trucks for demountable loading platforms (for example ASTRA APS-95), is particularly suitable for a palletised load in strategic configuration (Ammunition Strategic Configured Loads – SCLs).

The SCL concept envisages CROP standardized schemes and loading procedures, so that all types of munitions necessary for the deployment of a squad, a platoon or a company are allocated on a known number of flatcars, for the successive dispatch to the Operations Theatres. The SCL concept optimises the distribution of munitions and remarkably reduces the times of transport, fixing in advance the necessary carriers.

The CROP, in fact, has many versatile features that permit to secure a heavy and sensitive cargo. This operation would be awkward and complicated if carried out inside an ISO standard container.

The cargo unit thus configured (pallets and CROP) can subsequently be loaded inside an ISO container or transported directly, without using a container, embarking it on a truck for demountable loading platforms.

Moreover the CROP, compared to a container, has considerable advantages as regards overall dimensions. With the same linear metres of load (about 6m), it can be piled up to 8 units and stored in a warehouse or under a shed. Obviously the same number of containers would take up a much larger space and, if they had to be stacked up, very complex equipment would be necessary to handle them. On the contrary, having a certain number of CROPs in store, a regiment destined to a particular mission could

prepare, already in the organization phase, a part of the most urgent material in a strategic configuration (SCL) on a CROP. This would permit an immediate deployment of the task force on reception of the operational order, embarking the platforms in ISO containers for the following intermodal transport, thus saving time and resources. For the abovementioned reasons, the Army has suggested introducing this artefact into service; currently the experimentation



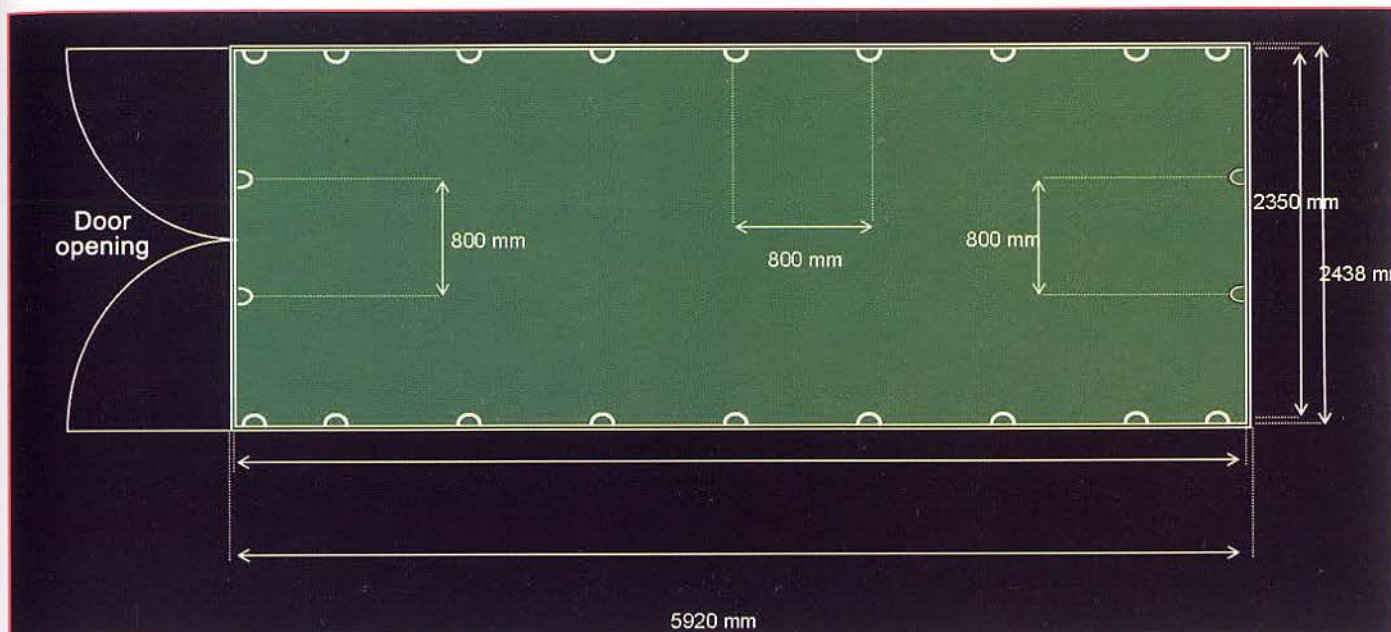
phase is in progress at the Polyfunctional Centre of Experimentation (CEPOLISPE) at Montelibretti, near Rome, in order to assess the potentialities of the loading platform for operational employment.

The shelters

With the standards of projectability and rapidity, on which the present logistic organization of the Army is based, one cannot expect that already in the initial phase of the operations there should be a suitable infrastructure available for the logistic support of the Contingent.

Therefore one must have recourse to systems that ensure transportability, easiness of deployment and resistance to bad weather conditions. The shelters, among the various prefabricated structures (tents, sheds, etc.), are the ones that better answer the operational needs. They are actually modules that meet specific technical and dimensional requirements, have a wide range of employments, among which: quartering, bread-making, showers, command.

Besides, shelters are suitable for the installation and protection of high-level technological equipment (especially of electronic nature). As concerns



The new type of NATO standard container, suitable for military use, with 44 anchor points (22 on top and 22 at the bottom) plus other points on the sides.

transportability, most last-generation modules have dimensional characteristics similar to those of a 20ft container; they are therefore standard cargo units, perfectly suited for intermodal transfers.

INTEROPERABILITY

Interoperability is the synergy that is realized between different organizations (for example: Armed Forces of allied Nations) through the achievement of high levels of standardization, especially in the following fields of application: working methods and procedures; employment of equipment or artefacts of the same type that have technical and functional characteristics that make them interoperable without modifications or addition of other devices.

Logistic interoperability (particularly in the transport sector) is pursued by optimising and perfecting the standardization agreements (STANAGs).

The common objective is therefore to achieve identical Command-and-Control procedures, optimise the employment techniques of the assets and acquire interchangeable equipment and systems.

In substance, the increase in interoperability enables the allied Countries to operate synergistically for the execution of the tasks assigned.

The best instruments for attaining adequate levels of interoperability among allied Nations remain the standardization activity and a new way (joint and integrated) of conceiving, planning and implementing the logistics of transport.

The national and NATO policy are more and more oriented towards a joint and multinational structure of the logistic assets; obviously the employment of joint and combined cargo units proves effective only if the level of interoperability of the participating Nations is high.

“The increase in interoperability enables the allied Countries to operate synergistically in the execution of the tasks assigned”

INTEGRATION WITH THE NETWORK OF CIVILIAN TRANSPORT

The scarcity of assets for military transport and the Nations' need to combine effectiveness and budget economy have entailed a definite increase in military transports made by commercial carriers. Especially as regards strategic transport, i.e. those towards the Operations Theatres (Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon) or the exercise areas abroad, the Army has resorted to assets of the civilian network, utilizing military capability-providers (organizations capable of managing dedicated contracts with civilian companies).

Until 2005, the Logistic Command of the Army has provided to insure all the commercial transport assets in favour of both Army and “Carabinieri”.



Above and right.
Loading a "Leopard" tank on a freight car with a crane.

Since 2005, for joint operations and exercises, such function has been assigned in part to the Joint Movement Coordination Center of the "Comando Operativo di Vertice Interforze" (COI-JMCC), which has absorbed the authority over the commercial air carriers. Since last January also the Navy component has joined the COI-JMCC.

Anyway, the Armed Forces are already in a position to guarantee coherence and unity of command of the sector thanks to the evolution of the managerial technologies for intermodal transport, such as the ADAM and IMTS systems, Asset Tracking and Consignment Tracking.

MANAGEMENT TECHNOLOGIES AND INTERMODAL TRANSPORT

For planning, programming, organization and control of the handling and transport requirements, a centralized outlook is indispensable. In view of this, and at joint level, as we have already pointed out, the general planning, the coordination and attribution of the priority of the transfers towards the operational Theatres is entrusted to the Joint Movement Coordination Center of the "Comando Operativo di Vertice Interforze" (COI-JMCC). The JMCC operates also as national knot of the system, and can exchange data with the Allied Commands and with the peripheral knots of the Service through the system of computerised management for out-of-area transport (Interactive Movement and Transport System - IMTS), an automated communication and data-processing system, which, integrated with ADAMS (Allied

Deployment and Movement System) ensures the accurate planning, execution and coordination of all movements and transports.

The ADAMS and I.M.T.S. systems

The ADAMS system was conceived especially to remove possible contrasts and/or overlapping



(deconflicting activities) of the national Detailed Deployment Plans (DDP).

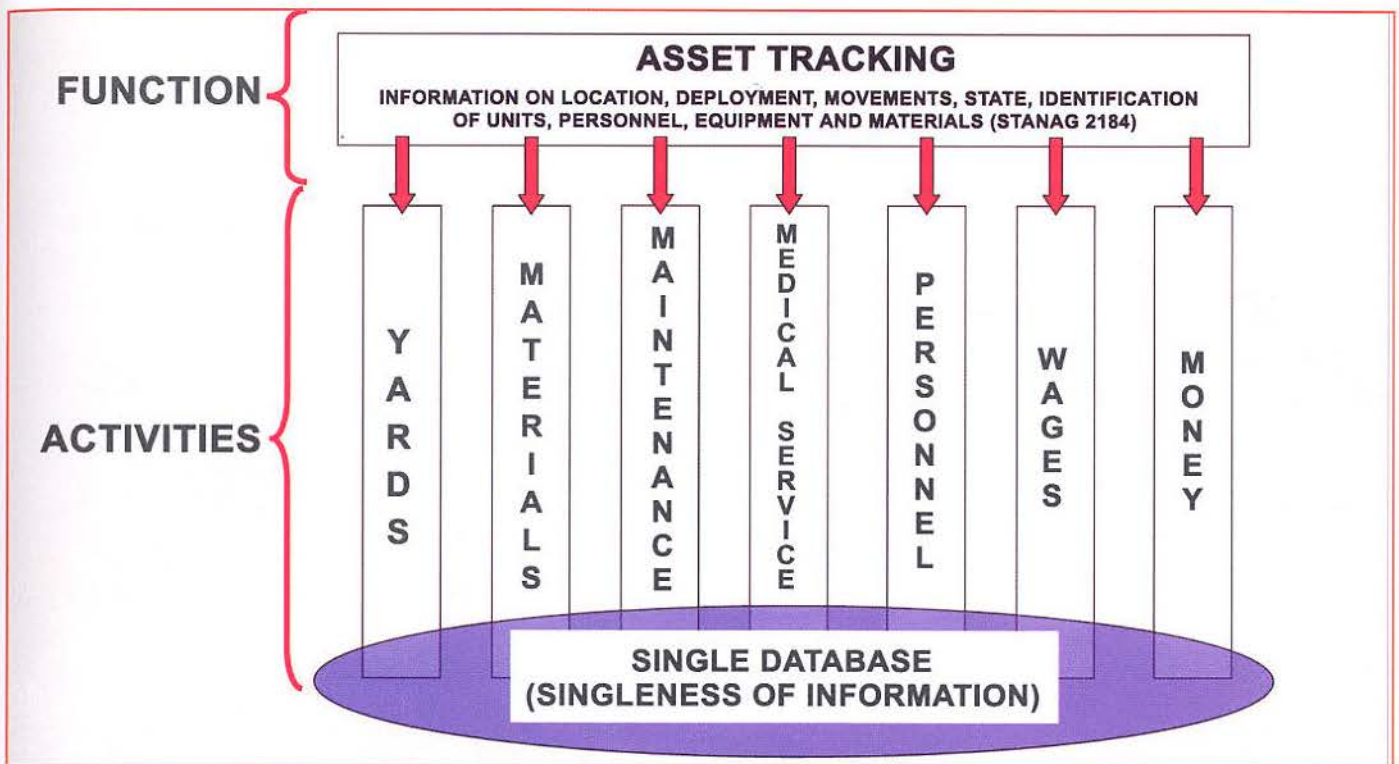
The I.M.T.S. derives from the need to optimise the load capabilities of the carriers and acquire visibility of the transports to and from the Theatres.

Asset Tracking

The new logistic model (NML) compatible with a network-centric operational scenario, must necessarily avail itself of a logistic Command and Control instrument, with asset tracking (AST) capabilities. NATO defines AST as a "means to provide NATO and other Nations, promptly and in detail, with information about the position, movements, state and identification of units, personnel, equipment and materials". With AST, we intend to achieve a total visibility of the resources available (i.e. Total Asset Visibility - TAV). As regards functioning architecture and modalities, the Army Information Management System (SIGE) has all the characteristics of an AST system and conforms to those defined by NATO as concerns logistics.

Consignment Tracking

Once the cargo conditioning activity has been completed, one should prepare the labelling of



The architecture of "SIGE".

the cargo units (package, pallet or container) in order to track them during the transfer (Consignment Tracking). At present the tracking of the transported assets is ensured by the logistic label, which, at NATO level, is called Serial Shipping Container Code (SSCC) and has a hierarchical structure (package, pallet, container). The SSCC consists essentially of a bar code that identifies a specific cargo unit, whose composition is listed in the Central Data Bank of SIGE. Several packages are grouped in a larger cargo unit – a container, for example – that in its turn is identified by another logistic label. The association of the logistic label with the vehicle permits to track the assets and is made in the initial phase of the journey. The supplier that sends the material makes a first reading of the label with a special scanner when the cargo unit is embarked on the carrier. This permits to record the operation telematically in the SIGE Central Data Bank. The reading is repeated at the delivery of the load to the receiver: from that moment, the material, no more associated with the carrier, is considered delivered. Therefore, the second reading, made when the material is delivered, attests that the

receiving body has taken charge of it and recorded it in the SIGE database. Predictably, the logistic label will be soon replaced by a more modern radio-frequency system called RFID (Radio Frequency Identification), which consists of three elements: an antenna, a transceiver with its decoder and a transponder (also known as "RF tag", active or passive).

This information, in a network-centric model, enable the Command-and-Control Centres of the Asset Tracking System, but also the systems that form the "Great System" of logistics, to intervene in order to introduce corrective decisions in case there are disturbing events in the movement. They act on the "actuators", which in this case are also "sensors", according to the abovementioned model, i.e. on the carriers/convoys that make the transport.

The Movement and Transport Office (MOTRA) of the Logistic Command has started the activities necessary for realizing

a Movement and Transport Management and Control Room.

This is the "motor" of the Consignment Tracking procedure, for it is charged with the: definition of the movers, military and/or civilian, that best meet the transport's specific requirements, in a framework of transport "intermodality", considering the possible restrictions, the degree of risk that any

"...the Armed Forces are in a position to guarantee coherence and unity of command of the sector thanks to the evolution of the managerial technologies for intermodal transport..."



The "San Giusto" carrying vehicles on its flight deck.

option implies and in a cost/benefit logic; control, made through the monitoring of the transport assets all along their itineraries (consignment tracking) and of each package of material transported (in-transit visibility).

In particular, in order to carry out its function of management, command and control on the CT, the MOTRA office makes use of all the communication services offered by the civilian and military networks, using the NATO E-messaging standard on the Army Intranet (Einet), for communications with military bodies; e-mail with formatted message, i.e. written according to a pre-established model, on the internet for contacts with the contracting firms.

The personnel of the Room that manages and controls Movements and Transport issue the orders of transport, following differentiated pro-

cedures, according to the type of mover, civilian or military, entrusted with the transport. At the moment, the activity of the Room is still experimental and is carried out along two lines: as for military transport, it involves, as active parts of the process, UCETRA in Rome, and the provisioning Pole called "Magazzino Centrale Ricambi Auto" (MACRA) at Piacenza; for civilian transport the Service has started a cooperation between the MOTRA office and the Fagioli company, which envisages the adoption of a standardized procedure for conveying orders, tracking materials and managing information; once the system is tested, the network will be extended to all the contracting firms of the transport system of Defence.

Thus the implementation and monitoring of transport are realized according to the same procedural scheme.

Last June 27, at the Army's "Centro Polifunzionale di Sperimentazione" (CEPOLISPE)



The Network-Centric Logistics.

at Montelibretti, there has been a meeting on the "New Logistics: a Phenomenon of Interdisciplinary Polarization". At the end of the meeting there has been a short simulation of a Network Centric Logistics, i.e. a management system where all the actors are connected in a network: a "Dardo" tank was hit in combat and some men of the crew were wounded. Thanks to the promptness of the communications and their total sharing by all the actors on the ground, the logistic service reached the tank in a very short time for its repair, while the medical team aided the wounded.

This simulation confirms that in the era of Network Centric Warfare (NCW), the challenge for the modern logistician is constituted by a global vision of the organizational evolution. Therefore, the focus is not going to be that of pursuing more and more sophisticated sectorial management systems, but that of creating a large network that will permit an integrated support of all actors (Forces in Theatre, Force Commander, Adherence-Support Group, Logistic-Support Room, bodies of the Logistic-Support Sector, Warehouses and military Parks, civilian industry) involved in a given mission. The Army, taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the developments of the information technology, has strengthened the principle that the control of information and its sharing among the various forces deployed in an Operation Theatre has a multiplying effect on operational effectiveness. Within this framework, the concept of Network Centric Operation (NCO), a system that exploits

"...the challenge for the modern logistician is constituted by a global vision of the organizational evolution..."



In the era of Network-Centric Warfare - NCW (illustrations above and left) the Logistic Command of the Army aims at realizing Network-Centric Logistics, i.e. a managing system where all the actors are "networked".

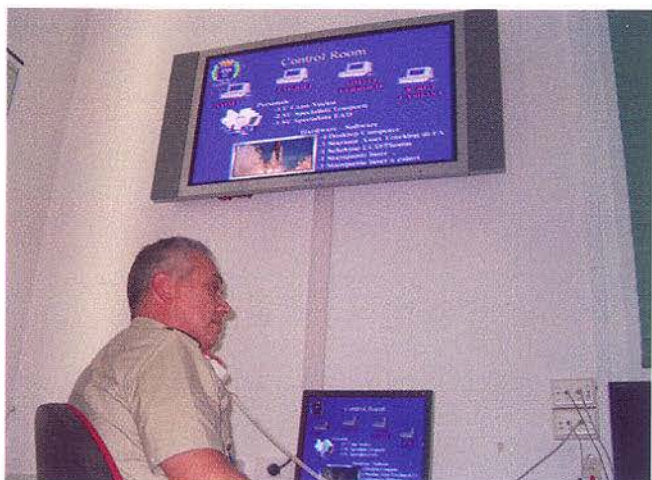
the potentialities of a 360° "network" organization, is gaining ground.

As regards the mentioned concepts, the new logistic model of the Service is based on seven systems (subdivided into modules): regimental, Centre for Relations with the User (CRU), Decision Support, Maintenance Pole, Infologistics, Industry Interface, Operations Room.

The systems interface and exchange information, also with the civilian section, thanks to the potentialities of the computerized management systems: Army Information Management System (SIGE); Integrated Geospatial Logistic Information System (SIGLI), of telecommunications, sensors and remote sensing.

The regimental Module System, the basic unit of the system, is based on a logistic instrument to which all the appurtenances of the TRAMAT branch refer within the unit to be supported. This is therefore configured as front-service.

A new logistic figure emerges from this picture: a body that must foresee, prevent and anticipate, in order to give the necessary organizational answers. Between an organization conceived for the division of the activities and another for the governance of the procedures, the Service has opted for the second one, transforming a sectorial body, the Logistic Inspectorate, in an integrated Logistic Command (COMLOG), which can operate in the new scenarios, managing the new criticalities due to a large



The MOTRA (Movement and Transport) Office of the Logistic Command of the Army has started the realization of a Management and Control Room for Movement and Transports.

bulk of information. The logistic concept of the Network-Centric Logistics comes from the operational concept known as Effect-Based Operations, which shifts the barycentre from the performance of the various components to the effects achieved on the basis of cost-effectiveness criteria. One of the first main objectives, the integration of the supply chain, can be attained only through a coordination of the logistic organizations of the four Services, which will have to generate a logistic system suited also for combined employment; this will enable the operational Commanders to have a total vision of the assets on the ground (Joint Total Asset Visibility - JTAV).

This new way of carrying out a mission implies an adjustment of the support and the rationalization of the performance, while pursuing the economy of resources. In view of this, four fundamental objectives have been singled out:

Creation of a logistic interface, linked with all the forces present on the battlefield. This link would be realized through satellite connections, through which the logistic assets could exchange key information from the battlefield, with the rearward positions and with the industry at home. The common logistic vision (system governance) of the general and particular situations would permit to adopt precise operational and logistic decisions, on the basis of accurate information, almost in real time.

Increase of the Forces' projectability thanks to the new supplying system within the Operations Theatre.

Optimization of the Force's "reception" activities in the Operational Theatre: besides the availability

of adequate air and naval assets, a Force's projectability should be based also on an accurate preparation of every activity related to the introduction in Theatre, starting from their landing at the APOD/SPOD.

Integration of the supply chain that can be implemented only through the coordination of the logistic organizations of the four Services.

In view of this, the "mass based" logistics, typical of the "Cold War", that envisaged storing enormous quantities of provisions through estimates "on a historical basis" and "just in time/ just enough" logistics, introduced recently, have led to the "Sense and Respond Logistics" (SRL). This logistics is aimed at introducing a new concept of logistics based on shared knowledge of the situation, rapidity, coordination and synchronization of the interventions, adaptability and flexibility of the response, thanks to the employment of the "Network-Centric Warfare" capabilities.

In short, the network-centric logistic architecture on a joint basis is gaining ground, owing to which the demands tend to disappear, thanks to the development of a new non-hierarchized "push" support doctrine.

THE INTERPORT

The optimization of integrated logistics, in a network-centric context, in the future will permit a further unburdening of the logistic organization and a significant reduction in the supplying times of a Force in Theatre, squeezing to a minimum the time needed for the transmission and management of data (thanks to network-centric logistics), for conditioning the cargos and for loading and unloading them (thanks to the standardization of procedures, equipment and means of transport).

The establishment of military interports will be the first step towards the modernization of the logistics of transport.

In the commercial terminology, interport means a structure whose aim is the exchange of goods among the various modalities of transport, including a railway station, where it is possible to form and receive trains, with connections with ports, airports and major road networks, as well as sheltered and unsheltered areas for depots, parking and services. Therefore the interport permits to assemble in a single body some of the numerous realities of the world of logistics, such as long-distance road transport, rail transport, customs authorities and widespread distribution.

At present, the Armed Forces have no interport structures of their own; therefore they make use of the service offered by the civilian companies

that in a position to offer an organic whole of structures and integrated services. In view of a further development of intermodality, it would be advantageous to have military interport structures, keeping in mind budget limits and assessing the project in relation to cost/effectiveness criteria.

Considering the costs of the project, we must take into account that the initial investment and the operating costs of such a structure are very high; therefore we should possibly also think about an intermediate hypothesis, which should combine effectiveness with inexpensiveness, i.e. a joint solution, which could integrate the military

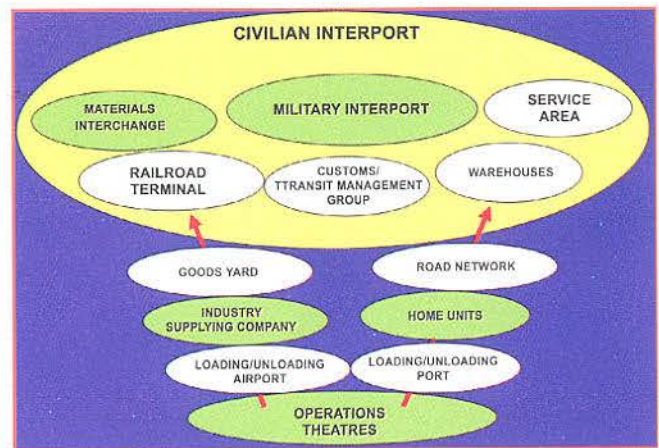


interport within the existing civilian organization.

Therefore, it would be convenient to create jointly managed military interport areas within the existing main civilian structures. In view of this, one could make use of the of the existing facilities and services, allocating the saved money (for infrastructure and personnel) for the optimization of the purely military aspects, i.e. safety and security, monitoring in real time of the goods in transit (consignment tracking, just-in-time delivery and increase in UN, EU and NATO interoperability). Besides, such civilian/military structures would constitute a point of reference also for the allied Countries, in particular for the new NATO members, which have no similar structures and no access to the Mediterranean Sea.

In this sense, the Service will have to develop a project that should start from the constitution, within the Logistic Support Branch, of centres for the collection and marshalling of goods, which, in the civilian sector, are called logistic platforms.

The logistic platform is not a structure planned for intermodal transport, because it envisages the handling of the loads, and generally belongs to the road transport sector. It consists of an infrastructure aimed at facilitating the reassembly of the loads, generally by means of automatic and semi-



Above.

A scheme of integration between civilian and military interports.

Left.

Standard cargo unit on a metal pallet for special use.

automatic handling and stocking systems, managed by complex computerized systems (unloading, possible storing, marshalling for the next destination, reassembly and loading).

As regards the military sector, the collection and marshalling centres will be placed on the "ridge" of the national territory and their evolution should subsequently lead to the constitution of the mentioned integrated military interports.

A military interport should therefore be equipped with a joint networked Command-and-Control structure, a freight yard, a customs office, warehouses with mechanical equipment for handling and transshipping pallets and containers, structures connecting with nearby roads, ports and airports.

In substance, the realization of military interports would permit to raise the logistics' level of efficiency and bring down the costs of transport by at least 25%, thanks to the inexpensiveness of the intermodal system, which the best experts of the sector consider the objective to be achieved.

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Brigadier General,

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THE 4th ITALIAN ARMY IN FRANCE

THE 4th ITALIAN ARMY IN FRANCE

The war operations carried out by the Royal Army beyond the Alps during WWII, albeit not particularly noteworthy, deserve to be remembered, mainly for the dramatic involvement of the Jewish population.

At the end of June 1940, when the hostilities ceased, the Italians occupied a small and uneven mountainous area beyond the border, as well as Mentone. Despite the costs and the logistic difficulty in supplying the troops with everything they needed, they kept control of this area for reasons of prestige and as a tangible result of a conflict that had been characterized by the dishonourable declaration of war on a country which had already been defeated.

With the cessation of hostilities, for more than two years the relationship with the France of Vichy would be regulated through a specific civil and military organism, the Italian Commission of Armistice with France (CIAF), whose seat was in Turin and which was directly linked with the Prime Minister in Rome, through the figure of its President.

The Italian military commitment was significant. At the end of May 1943, the 4th Army consisted in four Infantry Divisions, two Alpine Divisions, three coast Divisions and other minor units: in total almost 70 000 men out of a population of about 300 000 inhabitants.

The area of occupation of the 4th Army included two sectors: the first one, where the Command of the Army (Mentone) led by General Marco Vercellino was situated, which extended from Lake Geneva, following the course of Rhone, to the border Bandol-Avignone excluded. The second one, at the border between Italy and France included the Italian territory and extended from Punta del Mesco (La Spezia) to Punta San Luigi (Mentone). From the beginning of the occupation, the French population made a clear-cut distinction between the two occupiers and even though it did not cooperate with them, it was well-disposed towards the Italian troops and hostile to the Germans.

The French Resistance, at least until 25th July, focused on the «wermacht» and tried to play on the supposed antifascism of Italian soldiers by using propaganda tools and by distributing leaflets and underground cyclostyled material, from the end of 1942.

At the downfall of Fascism, on 25th July, the moral



Above.
General Mario Vercellino, Commander of the 4th Army.

Title pages.
Houses destroyed by artillery fire on the Italian-French border.

conditions of the troops that were stationed in France were good. The 4th Army was considered as a solid structure whereas the Alpine Division «Pusteria» was considered one of the most prepared units.

The Badoglio Government, since the agreement with the Allies was imminent, in order to face the subsequent German reaction, issued operational instructions that appeared contradictory at that moment because even the Command of Great Units was kept in the dark about the real intention of the Supreme Command in order not to arouse the Germans' suspicions. In this framework, during the first days of August, the passage to Savoia of Nazi troops, which were heading for Italy, was authorized and some Divisions were ordered to return from France. In the second half of August, after the agreement of Casalecchio between the German and Italian Supreme Command, which was signed on 15th August, the 4th Army was stationed in the Italian territory, with the



Chambery, March 1943. The "Monterosa" Alpine battalion marching on parade in the city.

exception of the salient of Nizza, which was situated between the border and the so-called line Tinea-Varo. According to the Agreement, the Germans had to assume responsibility for the defence of the area that had been previously occupied. On 8th September, the proclamation of the armistice took the 4th Army by surprise. Its operational strength had been considerably reduced. The remaining forces totalled about 100 thousand soldiers, of whom 60 000 were fighters, who were stationed in an area between France and Liguria. Because of the transfers that took place from the end of August, its efficiency started to decrease and this did not enable them to counter the enemy attack. Up to that moment only the Division «Rovigo», the Division «Alpi Graie» and the 18th armoured «bersaglieri» regiment RE.CO. had returned to Italy; the other Great Units were heading for the border. The German forces could count on the 19th Army which, from the 15th August, had deployed the 343rd and 346th Infantry Territorial Division in Provence and other units which, after the Italian decision to evacuate the zone, entered the area: the 356th Infantry Division in the area that had been occupied by Division «Taro», the 157th Division in Grenoble, the 305th Mountain Division to the right of Varo with the 76th and 94th Division. Navy 11 000 men strong contingents were heading for Tolone and other 8 000 men were stationed in the Hyères. What distinguished the German forces from the Italian forces was the significant availability of arms. They could count on motorized troops, which were supported by armoured units and by a dive-bombing fighter «Stukas», which was based at St. Raphael.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE 4TH ARMY AND THE RESISTANCE

With the declaration of the armistice, the Commander of the 4th Army, General Vercellino, at

10 p.m. on the 8th September, issued the order to retire to the Italian territory and concentrate troops on the area of Cuneo-Mondovì. At midnight telephone and radio communications with the units that were beyond the Varo were disrupted by the Germans who acted rapidly and efficiently. In just a few hours the German Officials went to the Italian detachments to ask them to lay down their arms or to make a declaration of loyalty and promised to repatriate them to Italy after they had gained control of the area.

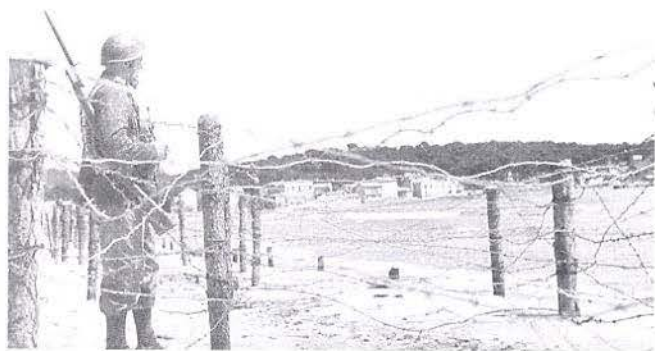
The Command of the Army tried to halt the German advance to the Italian border and ordered to build a defensive redoubt in the Dora valley and to establish contact with the territorial Command of Turin. This project was impracticable, because lots of mountain passes were controlled by the enemy, exactly as motorized troops of Wehrmacht were in Chivasso and Asti; other troops were on the march to Turin and on the afternoon of the 10th the first motorized forces entered undisturbed into its outskirts. On the morning of the 11th two units of a motorized-armoured SS Division closed from west the city which capitulated. On the evening of the 11th Alessandria, Asti, Alba, Bra, Turin and Vercelli were occupied without any resistance, there was a lot of desertion in some units, whereas the only Great Unit that was still efficient and able to fight was the 7th Alpine regiment that was deployed in the area of Tenda. So, General Vercellino ordered to disband the Army: it was the prelude to capture and internment in concentration camps for the majority of his soldiers. Lots of units and single elements went into hiding organising the partisan resistance in Piemonte. We should mention the conduct of the soldiers of the 11th Alpine regiment of «Pusteria», in Grenoble and in Gap: the Colonel Domingo Ferrara, after having refused to surrender, resisted attempts at irruption into the

Command of Gap until the first hours of the morning of the 9th September. Then, overwhelmed by the superiority of the enemy, he surrendered but he was given the honours of war.

In Grenoble, the Alpine battalion «Bassano» of «Pusteria» attacked the German troops, regaining the control of the Command Division before abandon-

ing it to move to Italy; in Chambery troops of the 20th Alpine skier Group distinguished themselves by running the German blockade; in the meantime, on the Hill of Moncenisio, the homonymous battalion skiers of the 20th Group and some units of the Frontier Guard countered an attack before retreating to Saint Didere in Val Susa; a part of the Group could flee to Switzerland, whereas others continued to fight in the Piedmontese valleys starting the partisan Resistance.

“The French population made a clear-cut distinction between the two occupiers. It was well-disposed towards the Italians and hostile to the Germans”



Above.
Tolone, June 1943. A sentry in coastal surveillance.

Right.
Operation "Anvil-Dragoon" in August 1944.

Military operations which are worth mentioning are: the defence of the railway station of Nizza, which was led by Captain Carlo Breviglieri and, after his death, by reserve second lieutenant Salvatore Bono, who was decorated with the Gold medal for military valour at the end of the conflict; the defence of the stronghold of Fréjus by elements of the 8th sector of the Frontier Guard; the clash of Ormea, on the afternoon of the 10th, where the German forces who were going up Val Tanaro towards Imperia, clashed with an Italian garrison, which had just been organized, and suffered heavy losses. The total number of the Italian soldiers who had been captured, in September 1943, by the 19th German Army was about 60 000. Not all the prisoners were deported to Germany, the majority of those who had chosen the job in Todt, as an alternative to prison, were organised in groups of workers in France.

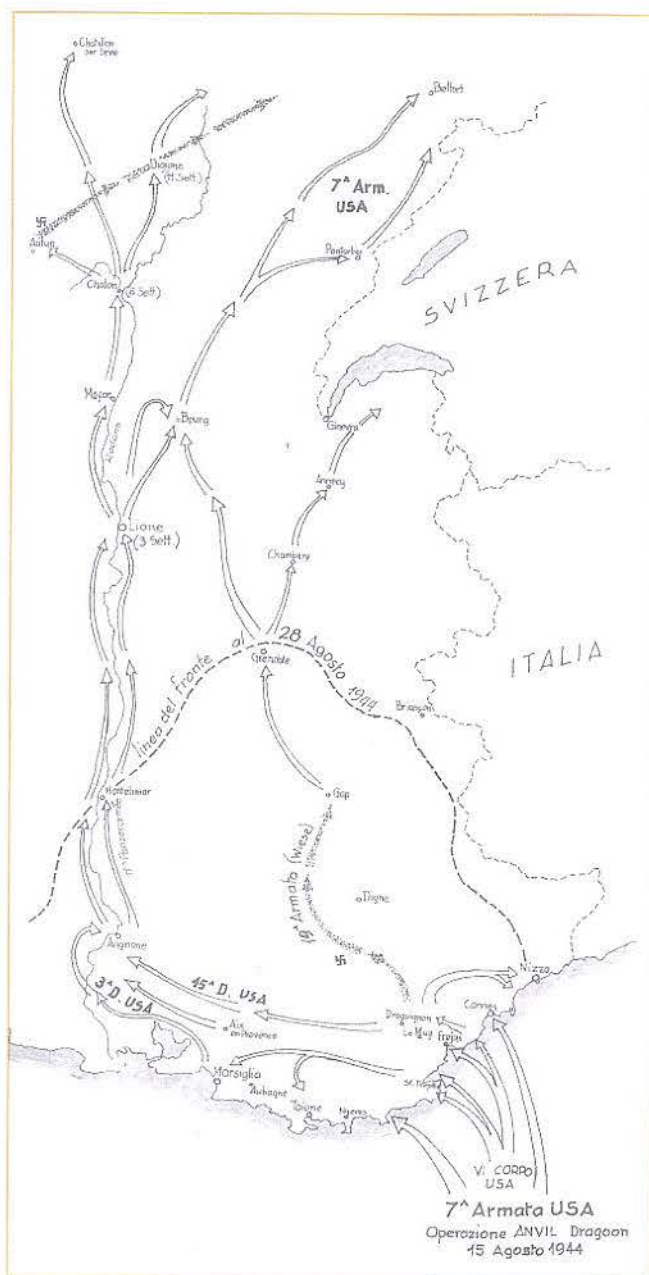
The participation of the Italian soldiers of the 4th Army in the French Resistance, who evaded capture or avoided units of work, was a phenomenon which concerned the South-East and the oriental part that was close to Italy, where there were lots of anti-fascist exiles.

During the first months after the armistice, the French partisan formations were cautious in encouraging the assignment of the Italian soldiers to the «maquis», to avoid infiltration of spies and above all because, with the imminent arrival of the winter, their presence would worsen the already difficult situation of provision of fresh supplies. Their integration into armed groups happened with the adhesion to F.T.P.F. (Franc Tireurs et Partisans Français), subsequently F.F.I. (Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur) and rarely to the military organizations of the A.S. (Armée Secrète). In September 1944, after the conquest of Tolone and Marseilles, after the allied Forces had freed South France, a new front of fighting was created on the

western Alps which, from the Switzerland to the Mediterranean, follows the borderline between Italy and France, where the Germans were deployed in defence of the principal passes to Piemonte. The Allies divided the front of the Alps into two sectors: the first one was French, where all the F.F.I. forces of the area were deployed, from the Swiss border to Col de Larche; the second one was American, from Col de Larche to the sea.

THE CONDITIONS OF THE JEWS DURING THE ITALIAN OCCUPATION

In order to assess the Italian occupation in France and the way the local Jewish population was normally treated, especially if it is compared with the concur-



rent German occupation and with the behaviour of the French collaborationist authorities, mentioning the «a priori» historical and historiographical relationship between Fascist Italy and the so-called «Jewish question», during the twenty years of Fascism in Italy and during the first part of the war that was fought at the Germans' side, is overriding: the absence of a mass «pagan-racial» anti-Semitism that was similar to the Nazi one; the integration of the Jewish population into the Italian society; the «intellectual marginality» of an original anti-Semitic fascist ideology; the absence, until 1938, of an international anti-Semitic policy; the hostile reception to the racist legislation from the vast majority of the Italian population; the «legalitarian spirit» with which the legislation was applied, until the establishment of the Italian Social Republic, in Italy and in the areas that were occupied abroad by the public administration, *in primis* the Armed Forces and the administration of foreign matters; the dramatic turning point in the anti-Semitic policy with the establishment of RSI. The attitude of the Italian civil and political society towards the Jews can be described by a high level of assimilation that was reached by 1938. The Jewish people had participated in the process of national unification, which had coincided with their definitive emancipation, and in many cases had been an essential part of the ruling class of the liberal State. The same participation in the First World War, among the ranks of democratic or even nationalist interventionism, highlights an absolute homogeneity of aims and not an eccentricity of the Italian Jewish people compared to the remaining part of the national community. Right from the start some Jewish people were active members of Fascism and occupied influential positions in the structure of the regime. The regime did not have scruples about establishing relationship with the Zionist movement, not only with the «revisionist» wing of Jabotinskij, and during the two World wars Italy was the country that, together with France, helped the Jewish refugees of central-eastern Europe the most. The passing of the racial laws in 1938, as well as the progressive political-ideological approach to Nazi Germany and to the war of aggression represent a real split in a framework of substantial continuity. However, this split is not complete, exactly as the events mentioned above show (De Felice, «History of the Italian Jewish people under Fascism», Turin, Einaudi, 1972; N. Caracciolo, «The Jewish people and Italy during the war 1940-1945», Rome, Bonacci Editor, 1986).

These data reflect and, in a way, explain the apparent contradictory behaviour of the Italian military authorities who, although they were tied to an oath of loyalty to a regime that had become



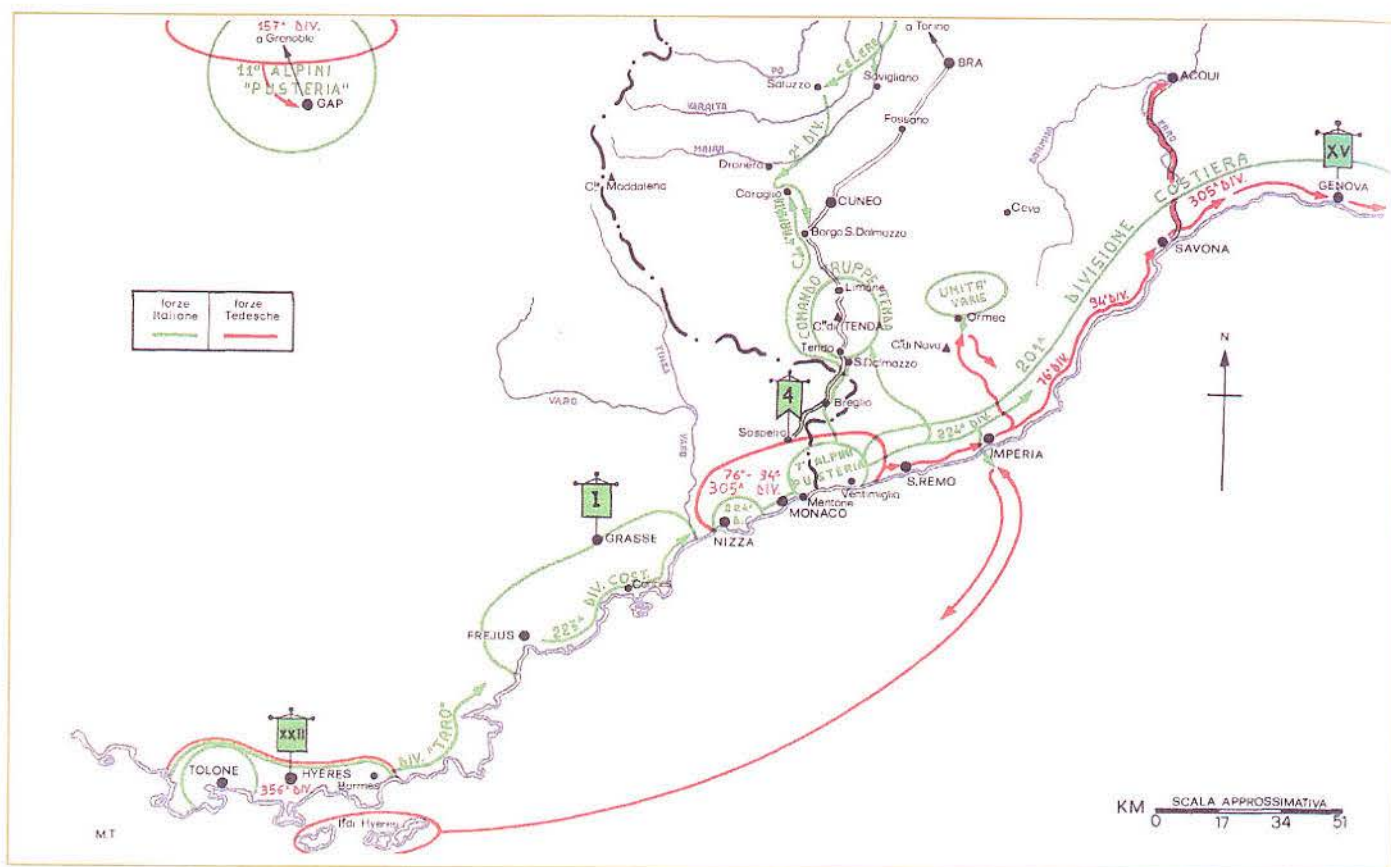
General Maurizio de Castiglioni. Commander of the «Pusteria» 5th Alpine Division.

anti-Semitic in 1938 with the exclusion of Italian Jewish people from the national community, protected the Jewish population in South France from the Germans, as if they foreboded the tragic consequences of those events.

In the period between the Armistice of Villa Incisa and the entry of the troops of the 4th Army in France, on the 11th November 1942, in the eight departments under the Italian jurisdiction (the Maritime Alps, the High Alps, the Low Alps, Isère, Drôme, Savoia and High Savoia), the presence of Jewish people increased gradually and, at the same time, the authorities of Vichy adopted a strict anti-

Semitic policy: at first there were 15-20 000 people (especially in the Maritime Alps Department), then the number grew to 40-50 000 people as a consequence of the drift of refugees coming from the area of German occupation and even from Belgium and Holland. From the winter '40-'41, the French prefectorial and police authorities tried to stem this drift through the adoption of measures aimed at sending the foreign Jews away and, above all, taking measures of forced residence or of internment in the concentration camps of Gurs and Rivesaltes. In July '42, with the intensification of the German pressure on the Government of Vichy and with the return to power of Laval, strict anti-Jewish measures were adopted and the French pledged to hand about 50 000 Jewish peo-

“At the announcement of the armistice, General Ver-cellino ordered to fall back into Italian territory...”



Situation of the operations of the 4th Army on September 8, 1943.

ple over to the Germans, starting a ferocious man-hunt. In this first phase, Italy tried to oppose this persecutory policy, through the activity of consular authorities and the delegation of control of the CIAF, which were stationed in Nice and in other places of the French Midi. By intercession of Angelo Donati (an Italian Jew, ex-Official of the Royal Army. In 1916, during the First World War, was sent to France as liaison officer in the French Army. At the end of the conflict, he moved to Paris, where he would become President of the Italian Chamber of Commerce. He was a fervent Zionist and from 1933 he took care of the refugees coming from the central-eastern Europe and, after the armistice of Villa Incisa in 1940, because he had cultivated precious friendship with the diplomatic and military authorities, he established contact with the CIAF's highest authorities in order to protect his coreligionists as much as possible) these authorities provided lots of people with protection. The proper enforcement of the anti-Semitic law, by the administration of Vichy in the colonies and in the Overseas Lands, had already caused friction with Italy. In particular, in Tunisia, this attitude had excited the CIAF's attention. With the decree of 30th November 1940, in fact, the French racist laws were extended to Tunisia and about 6 000 Jews, who had their origins

in Leghorn, were persecuted, although, until then, they had been subjected to the conventional regime of 1896, which applied to all Italians that were resident in the Regency. The protest of the Italian Jewish people mobilized the consular and diplomatic authorities and led to the Foreign Minister's intervention, who, with a note of 17th March 1941, exhorted the General Residence of France in Tunis to apply the Convention of establishment of 1896 to the Italian Jews. This disagreement was not solved in Italy's favour; in fact, until the Italian-German occupation of Tunisia at the end of '42, the French authorities were able to drive home their point of view (R.H. Rainero, Mussolini and Petain. History ... citation p. 1).

From the entry of the Italian troops in Provence and Savoia, at the end of '42, this activity of tutelage became systematic. The German authorities tried hard to get rid of the Jewish people who live in the region and demanded that the Italian authorities collaborate with them in the activity of capture which the French police had to do. The Command of the 4th Army answered them that Italy had jurisdiction only over its area of occupation and it could not adopt punitive measures against the Jewish people, regardless of their nationality, beyond this territory. In the area of occupation of the 4th Army there were three Italian concentration camps: in Sospel, north of Nice, in Modane and in Embrun. The subjects of the enemy states, which were not dangerous, especially the Jewish people, were assigned to «forced residence» in



Nice, January 1943. Emplacement of a "Breda" light machine gun.

places that were chosen by the Command of the Corps. After November 1942, lots of Jewish people from the area east of the Rhone headed for Grenoble, Chambéry and Annecy, for thermal cities, such as Aix-les-Bains, and for tourist cities, such as Megève and Chamonix, as well as the cities that were situated along the French Riviera such as Nice that had accommodation facilities that were available to resettle a great number of refugees. There was a continuous exchange of notes between the German authorities of occupation and the Government in Berlin, between the Government in Berlin and the Government in Rome, between the authorities of Vichy and the Italian authorities of occupation: on the one hand, the Germans stressed the need to follow a common anti-Semitic policy, on the other hand, the Italians often refused to adhere to these regulations. In this regard, a good example can be given by the clash with the authorities of Vichy. On 20th December 1942 the prefect Ribière adopted a decree providing for the forced residence in the departments of Drôme and Ardèche of all the Jewish people that lived in the Maritime Alps department. In this way, thousands of refugees would come under the German jurisdiction because the department of Drôme was occupied in part by the Wehrmacht and the department of Ardèche was situated in the German area of occupation. The Consul General of Italy in Nice, Nicola Calisse, after having received a warning from Donati, informed the Foreign Minister who, by telegraphic message n. 34/12825, on 29th December 1942, expressed his opposition to any external interference in the areas that had been occupied by the Italian troops. This is the telegram: «Following the telegraphic message n. 34/R 12579, on 22nd December 1942, we inform you that, accord-



June 1943. A checkpoint in a built-up area.

ing to what the R. Delegation for Repatriation in Nice has reported, the foreign Jews that live in the Maritime Alps Department have been assigned to forced residence in departments of German occupation and Italian Jews have been asked to leave the department of Drôme that is occupied in part by the German troops. In this regard, we must make it clear that in the Italian areas of occupation under no circumstances should the French Authorities force the foreign Jews, Italian Jews included, to move to places that are occupied by the German troops. The precautionary measures against foreign and Italian Jews must be adopted only by our authorities, who have already been informed about the rules to follow, as pointed out by the telegraphic message mentioned above. It mentions the rules governing the treatment of the Jews in the Kingdom, except for some precautionary measures that depend on military requirements.

Since we are asked if the transfer of the Italian Jews to the area of our occupation can be facilitated, we answer that it is against our interests to facilitate the entry of undesirable elements into the territories that

are occupied by Italian troops.

The case of the Italian Jews who live in the areas that are occupied by the Germans and who want to enter the areas that are occupied by our troops is quite different. We cannot refuse to accept them, who will be subjected to the same precautionary measures that have been adopted against the Italian Jews that live in territories of our occupation».

As a consequence of the fact that Italy wanted to handle the «question» independently, despite the protest of Vichy and the German doubts, the living conditions of the Jewish people in the Italian area of occupation improved, especially thanks to the operativeness of the organizations that provided the

“In Southern France, the Italian military authorities protected the Jewish population from the Germans...”



Jewish people with help and aid in those areas and to the «tutelary» activity that Donati, through the Comité Dubouchage of Nice, did at the high command (the Jewish people that flooded into Nice from the rest of France could count on the aid of a special committee, which was situated in Boulevard Dubouchage, to which the Italian authorities gave authorization to provide the refugees with identification papers). The Jewish people who had passed through the committee were sent to different centres, such as Saint Martin-Vesubie, Mégève, Saint Gervais, Vence, Barcelonnette.

In February–March 1943, the clash with the Italian military authorities and the prefects of that area became serious; in retaliation for an attempt on the life of two German Officials the order to transfer the foreign Jews to the area that was under German control was repeated; thanks to the intervention of General Maurizio Lazzaro de Castiglioni, Commander of the 5th Alpine Division «Pusteria», those people who had been arrested at Grenoble were released and the process of arrests in the city was stopped. This order was extended to all the area that had been occupied; for this reason, the process of deportation decelerated and the drift of the Jewish people to the Italian area started again. This caused a real deceleration of the anti-Jewish activity that coincided with the creation of the Centre of contemporary Jewish Documentation and of other aid organizations, in the spring–summer 1943, in Grenoble. The Italians did not surrender over the Jewish question and this attitude, which clashed with the policy of the Axis, led to the creation of a special unit of race police in Nice. General Inspector Guido Lo Spinoso was put in charge of the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs, which had already been established, in Nice; this man, did not «intend to approach the problem according to German criteria and in close collaboration with the German and French police» – as hoped for in the telegram that had been sent to the Command of Sicherheitpolizei (SIPO) and of Sicherheitdienst (S.D.) of Paris from Gruppenführer Müller, Head of the 4th Section of S.D. of Berlin – on Donati's advice, he contacted Father Benoît-Marie and let the Comité Dubouchage do its work.

After 25th July, on the one hand the ideological

reservations about the racial policy of the Fascism became stronger and were expressed openly, on the other hand the decision of the Italian Supreme Command to put an end to the occupation of South France, repatriating the 4th Army (this decision was made in August in order to assure, in the light of the imminent armistice, a more solid defensive line on the western alpine arc to counter the German attacks) had negative consequences for the Jewish people who, up to then, had enjoyed the protection of the Italian soldiers. After the news spread across the refugees, many of them announced their intention to follow the Italian troops beyond the Tinea–Varo line; this ques-

Left.

June 1943. A sentry on duty at a roadblock with antitank obstacles (visible on the right).

Below.

June 1943. A piece of artillery employed for coastal defence.

Right.

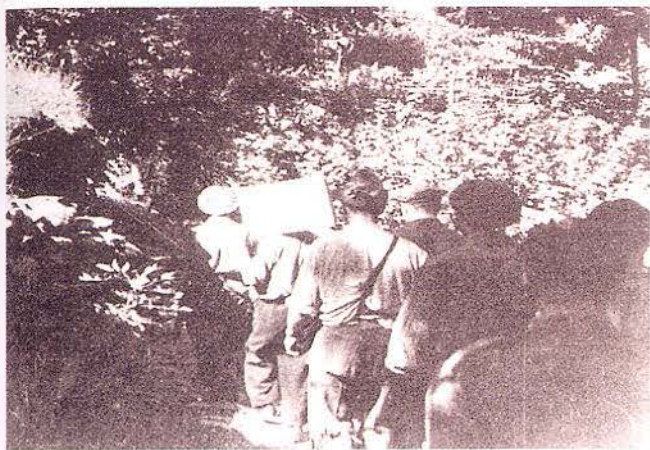
Italian soldiers organized in the French Resistance.



tion was discussed in Rome and the important decision was made at an interdepartmental level on 28th August not to prevent people from entering Italy. By a telegram of 7th September, the Foreign Minister invited the consular authorities to «send those people who could acquire Italian citizenship to Italy».

The events of 8th September, with the armistice, the disorientation of the 4th Army and the cessation of any form of Italian legal tutelage towards the Jews of the occupied area, led to direct persecution. Just a few of them, who had taken refuge in time in the regions neighbouring Provence, could find refuge in Italy and save themselves from deportation. In this context, we should mention the story of about 800–900 Jews in S. Martin Vesubie who, through the «Colle delle Finestre» and the «Colle della Ciriégia», were able to reach respectively Entraque and Valdieri, following some troops of the 4th Army who were disbanded and were returning to Italy after the armistice.

During the Italian occupation the small town of S. Martin Vesubie, about 60 Km from Nice, was equipped



as a place of forced residence for about 300 Jewish families, who were foreign and came from central-eastern Europe. They were not allowed to leave the country and they had to be at the local Italian police force's disposal. This was the only rule they had to observe. In this climate of tolerance that had been created by the Italians, the community could elect its own representative Committee that was responsible to the authority of occupation. Schools were opened and a Zionist juvenile cell was established in order to develop an intense political-cultural activity. Lots of hotels were requisitioned, among which Le Chalet Ferrix. On the evidence of the inhabitants and of the Jews, in the hall of Le Chalet Ferrix a synagogue was created. Jewish festivals were celebrated there and even two weddings. The Germans continued to disagree about how the Jewish question had been handled. However, the Italians always gave them a formal refusal and evasive answers to guarantee the Italian military security.

On 8th September, when the news came that in a few hours the area of Vesubie would fall into the Germans' hands, the Jewish committee decided that the community should evacuate immediately and follow the Italian soldiers who were forced into retreat. They crossed the border in different groups; the first one left at the first hours of the dawn of 9th

September, the last one left Vesubie during the night between the 10th and the 11th, when the country had already been occupied by the Germans. After crossing the alpine divide, in groups and with makeshift provisions, these refugees overflowed into Valdieri and Entraque, whereas the last people to arrive headed for the valley bottom towards Borgo San Dalmazzo. Their arrival was unexpected and this alarmed the authorities of a podestà who gave assistance to them and, as the case of Mr. Gerbino, Podestà of Entraque shows, informed the section of the Israelite community of Turin in Cuneo and of DELASEM. In a few days, the dis-banded soldiers evacuated the two villages, whereas



Nice, January 1943. An Italian cavalry unit riding along the port quay.

the majority of the Jews, except about 30 of them who headed for Valle Vermentagna and reached Palanfrè, decided to stay in the two villages of Valgesso. On 12th September, a unit of the 1st Division Panzer SS «Leibstadarte Adolf Hitler», led by Major (Sturmabannführer) Joachim Peiper, assumed command of the German troops of the province of Cuneo, adopting the first repressive measures; on 16th all foreigners who were in the territory of Borgo San Dalmazzo were ordered to go to the local German Command under pain of death. On the previous day in Valdieri, without any notice, they had already conducted the first search for the Jews. The refugees of Entraque and Valdieri did not resist arrest and gave themselves over to SS; after 15 days there were

searches in Valgesso, in Stura and Vermentagna, as a prelude to the internment of about 400 people in the German concentration camps in November. After examining the conditions of the Jews during the Italian military occupation in South France, Cavaglion's words express the profound sense of the attitude of the Armed Forces and of the Italian soldiers

towards the tragedy that had struck those people: when in a good part of Europe there was the cruellest German repression, when the police of all countries of central Europe were mobilized to arrest the Jews, some areas under Italian occupation changed, as if by magic, into places of asylum for the refugees although Fascist Italy and Hitler's Germany were bound together by the same destiny.

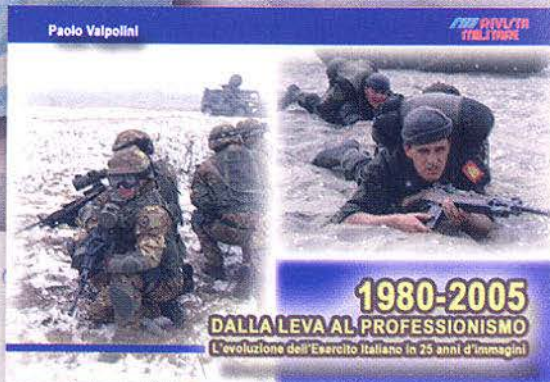
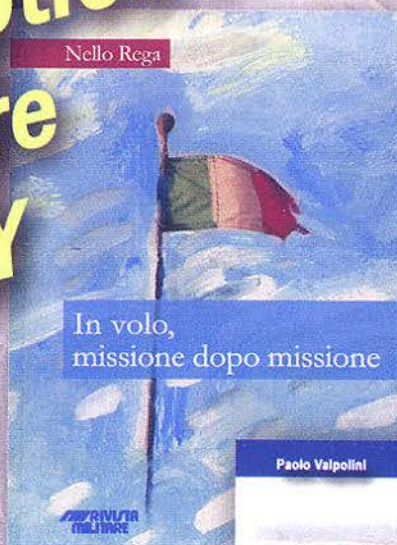
“...with the armistice, the disorientation of the 4th Army and the end of any form of Italian legal protection of the Jews, led to their direct persecution”

Salvatore Orlando
Lieutenant Colonel,
History Office,
Army General Staff

RIVISTA MILITARE

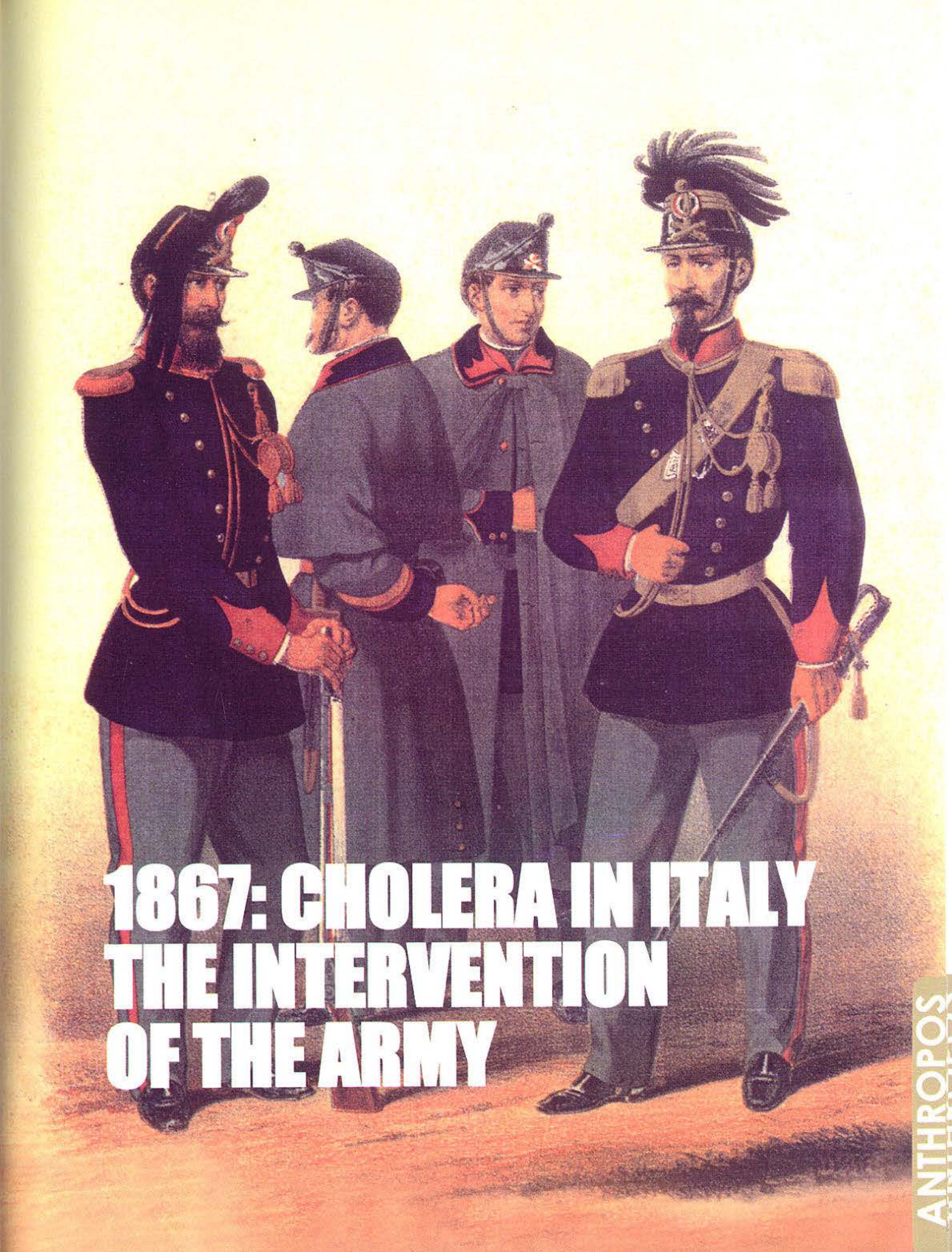
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An illustration of four Italian military officers in 19th-century uniforms. The officer on the far left is in profile, facing right, wearing a dark blue uniform with red epaulettes and a bicorne hat. The second officer is also in profile, facing right, wearing a grey uniform with red epaulettes and a bicorne hat. The third officer is facing forward, wearing a grey uniform with red epaulettes and a bicorne hat. The officer on the far right is facing forward, wearing a dark blue uniform with red epaulettes, a bicorne hat with a plume, and a sword at his waist. The background is a plain, light-colored wall.

1867: CHOLERA IN ITALY THE INTERVENTION OF THE ARMY

1867: CHOLERA IN ITALY THE INTERVENTION OF THE ARMY

During the epidemic that hit Southern Italy, our soldiers carried out an extensive work of safeguard of public order and protection of the population, who had been completely abandoned by the local authorities. Writer Edmondo De Amicis, then a Second Lieutenant in the Royal Army, was a witness to those dramatic days.

Giuseppe Gioacchino Belli, in his dialectal sonnet "Er Collèra Morribus", describes the first cholera epidemic in Italy with lively, colourful and typically Roman ironic rhymes. Actually, they represent a religiousness that interpreted the plague as a divine punishment and preferred prayer and the intercession of patron Saints rather than the remedies (which, to say the truth, were scarce and inadequate) of the medicine of the time (1).

The magic practices, imbued with archaic superstition, in use in the country and in small towns – together with the widespread belief that the disease was not pathogenic, but caused by "poisons" administered by villains bribed by the Italian government – hampered the necessary medical interventions, which consisted in the adoption of appropriate hygienic and sanitary measures that, unfortunately, at the time were decidedly insufficient, owing to a scarce knowledge of that pathology. In order to conduct a more effective battle against the lethal vibrio of cholera, man will have to wait until the studies made by McNamara, Koch, Metchnikoff, Salimbeni, Pettenkoffer, Santarelli, Schwarzman, Lindenbaums and many others.

Those beliefs, deeply rooted among the popular classes, and particularly in the rural areas, also caused serious tensions, which often led to actual riots that made the intervention of the military necessary.

Edmondo de Amicis (2) was an eyewitness of those events. Then a 2nd Lieutenant in the Royal Italian Army, he described in his book "On Military Life", in the Chapter "The Italian Army during the cholera epidemic of 1867", the commendable role that the Army played with exemplary abnegation.

He writes: *Every time I think back to what the Army did and suffered for the Country during the cholera epidemic of 1867, and I feel again that keen sense of admiration and gratitude that in those days the news of a new act of charity and civil courage roused in me, I wonder whether the*



Left.
"Bersaglieri" sergeant.

Title page.
Artillery Officers of the National Guard.

greatest part of those deeds have already been forgotten by most, and many facts have never been known, and all, or almost all, are known too vaguely to be appreciated and praised as they deserve.

People in general have probably already confused all those beautiful individual acts in a single concept – the Army did good – as they usually do after a successful battle, expressing and extolling in the name of a General the feats and deeds of one hundred thousand soldiers.

And I am confirmed in this worry when I consider that the Country is only a spectator of wars and can, and usually does, observe many things; on the circumstance of the cholera epidemic it was, at the same time, an actor and a victim of the terrible tragedy. Thus it could pay little attention to the many and fleeting partial acts, the effects of which, as generous as their purpose may have been, were small and almost unnoticeable, compared with seriousness of the ills that afflicted it.

Now, there is no one that cannot understand how the feeling of admiration and gratitude deriving from the vague news about the Army's work for the Country on that occasion can be much less deep and enduring, and the example much less effective, because if the way in which that work was individually done, and the sacrifices it cost, and the dangers that went with it had been known, its image would be engraved in everybody's mind.

During the deadly epidemic of 1867 (which hit the South of the Country in particular), the Royal Italian Army carried out a widespread work of territorial defence of public order and protection of the civilian population, ahead of its time, considering that the latter was very often neglected by the local authorities.

Let us go on with Edmondo De Amicis' vibrant memory: *The disorder of the Administrations, the upheavals and the general fear encouraged rogues and brigands and occasioned new ones, and all of them went through towns and country, committing every kind of robbery and violence.*

The Army, which could not leave off hunting them, even if its work was indispensable elsewhere, was thus pressed between thousands of different duties, one more dangerous and exhausting than the other.

The strength of the units, already scarce for meeting the needs in normal times, was completely inadequate for providing at the same time assistance to hospitals, sanitary cordons and public safety.



Infantry corporal in field uniform.

Nevertheless, all these duties were performed everywhere, splitting the strength as minutely as possible: consequently, almost everywhere soldiers could never sleep two nights in a row in their barracks and could not eat at the fixed times, but only hastily, whenever and wherever possible.

The hardest tasks were those imposed now and then by unexpected popular riots, in the middle of the night, sometimes simultaneously in different spots of the same town; and a handful of soldiers had to go out against an armed crowd, a hundred times their number, who knocked at the barracks' doors furiously, throwing stones against the windows, threatening to set the house on fire, shouting "death to

“ Every time I think of what the Army has done and suffered... I feel that deep sense of admiration and gratitude... ”



Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal Staff Corps.

the poisoners and to the assassins of the people" and all other kinds of insults.

Moreover, in most towns, the soldiers had to remove the dead bodies from their houses, carry them to the cemetery on regimental wagons, dig the graves and bury them. People had to be prevented from fleeing their villages, be pursued and taken back to their houses, seizing by the arm, one by one, whole families of poor wretches, throngs of children and women shouting and crying desperately.

At every corps and detachment, money was collected for the poorest families; in some villages a quantity of bread was distributed daily; in others, meat and soup; where one could not give anything else, one gave the leftovers of the soldiers' rations, straw and old clothes, anything.

"For all, an immense sorrow: that of having to bid the last farewell to so many brave soldiers..."

At many units, permanent assistance committees were set up; Officers went every day to the poor's houses to help, to give advice, to keep an eye. The soldiers gave their straw mattresses to the hospitals, assisted the ill in the lazarets and private houses, and there they went courageously and cheerfully, doing their utmost duty.

In the villages where there were no more chemists left, our men, supervised by medical officers, handed out medicines in shops, or took them to the houses where they were needed.

In other places, where even the shops selling indispensable food were closed, the soldiers had them opened by force and attended to the sales in person or oversaw them.

It was often necessary to keep the markets open, in part controlling the delivery of the foodstuff and in part safeguarding law and order, which were continuously at risk.

Both in villages and in towns, quite often the servicemen had to knead and bake the bread, a job that no one wanted to do, since it was believed that cholera could be caught by sweating. In many cases the soldiers had to sweep the streets and the homes of the poor, together with "carabinieri" and police, because nobody wanted to carry out that dangerous task.

The Officers were often forced to perform tasks which, albeit less humble, were much more unusual and difficult: they had to act as Mayors in the villages deserted by the Authorities, and sometimes as doctors. And always they were almoners and missionaries, among populations that were dazed and aggravated by fear and sufferings, heated by fierce passions.

The same was true for the medical officers, who, besides having to take care of the soldiers, almost everywhere had to look after the civilian people, of whom, first of all, they had to overcome prejudices, repulsions and hatreds.

The Corps Commanders, pressed by thousand needs, difficulties and responsibilities, were always concerned about their troops, divided and scattered here and there, always in movement and in danger.

For all, an immense grief: that of having to bid the last farewell to so many brave soldiers, good comrades, dear friends for a long time.

In that year also Calabria, among the many evils that had always afflicted that region, had to face the rampant lethal cholera epidemics that hit twenty seven municipalities, with a very high death rate, particularly among the population of Scilla, Bagnara and Reggio.

The raging of the epidemic was accompanied

by popular commotions that resulted in actual tumults (mainly originated from a collective and blind panic fear of that pestilential disease, which most people considered actual poisoning) which in some cases were repressed by the immediate intervention of the Royal Army, while, in other cases, turned into bloody lynching of the "plague-spreaders", the accused, detested poisoners.

These dramatic events were also recalled by De Amicis in the abovementioned work: *Meanwhile, cholera had spread over almost all the other provinces of Italy, especially in the southern ones, and in the Reggio province more than anywhere else. There, at the end of the year, it produced its last and most dreadful hecatomb.*

As a crowning of misfortune, the old superstition that cholera was the effect of the poisons spread by the Government started to take root among the populace, since the common people of most southern regions, for the habit acquired under the oppression of the previous rulers, considers the Government an enemy continuously and secretly bent on damaging them in order to preserve itself.

These popular prejudices were secretly fomented by the Bourbonists and the clericals. All members of the police force, "carabinieri", customs officers and all government officials, were suspected of poisoning.

Seditious proclamations were diffused and affixed on the streets, inciting to revenge and blood. Now and then the mob, armed with sickles, pikes and rifles, assembled and ran wildly through the streets of the villages trying to find and kill the poisoners. They threatened or assailed the barracks of "carabinieri" and soldiers, stormed into doctors' houses and plundered them; swarmed into chemist's shops scattering and destroying everything; invaded the city's office, tore the national flag to pieces, burned registers and documents.

Whole families, accused of poisoning, were assailed unawares at night by crowds of people, and old people, women and children, were slaughtered one at the feet of the other, with no time for proving their innocence or begging for mercy.

In this regard the events of Ardore (3) were emblematic. The first lethal cases of the cholera epidemic occurred on August 14, 1867, as recorded by the Dean on the parish register.

The town and the entire municipal territory were surrounded by a tight military-controlled sanitary cordon, preventing everyone from entering or leaving. Furthermore, people coming from suspect places had to undergo a preventive treatment through special fumigations (with



Standard-bearer of the 1st Infantry Regiment.

essences of sulphur, rosemary and other aromatic herbs), which, according to the beliefs of the time, were suitable means for preventing the epidemic contagion.

At Ardore, nevertheless, the people's discontent turned into a ferocious bloody fury and for two days, September 4 and 5, 1867, the entire town was the scene of an armed popular revolt which, at the end, left behind seventeen dead, thirteen of whom had been slain because they had been considered "plague-spreaders".



Captain of the "Saluzzo" Light Cavalrymen.

That massacre was also related by De Amicis, whose pen hands down to posterity the sacrifice of 2nd Lieutenant Gazzone and the heroic behaviour of Corporal Albani, both detailed to Ardore by the Royal Army and stationed in the nearby town of Gerace with the 3rd Company of the 68th Infantry Regiment: In Ardore, a small outlying ward of Gerace, there were six "carabinieri" and twenty-five soldiers from the 68th Infantry Regiment, commanded by 2nd Lieutenant Gazzone.

In the morning of September 4, the armed population crowded outside the town shouting "death to the poisoners!" When the rebels considered they had reached a sufficient number, they stormed into town.

Lt. Gazzone, trusting in the friendship shown to him in more than one occasion, walked amiably towards the crowd, trying to calm them

down with good words: the answer were two bullets in his chest that knocked him dead on the ground.

To avoid adding horrors to horrors I won't say what was done to his body. The soldiers, attacked a few at a time, could not resist and could barely make it to the "carabinieri" barracks, where three families, named Lo Schiavo, had taken shelter, since the rebels, believing them guilty of poisoning, had burned down their homes.

An immense crowd gathered in front of the barracks and, with frightful shouts, asked that the poisoners be handed over to them. The head of the families, old Lo Schiavo, had the courage to come to a window and, crying and sobbing desperately, implored the mob to spare at least the blood of women and children.

They answered him that all were going to be torn to pieces. The poor father, overcome by desperation, fired a pistol shot towards the street. This was the signal for the assault. The crowd, armed with axes, with a high scream of rage, darted against the door and started throwing a hail of bullets and stones against the windows. The soldiers defended themselves from inside with gunshots. The battle lasted more than one hour.

At last, seeing that their efforts were useless, the mob set fire to the barracks. What a horrible scene! The flames attacked the whole house and flickered everywhere inside the rooms, the air was hot and the roof beams were crackling; outside whistles and wild shouts of joy; inside desperate screams of women and children; seven soldiers and Lo Schiavo lying in blood.

In this extreme situation, Corporal Albani decided to try the only way to safety: he gathered the three families in a small group, ordered the few soldiers left to carry the wounded on their shoulders; the group, led by him, quickly opened a door and, with fixed bayonets, rushed head first into the crowd.

The mob, stunned by that incredible boldness, made way, but as soon as they had passed, fired with their rifles and killed several members of the unfortunate families; others escaped, some in the houses, some in the country; the soldiers were not reached.

Two days later, three infantry companies arrived from Gerace, Monteleone and Reggio, and order was restored.

Captain Onesti of the Staff Corps, who for some time ran the municipal administration, Major Castaldini, who commanded the troops stationed in and around Ardore, and Broglia, the Battalion physician, behaved in such way that I would not know how to praise them appropriately.

I don't mention the soldiers who, there like everywhere else, did their utmost for the town, with unrelenting zeal and religious compassion.

These very serious events and offences were followed by a long criminal trial, held at the Criminal Court of Reggio Calabria. It ended on June 12, 1871 and inflicted a total of 262 years imprisonment and, for three defendants, the very hard penalty of hard labour for life.

Nevertheless, that sentence, although amply justified, does not appear to be exhaustive and convincing, in view of the results of the hearings.

Actually, from what emerges from the trial, it is not farfetched to think that the real chief instigators, who had astutely remained behind the criminal scene, were left unpunished. As a matter of fact, we read in the bulky justification of the sentence: *"The scheming of some evil persons, who took advantage of the situation to excite the souls of the people, moving them to commit the atrocious deeds"...*

Although the papers of the trial have not actually given an answer, which, on the legal and historical plane, may go beyond the chronicle of those tragic events, still they have permitted to retrace the painful course of that memorable and woeful popular tragedy that afflicted that ancient – and truly civilized – Calabrian town and all its people who, because of that and after that, for many years were pointed at, slandered and vituperated.

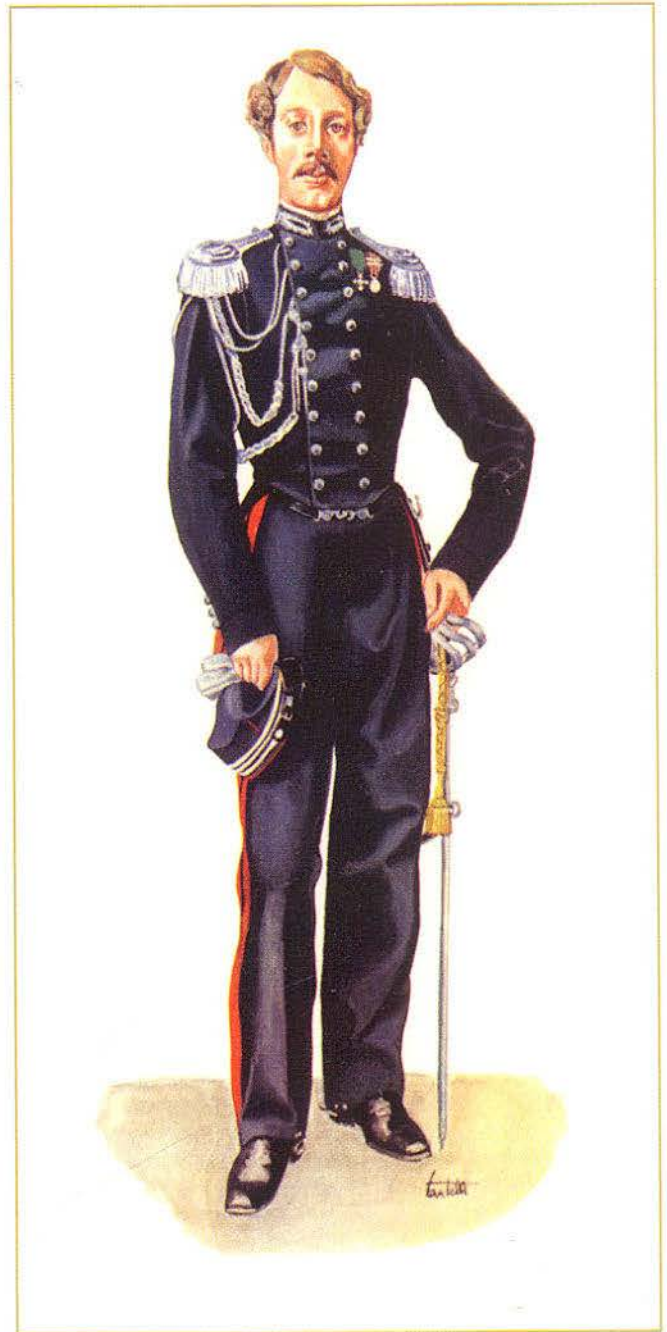
But time, which devours everything, has "eaten up" the memory of those horrible facts and of those tormented proceedings that marked the lives of those men indelibly. Men that were condemned also – and mainly – for crimes committed by others. About all those men a chronicler from Ardore said in the last century: *"The deluge came and submerged the less guilty"*.

God's justice has certainly evened up the losses.

Filippo Racco
Lawyer in Siderno

NOTES

(1) In his sonnet G.G. Belli refers to a medal coined in 1832 after the Virgin Mary's appearance to St. Catherine Labouré in Paris, on November 27, 1830. According to tradition, the medal was distributed to those affected by cholera during the epidemic that occurred in those years in the French capital and apparently some were healed. Since then, as the Roman poet recalled, the medal was considered miraculous.

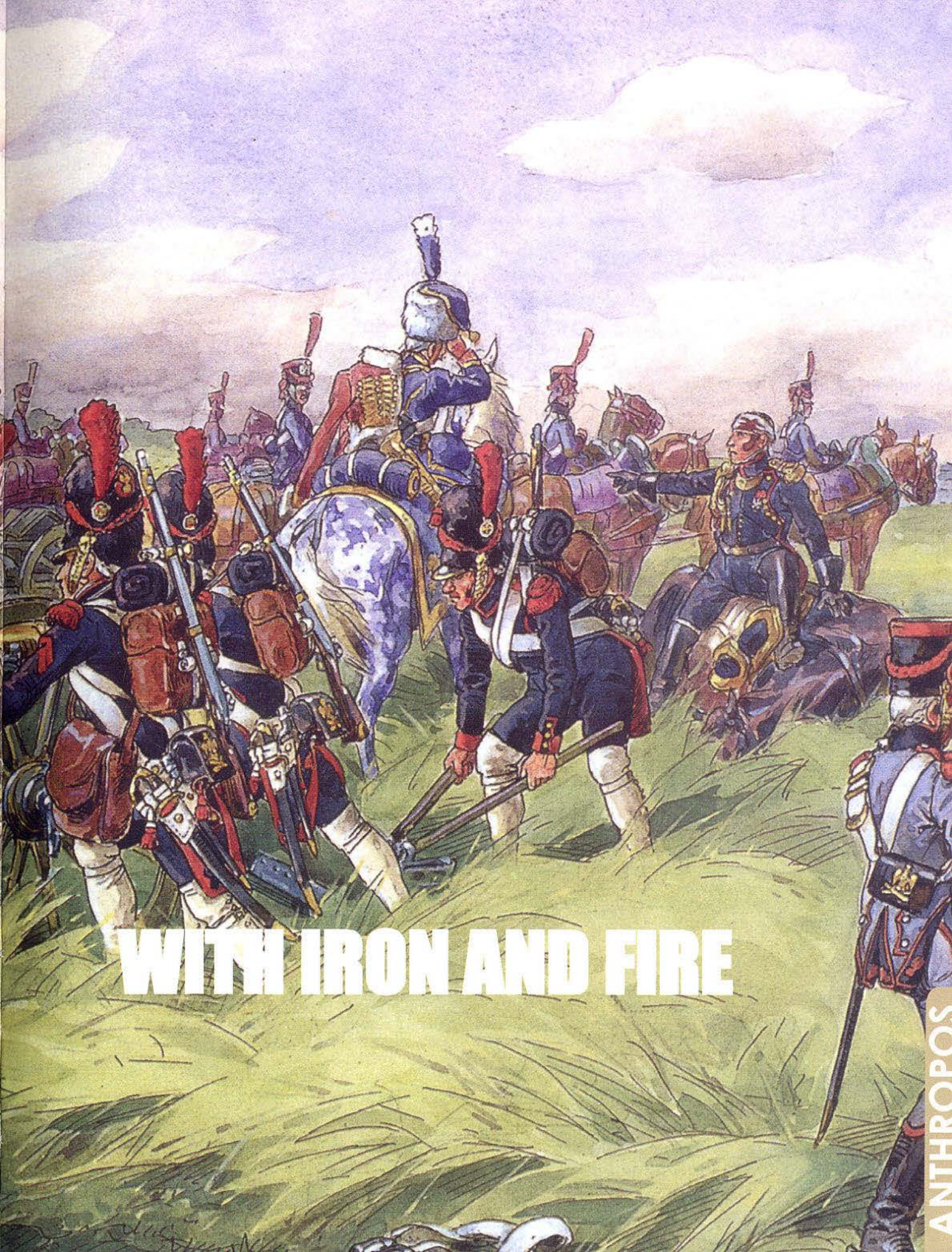


Captain of the "Reali Carabinieri".

(2) Edmondo De Amicis (1846–1908), an Officer in the Royal Italian Army, left the military to take up literature and journalism. From 1871 to 1879 he published six successful books on travels, followed by "Poesie" (1880), "Amici" (1883) and the very famous "Cuore" (1886). The latter was his masterpiece, where his deep love for goodheartedness is the most significant aspect of his personality and the most genuine expression of his literary genius.

(3) A small town in the province of Reggio Calabria, on a panoramic plateau (250m above sea level), about 6km from the shores of the Ionian sea.





WITH IRON AND FIRE

WITH IRON AND FIRE

This was the title of a show concerning "artillery stuff", which was held in Turin in 1995. Taking the cue from that interesting exhibition, we can analyse and get to know the French and Austrian artilleries employed during the Napoleonic wars, with the related devastating effects.

"With Iron and Fire" was the title of a show devoted to "artillery stuff", held in 1995 at the National Museum of Artillery in the Citadel of Turin.

The title is suitable, *si licet parvis componere magna*, also for this article dedicated to the artillery employed in the bloody duel that tore to pieces for almost a generation the civil and Christian European continent in the XVIII and XIX centuries, the so-called Age of Enlightenment.

By God, Sir, I lost my leg!

By God, Sir, you are right!

This surreal dialogue apparently took place at dusk on the 18th of June 1815 on the battlefield of Waterloo. The protagonists, speaking with typical English phlegm, are General Lord Uxbridge, Commander of Wellington's reserve Cavalry, and Wellington himself. The former had just realized that he had had a knee smashed by a French cannon shot. He eventually survived and went back home without his leg, which had been amputated and buried in a tomb, complete with gravestone, in the garden of the little hotel where he had been attended to. Antoine Faveau, French carabineer of Kellermann's 2nd heavy cavalry Regiment who faced him, but in the other Army, was less fortunate: an English cannonball hit him full in the chest, piercing his front and back armour with a hole about fifteen centimetres in diameter. What happened to his body nobody knows: but his armour can still be seen at the Army Museum in Paris, a striking evidence of the effects of the artillery in the Napoleonic wars.

But how were these cannons? And how was the artillery organized?

THE AUSTRIAN ARTILLERY

In 1790 the Austrian artillery was considered the best in Europe for the quality of its material but, above all, for its specialized personnel: the gunners, usually volunteers, were well trained, better paid and better treated compared with the infantrymen. Their service lasted 14 years, and often they enlisted quite young, sometimes at 15-16 years of age.

The Austrian artillery in the period of the Napoleonic wars envisaged 3 - 6 - 12 - 18 - 24lb cannons (the latter three employed in siege or fortress batteries) and 7 and 10lb howitzers. Similar to the French artillery, it also had standardized wheels and carriages, painted with a pretty light ochre colour, the so-called "imperial yellow", while the French ones were green.

The Austrian infantry regiments were supported by batteries of six 3lb guns or by four 3lb ones and a certain number of 6 pounders. The lighter pieces followed the movements of the troops during the various phases of the clash, while the heavier ones were positioned before the battle. A limit to their tactical employment was the almost complete inability to carry out violent and massive fire concentrations.

The artillery fire could start with bigger pieces up to about 1800 *Schritte*, i.e. steps (1135m), with cannons posted 15 steps in front of the infantry and 10 steps from each other. When the enemy infantry, or its cavalry, arrived at a distance of 300 steps (189m) the cannons were withdrawn by hand in the intervals of the formation or, as in the case of the English cavalry at Waterloo, temporarily abandoned by the gunners, who took refuge inside the infantry squares nearby. During the clash, if possible, the guns were moved to the flank, in order to rake the enemy by enfilade.

The number of gunners and horses used for towing and positioning the pieces varied according to the calibre: the three pounders had one head gunner every couple of cannons, 4/5 gunners and 4/6 utility soldiers for each piece, which was towed by two horses. A similar equipment was provided for the six-pounder pieces of the infantry, which were hauled by four horses, while the faster "cavalry" bat-

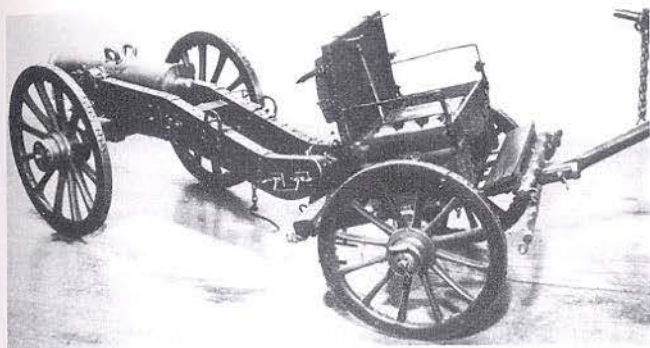


Left.

Aiming of an Austrian 3lb piece.

Title pages.

Foot artillery of the French Imperial Guard in combat.



Field-artillery gun on a limber with a caisson for munitions.

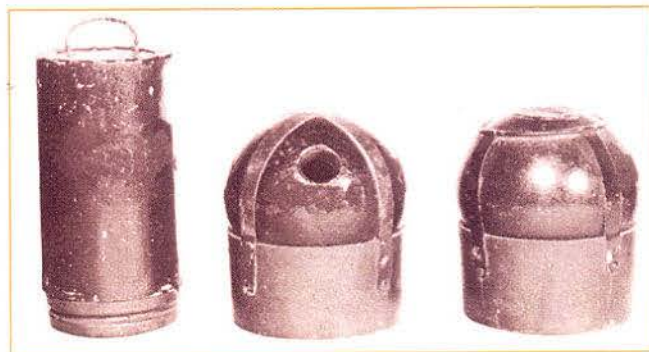
teries had a greater number of gunners – 6 – no utility soldiers and were towed by 6 horses. A unique characteristic of the Imperial-Royal Army was that the artillerymen did not move on horseback, but rode astride the carriage, on a special long multiple saddle appropriately called *Wurst* (sausage).

The three-pounder cannons had a barrel – made of bronze, like the 6lb ones – of 94cm, weighing 236kg. Their firing angle went from $+27^\circ$ to -6.5° . The solid ball had a diameter of 7cm (with a space of 3.3mm between ball and barrel) and weighed about 1300gr. It was propelled by a charge of 0.4kg that supplied a range of 315–760m for direct fire, 885–950 for the so-called *Gollschusse*, ricochet fire. The canister fire had a range of no more than 250m.

The six pounder (barrel 144–158cm, weight about 330kg, carriage about 400kg) shot a ball of 9cm in diameter (space of ca 4mm) weighing 2.700kg, propelled by a charge of 8hg for the ball and of more than one kg for the canister. Its range varied from 300 to 800m in direct fire and up to 1300m in ricochet: the range of the canister was a little longer than that of the smaller piece. The 12lb piece (with a barrel almost 2m long, weighing 771kg) fired an 11cm ball, propelled by a charge of 1.7kg for a maximum range of a little more than one km, which could reach more than 1500m with the ricochets.

Precision was acceptable against big targets (e.g. a densely deployed company): at 600 metres the probabilities of hitting the target varied from a respectable 70% to a scarce 40%, the efficacy of a three pounder did not exceed 500m. On the other hand, other tests, for a six pounder, give a 9% of targets hit at 950 yards. In a Prussian test of 1782, a target of 6' (feet?) of height by 100' (feet?) of length placed at 400 yards had supposedly received 46% of hits. From a distance of 400–500m a bell tower could be hit, without too many difficulties, by calm gunners with aimed fire.

On long distances, the efficacy of a canister was less effective: for a 6lb, 7% of targets hit at 300m, 5% at 375. A 3 pounder reached 250m at its most, but with scarce results. But when the shot hit straight into the target, its effects could be devastating: P. De Segur tells of a case, during the battle of Smolensk, where a shot penetrated until the 22nd line of a for-



Canister, common shell without primer, and roundshot. We can see the wooden sabots and the method of fixing them to the munitions.

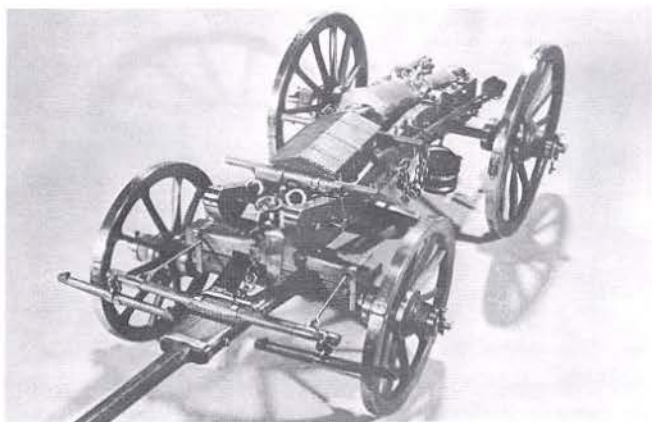
mation, mowing down every man on its trajectory. At Waterloo, the double-charge shots of the English artillery against the French cavalry had similar devastating effects.

The theoretical rapidity of the fire was remarkable: the cannon – for a short period – could fire a shot every 10 seconds: with aimed fire one could achieve a considerable cadence of 3–4 shots per minute (if the piece was well positioned, the ground did not give way, the gunners were quick and the recoil – 2–2,5 metres – did not stick the tail end into the earth. However, in battle one could not exceed two shots per minute. After 900 – 1000 shots a gun, provided it had not already exploded, was ready to be thrown away (or, better, melted again).

Ammunition. The launching charge was not loose, but was packed in a linen bag on which the ball was secured, and tied to a wooden base with metal strips: the whole made up the complete shot, loadable with a single operation. At the shot, the bag was pierced with a special device, the *Besteck*, subsequently the primer (*Schilfrohrbrannrohr*) was inserted into the touchhole, and the charge was lit, with a match held at the top of a stick, through the touchhole. There were three main types of ammunition: the solid balls, the explosive ones where the blast was determined by a fuse that burnt inside a wooden tube having a length adequate to the distance and time of the flight, and the canisters (or boxes) (*Kartatsche*), consisting of a certain number of iron balls of different size (from 16 to 45mm), packed in a tin container that disintegrated in flight. The canisters were used in close defence. There were also

double charges, normal solid balls linked to their powder bags and topped by a *Schrotbuchse*, i.e. a canister without charge: for example, the 3lb gun had a double shot with a 7cm ball placed at the end of a container full of iron buckshots (1). Besides, for special uses (e.g. against cavalry or batteries), there was the bar shot (*Sperrschusse*) where the projectile was made up of two bars, one metre long, chained together, or by chained balls (mainly for naval use, being ideal against the masts or the yards of a ship). Red hot balls were also used.

“In 1790 the Austrian artillery was considered the best in Europe for the quality of its material but, above all, for its specialized personnel”



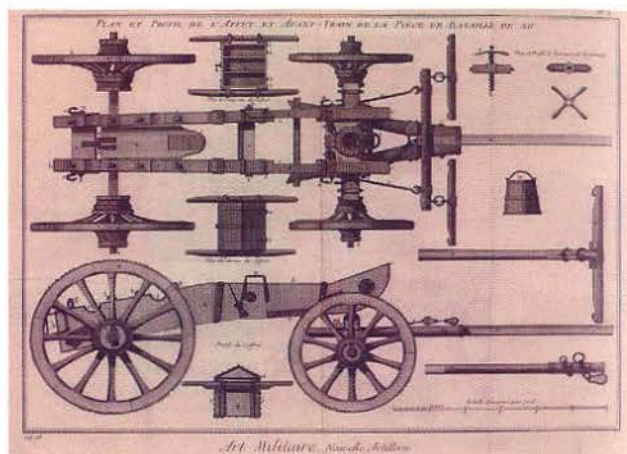
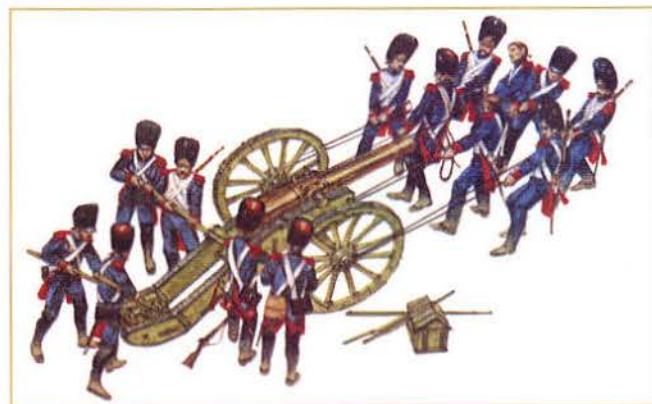
An 8lb French piece coupled to the limber. The caisson for munitions is fixed on the carriage.

THE FRENCH ARTILLERY

In the wars of the Revolution, and particularly in the *Grande Armée*, the artillery constituted one of the most effective instruments of the French Army. It was mostly realized by Napoleon who, not by chance, had started as an Artillery Officer. He gave a great impulse to both the standardization of materials and the militarization of the towing services and, above all, to the violent and aggressive use of large concentrations of cannons hauled at a gallop to positions very close to the enemy. The old method of pushing the cannons by hand up to the fire line was replaced by horse towing up to the danger line, and even further. As regards ammunition, in the French Republican and Imperial era, as regards typology and performance it was equivalent to the Austrian one (2). On the other hand, there were differences in the types, organization and, above all, in the employment of the guns.

The French artillery pieces were usually grouped into batteries of 8 cannons. The deployment of a battery on the fire line, if one could make it by the handbook, covered a depth of about 200 metres: in front

Repositioning of a 12lb French piece after the shift due to the recoil.



there were obviously the 8 cannons, with their limber placed a little behind. About fifty metres to the rear there was a second line of 8 caissons for munitions. Then there was a second line of caissons for the reserve munitions, another fifty metres behind. Finally, at a distance of about a hundred metres from the latter, there were six more wagons with the battery instruments, a wagon with the forge, one for the tools and one for the munitions of the battery personnel, two with munitions and tools for the howitzers, and a wagon with spare parts. When the battery moved in a column, it formed a rather encumbering procession: 30 vehicles, cannons included, 64 gunners (in case of 4 pounders, which were served by 8 men; while the 8 pounders had a crew of 13), 22 drivers (employing a minimum crew of one man per wagon) and at least 76 horses (2 for each wagon and 4 for each cannon): a total of at least 3-400 metres occupied by a single battery in movement.

In the republican period the artillery was formed by pieces of 12, 8 and 4 pounds and howitzers of 6 pounds. This material had been studied by Gribeauval already in 1776. The smallest piece weighed about 900kg and fired a ball of 80mm in diameter, weighing almost 2 kilos, with a range of 700-1000m. The 8lb piece, weighing 1400kg, had a ball of 10cm, weighing 4.4kg, that could reach a distance between 800 and 1500m. Finally, the 12 pounder, with its weight of almost 2 tons, could send a ball of 19cm of diameter at a distance between the 900m of effective range and the 1800m of maximum range, but there the ball arrived almost dead.

The elevation of the piece was achieved through a large axial screw, which was in fact introduced by Gribeauval; the side angle was reached through the rotation of the piece, carriage included.

As can be seen, the performances were almost equivalent because, although the smallest French piece was bigger and therefore more powerful, it was less handy than the Austrian smallest one. As a compensation, diameters, weights and power of the Austrian guns were more balanced than those

“Thanks to Napoleon the French Artillery had a great impulse in the standardization of materials and the militarization of the towing services and, above all, in the use of cannons hauled at a gallop close to the enemy”

of the French ones. Under 12 pounds (the maximum weight for field artillery) the Austrians obtained a more flexible volume of fire (with the lighter pieces of 3 and 6), while the French had heavier pieces (4 and 8lb). During the Consulate, Napoleon increased the firepower of his artillery by replacing the 4lb piece with a 6lb one using also, irony of fate, the very many Austrian cannons of this type captured in the various battles. Also many 8lb pieces were replaced by 12 pounders; actually, at this point, the French artillery resulted unbalanced to the front and too heavy. Hence, in 1809, the 4lb pieces were reintroduced. Nevertheless, some believe that this choice was not caused by technical motivations connected with the cannons, but by the poor quality of the personnel, exhausted by 13 years of bloody wars.

In 1805, at Austerlitz, the subdivision by calibre of the French artillery was as follows: for every 12lb cannon there were 8 pieces of 6lbs, 2 pieces of 4lbs

Right.

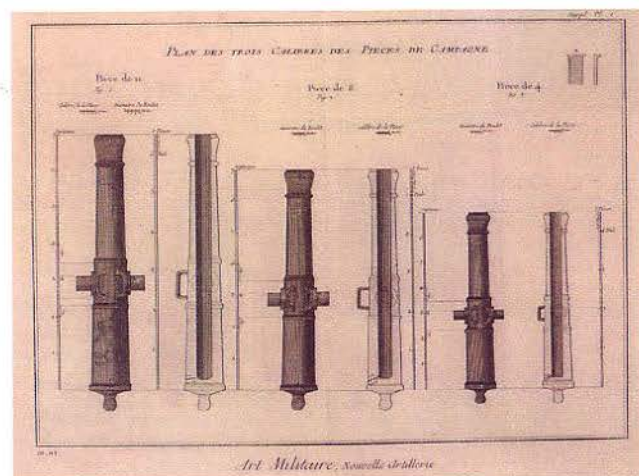
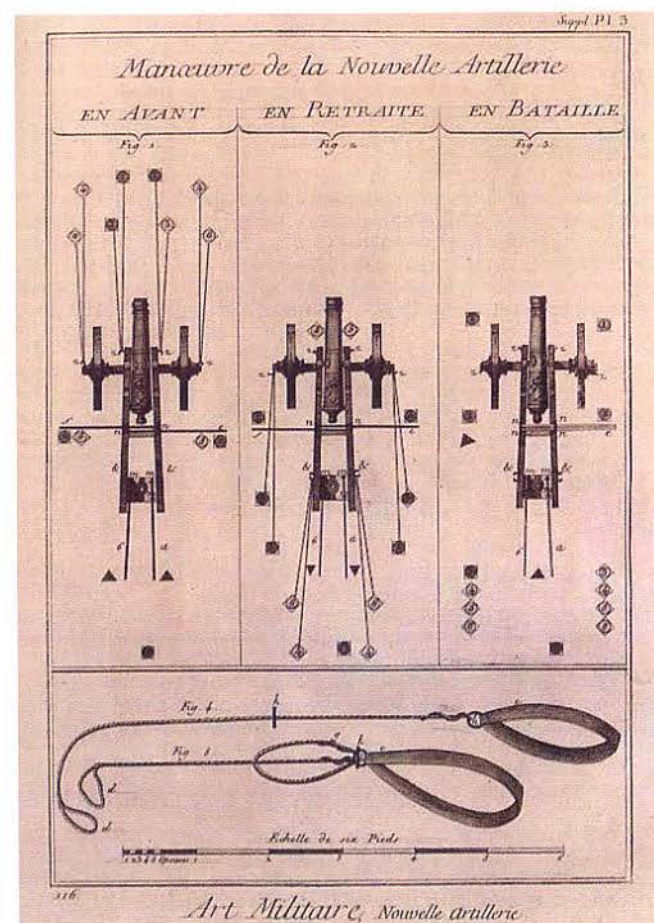
Graphic plane representation of three 12, 8 and 4lb field-artillery guns.

Left.

Plane and profile representation of a carriage and limber of a piece of Napoleon's time.

Below.

Graphic representation of the position occupied by the crew of an artillery piece: in the forward movement; in the backward movement; in combat.



and 3 howitzers, for a total of 109 pieces; in 1812, at Smolensk, the proportion was down to 4.7 of 8lb, 0.6 of 4lb pieces and 2.3 howitzers for every 12lb piece (for a total of 490 guns).

It should also be remarked the much more aggressive use of the artillery made by Napoleon (with the pieces always hauled forward, in close contact with the advancing troops) and his ability to concentrate large batteries of more than 100 guns, for example at Leipzig (but here also the Prussians were not joking, considering that General Blücher managed to concentrate 220 pieces, between Russian, Prussian and Swedish guns), Wagram, Borodino, Waterloo. On the other hand, Napoleon did not understand, or in any case did not take advantage of, indirect fire through explosive grenades or shrapnel on troops, especially if defiladed, preferring the violent direct ball fire: on heavy ground, this limited very much the effectiveness of the strikes, as was the case at Waterloo, where the balls sank, with little damage, into the soggy ground of Mont St Jean.

Leonello Oliveri

Expert on Military History

NOTES

(1) We can imagine the ballistic problems that a similar shot could have: between the normal space within the barrel, the solid ball, the canister and the single balls inside the latter, there was also the different aerodynamics of the canister and the ball, which very probably had a greater speed, therefore pushing the box where the dispersion of the single pellets occurred at the same time: everything to the detriment of precision.

(2) In the Italian edition of "Waterloo", published by BUR in 1999, as regards the ammunition of the Napoleonic guns (not only the French, but also the English ones), we find what is probably a mistranslation. In fact we read the caption of pag.63, referring to a French 12lb piece which "fired bronze projectiles; the English pieces, instead, used brass projectiles". Very probably the reference is to the barrels, not to the projectiles, which – as far as we know – were always made of iron.

SUMMARY IN VARIOUS LANGUAGES



Conflitti armati, di Giuseppe Romeo (pag. 2).

I nuovi scenari internazionali e le nuove capacità tecnologiche impongono la ridefinizione della policy d'impiego dello strumento militare.

Le unità del futuro dovranno operare in piena autonomia tattica e logistica per conseguire la necessaria flessibilità utile al raggiungimento degli effetti e degli obiettivi strategici desiderati.

Risorse energetiche e terrorismo, di Giovanni Ercolani (pag. 10).

La guerra al terrorismo ed i problemi legati alla sicurezza delle risorse energetiche stanno disegnando il contorno di un «Regional Security Complex», più ampio degli stessi confini geografici dei Paesi membri della NATO. Per affrontare efficacemente gli eventuali conflitti, che potrebbero esplodere in questa nuova ampia area, si rende necessaria una vera e propria rivoluzione culturale, che prenda in considerazione l'importanza strategico-operativa della *cultural intelligence* e dei *critical security studies*.

L'Africa subsahariana, di Massimo Biagini (pag. 27).

Una vasta area dove inclemenza del clima, geografia, miseria e lotte tribali ancora oggi si confermano fattori ad alto valore impeditivo per lo sviluppo economico, sociale e culturale. Un'area dove sempre più stridente è il contrasto tra la ricchezza del sottosuolo e la cronica povertà degli abitanti. Un'area dove il processo di democratizzazione trova, oggi, ossigeno e nuova speranza dalla maggior attenzione della comunità internazionale.

L'Esercito algerino, di Daniele Cellamare (pag. 39).

L'Algeria riveste, oggi, un ruolo-chiave nello scacchiere mediterraneo. Un'approfondita analisi della sua storia e delle sue Forze Armate ci aiuta a comprenderne politica e strategia.

Il «miracolo» indiano, di Riccardo Caimmi e Stefano Ciaramelletti (pag. 50).

Nuovo gigante del XXI secolo, l'India incentra ed esalta potenzialità e contraddizioni. Eppure presenta una stabilità e un'affidabilità, senz'altro superiori ad altre importanti realtà, che non subiscono gli effetti del pregiudizio culturale neanche nel rapporto, oggi problematico, con il mondo islamico. Intanto, l'economia e la società continuano a crescere....

Antoine Henry Jomini l'anti Clausewitz, di Ferruccio Botti (pag. 58).

Generale d'origine svizzera, al servizio di Napoleone e dello Zar, seppe diffondere il suo pensiero militare pur essendo un autodidatta.

Ritenendo la strategia una scienza esatta più che un'arte, si pose in antitesi con von Clausewitz. Ma la conoscenza più approfondita dei suoi trattati fa emergere una sorprendente complementarietà che, ancora oggi, trova applicazione nei teatri operativi.

L'evoluzione dell'Esercito, di Giuseppe Maggi (pag. 67).

Tutti i sistemi complessi tendono a mutare nel tempo per adattarsi ad esperienze maturate o per prepararsi a sfide future. L'Esercito, come e forse più delle altre organizzazioni, è stato oggetto negli anni di continui cambiamenti che, ultimamente, hanno subito una decisiva accelerazione. L'articolo che vi proponiamo è stato redatto dall'allora Capo Reparto Pianificazione Generale e Finanziaria dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito sulla base della sua conferenza tenuta, nell'ottobre scorso, ai frequentatori del Centro Studi della Difesa.

Il management della logistica, di Antonio Monaco (pag. 77).

Lo sviluppo tecnologico e i nuovi scenari internazionali richiedono lo sviluppo di sistemi integrati e di logistica al servizio delle unità da realizzare secondo precise scelte strategiche e valutazioni tecnico-economiche sostenibili. Un percorso arduo e complesso che richiede scelte oculate e professionalità degli operatori.

Le fortificazioni nella controguerriglia, di Giorgio Battisti (pag. 85).

Sono uno degli strumenti più idonei a garantire alle unità libertà di manovra e capacità di proiezione. Inoltre, contribuiscono ad aumentare le probabilità di successo delle forze impegnate nella pacificazione di una regione.

Il futuro dei trasporti strategici, di Francesco Capillo e Franco Fratini (pag. 100).

Le Forze Armate italiane ricoprono attualmente un ruolo da protagonista in vari Teatri di Operazioni anche molto distanti dalla madrepatria. Tale ruolo di Forza di pace proiettabile, in tempi estremamente ridotti, in qualsiasi parte del globo, ha richiesto una sensibile riorganizzazione operativa e logistica, per garantire uno strumento efficiente, flessibile e pertanto aderente alle richieste della Nazione e della Comunità internazionale.

La 4^a Armata italiana in Francia, di Salvatore Orlando (pag. 116).

Le operazioni belliche effettuate dal Regio Esercito al di là delle Alpi, nel corso del 2° conflitto mondiale, anche se non di particolare rilevanza, meritano di essere ricordate soprattutto per il drammatico coinvolgimento delle popolazioni ebraiche.

1867: Il colera in Italia. L'intervento dell'Esercito, di Filippo Racco (pag. 127).

L'epidemia, che colpì il meridione d'Italia, vide i nostri soldati svolgere una capillare opera di tutela dell'ordine pubblico e di protezione della popolazione, del tutto abbandonata dalle autorità locali. Di quei drammatici giorni fu testimone Edmondo De Amicis, allora Sottotenente del Regio Esercito.

Col ferro e col fuoco, di Leonello Oliveri (pag. 134).

Era questo il titolo di una mostra dedicata alla «roba di artiglieria» tenutasi a Torino nel 1995. Prendendo spunto da quell'interessante esposizione, possiamo analizzare e conoscere le artiglierie francesi e austriache utilizzate nel corso delle guerre napoleoniche, con i relativi devastanti effetti.



Armed Conflicts, by Giuseppe Romeo (p. 2).

The new international scenarios and the new technological capabilities require a redefinition of the military instrument's employment policy.

The units of the future will have to operate with full tactical and logistic autonomy, in order to obtain the necessary flexibility that permits to achieve the effects and the strategic objectives expected.

Energy Resources and Terrorism, by Giovanni Ercolani (p. 10).

The war on terrorism and the problems connected with the security of the energy resources are outlining the picture of a «Regional Security Complex» wider than the geographic borders of the NATO member Countries. In order to effectively face the possible conflicts which could explode in this

new wide area, an actual cultural revolution becomes necessary, which should consider the strategic and operational importance of cultural intelligence and of the critical security studies.

Sub-Saharan Africa, by Massimo Biagini (p. 27).

A vast area, where inclement weather, geography, poverty and tribal conflicts are still factors that hinder any social, economic or cultural growth. An area where the contrast between the wealth of its mineral resources and the chronic poverty of its inhabitants is more and more striking. An area where the democratisation process is revived and given new hope by the increased attention of the international community.

The Algerian Army, by Daniele Cellamare (p. 39).

Today Algeria plays a key-role in the Mediterranean area. An in-depth analysis of its history and Armed Forces helps to understand the Country's policy and strategy.

The Indian «Miracle», by Riccardo Caimmi and Stefano Ciaramelletti (p. 50).

A new giant of the XXI Century, India concentrates and emphasizes potentialities and contradictions. And yet, it presents a stability and reliability that are certainly greater than other important realities and do not suffer the effects of cultural prejudice, not even in today's problematic relation with the Islamic world. Meanwhile its economy and society continue to grow....

Antoine Henry Jomini, the Anti-Clausewitz, by Ferruccio Boti (p. 58).

A Swiss-born general, Jomini served Napoleon and the Czar and, although a self-taught man, he was able to spread his ideas. Considering strategy an exact science rather than an art, he was in complete disagreement with von Clausewitz. But a deeper knowledge of his treatises reveals a surprising complementarity which, still today, finds application in the theatres of operations.

The Evolution of the Army, by Giuseppe Maggi (p. 67).

All complex systems tend to change with time in order to adjust to the experiences matured or to prepare for future challenges. The Army, like, and perhaps more than other organizations, along the years has been the subject of continuous changes, which lately have undergone a decisive acceleration. This article has been written by the former Chief of the Department of General and Financial Planning of the Army General Staff, on the basis of a conference he held last October for the students of the Centre for High Defence Studies.

The Management of Logistics, by Antonio Monaco (p. 77).

The technologic development and the new international scenarios require the development of integrated systems and of logistics in support of the units, which must be realized according to precise strategic choices and sustainable technical and economic evaluations. It is a difficult and complex course that requires of the operators wise choices and professionalism.

Fortifications in Counterinsurgency Warfare, by Giorgio Battisti (p. 85).

Fortifications are one of the most effective instruments for ensuring freedom of movement and projection capability. Besides, they contribute to increase the chances of success for the forces engaged in the pacification of a region.

The Future of Strategic Transports, by Francesco Capillo and Franco Frattini (p. 100).

The Italian Armed Forces at present are playing a role of protagonists in various Operations Theatres, sometimes very far from home. This role of peace force projectable in extremely short times to any part of the world, has required a considerable operational and logistic reorganization, in order to guarantee an effective and flexible instrument, which meets the requirements of our Nation and those of the international Community.

The 4th Italian Army in France, by Salvatore Orlando (p. 116).

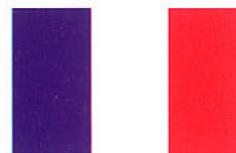
The war operations carried out by the Royal Army beyond the Alps during WWII, albeit not particularly noteworthy, deserve to be remembered, mainly for the dramatic involvement of the Jewish population.

1867: Cholera in Italy. The Intervention of the Army, by Filippo Racco (p. 127).

During the epidemic that hit Southern Italy, our soldiers carried out a vast work of safeguard of public order and protection of the population, which had been completely abandoned by the local authorities. Writer Edmondo De Amicis, then a Second Lieutenant in the Royal Army, was a witness to those dramatic days.

With Iron and Fire, by Leonello Oliveri (p. 134).

This was the title of an exhibition dedicated to «artillery stuff», which was held in Turin in 1995. Taking the cue from that interesting show, we can analyse and get to know the French and Austrian artilleries employed during the Napoleonic wars and the related devastating effects.



Conflits armés, par Giuseppe Romeo (p. 2).

Les nouveaux théâtres internationaux et les nouvelles capacités technologiques imposent la redéfinition de la policy pour ce qui est de l'emploi de l'instrument militaire. Les unités du futur seront appelées à agir en pleine autonomie tactique et logistique en vue d'intervenir avec le degré de flexibilité nécessaire pour obtenir les effets et atteindre les objectifs stratégiques souhaités.

Ressources énergétiques et terrorisme, par Giovanni Ercolani (p. 10).

La guerre contre le terrorisme et les problèmes liés à la sécurité des ressources énergétiques donnent lieu à un «Regional Security Complex» dont les frontières vont bien au-delà des limites géographiques des pays membres de l'OTAN. Pour affronter avec efficacité les conflits qui pourraient éclater au sein de cette nouvelle zone élargie, il faut une révolution culturelle proprement dite, qui tienne compte de l'importance stratégique-opérationnelle de la «cultural intelligence» et des «critical security studies».

L'Afrique subsaharienne, par Massimo Biagini (p. 27).

Une région étendue où l'inclement du climat, la misère et les luttes tribales ne cessent d'entraver le développement économique, social et culturel. Une région où le contraste entre la richesse du sous-sol et la pauvreté chronique des habitants est de plus en plus strident. Une région où le processus de démocratisation prend une bouffée d'oxygène et peut enfin nourrir des espoirs grâce à l'intérêt de la communauté internationale.

L'Armée algérienne, par Daniele Cellamare (p. 39).

Actuellement, l'Algérie est appelée à jouer un rôle clef sur l'échiquier méditerranéen. Une analyse détaillée de l'histoire et des Forces armées de ce pays nous aidera à mieux comprendre sa politique et ses stratégies.

Le «miracle» indien, par Riccardo Caimmi et Stefano Ciaramelletti (p. 50).

Nouveau géant du XXI siècle, l'Inde est riche en potentialités et en contradictions. Et pourtant elle possède une stabilité et une fiabilité supérieures à celles d'autres pays importants, car à l'abri des effets des préjugés culturels, y compris ceux liés aux rapports, aujourd'hui problématiques, avec le monde islamique. Et pendant ce temps, l'économie et la société ne cessent de s'accroître....

SUMMARY IN VARIOUS LANGUAGES

Antoine Henry Jomini l'anti-Clausewitz, par Ferruccio Botti (p. 58).

D'origine suisse, ce général de l'armée au service de Napoléon et du Tsar eut le mérite de diffuser sa pensée militaire tout en étant autodidacte. Sa façon de concevoir la stratégie comme une science exacte et non pas comme un art était opposée à celle de Clausewitz. Mais en approfondissant ses traités on sera surpris de découvrir une complémentarité qui, aujourd'hui encore, s'avère applicable dans les théâtres d'opérations.

L'évolution de l'Armée, par Giuseppe Maggi (p. 67).

Tout système complexe tend à évoluer dans le temps en vue de s'adapter en fonction des expériences acquises ou de se préparer pour relever les défis du futur. L'Armée, à l'égal ou plus que les autres organisations, a subi, au cours des années, des changements continus, et ce à une vitesse sans cesse croissante. L'article proposé a été rédigé par l'ancien Chef de l'Unité de Planification Générale et Financière de l'Etat Major de l'Armée, sur la base d'une conférence tenue en octobre dernier au Centro Alti Studi della Difesa.

Le management de la logistique, par Antonio Monaco (p. 77). Le développement technologique et les nouveaux théâtres internationaux exigent que soient mis en place des systèmes intégrés et de logistique au service des unités, selon des choix stratégiques précis et des évaluations technico-économiques viables. Un parcours ardu et complexe qui demande des décisions prudentes et du professionnalisme de la part des responsables.

Les fortifications dans la contre-guerrilla, par Giorgio Battisti (p. 85).

Il s'agit de l'un des instruments les plus efficaces pour garantir aux unités la liberté de manœuvre et la capacité de projection dont elles ont besoin. De plus, elles contribuent à augmenter les chances de succès des forces engagées dans le processus de pacification d'une région.

L'avenir des transports stratégiques, par Francesco Capillo et Franco Fratini (p. 100).

Les Forces armées italiennes jouent actuellement un rôle primordial dans les différents Théâtres d'Opération, y compris les plus éloignés de la métropole. Ce rôle de Force de paix ayant une capacité de projection rapide et pouvant intervenir partout dans le monde, a demandé une profonde réorganisation sur le plan opérationnel et logistique en vue de garantir un instrument efficient, flexible et par conséquent répondant aux exigences de la Nation et de la Communauté Internationale.

La 4ème Armée italienne en France, par Salvatore Orlando (p. 116).

Quoique moindres, les opérations de guerre effectuées par l'Armée royale italienne au-delà des Alpes pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale méritent d'être rappelées ne fût-ce que pour les implications dramatiques pour les populations juives.

1867: le choléra en Italie. L'intervention de l'Armée par Filippo Racco (p. 127).

Pendant l'épidémie qui frappa le Sud de l'Italie en 1867 les soldats italiens veillèrent à assurer le maintien de l'ordre public et s'employèrent à assurer la protection de la population qui avait été complètement délaissée par les autorités locales. Edmondo De Amicis, à l'époque sous-lieutenant de l'Armée royale, fut un précieux témoin de ces événements tragiques.

A fer et à sang, par Leonello Oliveri (p. 134).

Tel était le titre d'une exposition consacrée aux «objets d'artillerie» qui s'est tenue à Turin en 1995. En nous inspirant de cette intéressante exposition, nous pouvons analyser et connaître les artilleries française et autrichienne utilisées pendant les guerres napoléoniennes, ainsi que leurs effets dévastateurs.



Bewaffnete Konflikte, von Giuseppe Romeo (S. 2).

Die neuen internationalen Szenarien und die letzten technologischen Errungenschaften bringen zu einer anderen Begriffsbestimmung des Einsatzes des Militärapparates. Die zukünftigen Einheiten werden in voller taktischer und logistischer Autonomie arbeiten sollen, um jene notwendige Flexibilität zu erreichen, die zur Erzielung der gewünschten strategischen Zwecke und Ergebnisse nützlich ist.

Energieressourcen und Terrorismus, von Giovanni Ercolani (S. 10).

Der Kampf gegen den Terrorismus und die mit der Sicherheit der Energieressourcen zusammenhängenden Probleme geben die Grenzen eines «Regional Security Complex» vor, die breiter als die geographischen Grenzen der Mitglied-Staaten der NATO sind. Um sich wirksam mit den möglichen Konflikten, die in diesem neuen weiten Gebiet ausbrechen könnten, auseinander zu setzen, ist eine kulturelle Revolution notwendig, die die strategisch-operative Wichtigkeit der Cultural Intelligence und der Critical Security Studies in Betracht zieht.

Afrika südlich der Sahara, von Massimo Biagini (S. 27).

Eine grosses Gebiet, in dem die Unerbittlichkeit des Klimas, die geographische Lage, Armut und Stammesfehden noch heute wesentliche Hinderungsgründe fuer die wirtschaftliche, soziale und kulturelle Entwicklung sind. Ein Territorium, wo der Gegensatz zwischen den Bodenschätzen und der chronischen Armut der Einwohner immer krasser wird. Ein Gebiet, wo der Demokratisierungsprozess Unterstuetzung und neue Hoffnung in der grossen Aufmerksamkeit der internationalen Gemeinschaft findet.

Das algerische Heer, von Daniele Cellamare (S. 39).

Algerien spielt heute eine Schlüsselrolle auf dem Mittelmeerschauplatz. Eine ausführliche Analyse seiner Geschichte und seiner Streitkräfte hilft uns dabei, seine Politik und Strategie zu verstehen.

Das indische «Wunder», von Riccardo Caimmi und Stefano Ciaramelletti (S. 50).

Als neuer Gigant des XXI Jahrhunderts hebt Indien seine Gegensätze und Leistungsfähigkeiten hervor. Dennoch bietet das Land höhere Stabilität und Zuverlässigkeit im Vergleich zu anderen wichtigen Realitäten, die nicht die Wirkung des kulturellen Vorurteils zu spüren bekommen, auch nicht in Bezug auf die heute problematische islamische Welt. In der Zwischenzeit wachsen die Wirtschaft und die Gesellschaft weiter....

Antoine Henry Jomini der Anticlauserwitz, von Ferruccio Botti (S. 58).

Als General schweizerischer Abstammung, bei Napoleon und dem Zar in Dienst, konnte er, obwohl er ein Autodidakt war, seinen militärischen Gedanken bekannt machen. Mit seiner Ansicht, dass die Strategie mehr als eine Kunst eine genaue Wissenschaft sei, stellte er sich gegen von Clausewitz. Aber aus der eingehenden Kenntnis seiner Abhandlungen geht eine ueberraschende Komplementarität hervor, die noch heute Verwendung in den Operationsgebieten findet.

Die Evolution im Heer, von Giuseppe Maggi (S. 67).

Alle komplexen Systeme ändern sich mit der Zeit, um sich an ausgereifte Erfahrungen anzupassen oder auf zukünftige Herausforderungen vorzubereiten. Die Streitkräfte, wie und vielleicht mehr als andere Organisationen, sind im Laufe der Jahre Gegenstand einer dauernden Veränderung gewesen, die sich in

der letzten Zeit einer entscheidenden Beschleunigung unterzogen hat. Der vorliegende Artikel wurde vom ehemaligen Leiter der finanziellen Generalplanungsabteilung des Oberbefehls der Streitkräfte redigiert und geht auf eine im letzten Oktober für die Besucher des Verteidigungsstudiums zentrums veranstaltete Tagung zurück.

Das Management der Logistik, von Antonio Monaco (S. 77).

Die technologische Entwicklung und die neuen internationalen Szenarien verlangen die Entwicklung integrierter Logistiksysteme zur Verfügung der verschiedenen Einheiten, die nach präzisen strategischen Entscheidungen und vertretbaren technisch-ökonomischen Einschätzungen verwirklicht werden müssen. Ein schwieriger und komplexer Vorgang, der eine umsichtige Auswahl und Professionalität des Personals fordert.

Die Befestigung in der Gegenguerilla, von Giorgio Battisti (S. 85).

Es handelt sich um eines der wirksamsten Instrumente, um den Einheiten Manoeverfreiheit und die Fähigkeit zur Projektion garantieren zu können. Sie helfen ausserdem dabei mit, die Aussichten auf Erfolg der in der Befriedung einer Region beschaeftigten Streitkraefte zu mehren.

Die Zukunft der strategischen Transporte, von Francesco Capillo und Franco Frattini (S. 100).

Die italienischen Streitkräfte spielen heute eine Hauptrolle in verschiedenen Operationsgebieten, auch weit entfernt vom Vaterland. Eine solche Rolle als Kraft des Friedens, in sehr geringer Zeit, überall auf der Welt einsetzbar, hat eine bedeutende operative und logistische Neugestaltung erfordert, um ein wirksames, flexibles und also den Anforderungen der Nation und der internationalen Gemeinschaft getreues Instrument zu gewährleisten.

Die 4. italienische Armee in Frankreich, von Salvatore Orlando (S. 116).

Obwohl die Kriegsoperationen des Koeniglichen Heeres jenseits der Alpen im Laufe des 2. Weltkrieges nicht von besonderer Bedeutung sind, verdienen sie vor allem wegen der dramatischen Einbeziehung der juedischen Bevoelkerung ein Gedenken.

1867: Cholera in Italien. Intervention der Streitkraefte, von Filippo Racco (S. 127).

Die Seuche, die in Sueditalien ausbrach, sah unsere Soldaten ein engmaschiges Werk zur Wahrung der oeffentlichen Ordnung und zum Schutz der von den oertlichen Behoerden verlassenen Bevoelkerung durchfuehren. Von jenen dramatischen Tagen war der Schriftsteller Edmondo De Amicis, damals Unterleutnant des Koeniglichen Heeres, Zeuge.

Mit Feuer und Schwert, von Leonello Oliveri (S. 134).

Das war der Titel einer 1995 in Turin organisierten Ausstellung, die den «Sachen der Artillerie» gewidmet war. Diese kann man zum Anlass nehmen, um die französischen und österreichischen Artillerien, die in den napoleonischen Kriegen benutzt wurden und verwüstende Folgen mit sich brachten, zu analysieren und kennen zu lernen.



Conflictos armados, Giuseppe Romeo (pág. 2).

Los nuevos escenarios internacionales y los nuevos adelantos tecnológicos vuelven necesario definir de nuevo la policy en materia de empleo de la herramienta militar.

Las unidades del futuro deberán actuar en plena autonomía táctica y logística para conseguir la flexibilidad necesaria para lograr los efectos y alcanzar los objetivos estratégicos deseados.

Recursos energéticos y terrorismo, Giovanni Ercolani (pág. 10).

La guerra contra el terrorismo y los problemas relacionados con la seguridad de los recursos energéticos están delineando un «Regional Security Complex» que va más allá de las fronteras geográficas de los países miembros de la OTAN. Para hacer frente con mayor eficacia a los conflictos que podrían estallar en esta nueva y ampliada área, se vuelve necesaria una revolución cultural propiamente dicha, que tome en cuenta la importancia estratégica-operacional de la «cultural intelligence» y de los «critical security studies».

África subsahariana, Massimo Biagini (pág. 27).

Una extendida región, donde la inclemencia del clima, la ubicación geográfica, la miseria y las luchas tribales no dejan de ser obstáculos mayores para el desarrollo económico, social y cultural. Una región donde se evidencia cada vez más el contraste entre riqueza del subsuelo y pobreza crónica de las poblaciones. Una región donde el proceso de democratización encuentra, hoy día, oxígeno y nuevas esperanzas en la atención creciente que le dedica la comunidad internacional.

El Ejército argelino, Daniele Cellamare (pág. 39).

Hoy día, Argelia desempeña un papel primordial en el tablero mediterráneo. Un análisis profundizado de la historia y de las Fuerzas armadas de este país nos ayudará a comprender su política y estrategia.

El «milagro» indio, Riccardo Caimmi y Stefano Ciaramelletti (pág. 50).

Nuevo gigante del siglo XXI, la India es una concentración y exaltación de potencialidades y contradicciones. Y sin embargo, no deja de ser una realidad con mucho más estable y fiable que otros países importantes, al no padecer los efectos de los prejuicios culturales, ni siquiera en las relaciones, hoy día problemáticas, con el mundo islámico. Mientras tanto, la economía y la sociedad siguen creciendo....

Antoine Henry Jomini el anti Clausewitz, Ferruccio Botti (pág. 58).

Este general de origen suizo, al servicio de Napoleón y del Zar, supo difundir su pensamiento en materia militar a pesar de haber sido autodidacta. Su idea de la estrategia no como arte sino como ciencia exacta fue la antítesis del pensamiento de Clausewitz. Pero ahondando en sus tratados se evidencia una sorprendente complementariedad que, hoy día, sigue siendo aplicada en los teatros operacionales.

La evolución del Ejército, Giuseppe Maggi (pág. 67).

Todo sistema complejo tiende a madurar para adaptarse a las experiencias adquiridas o prepararse a aceptar los retos del futuro. El Ejército, al igual y tal vez más que otras organizaciones, ha experimentado a lo largo del tiempo continuos cambios, caracterizados en estos últimos años por una marcada aceleración. El artículo fue redactado por el que fuera Jefe de la Planificación General y Financiera del Estado Mayor del Ejército, sobre la base de la conferencia celebrada en octubre último en el Centro Alti Studi della Difesa.

El management de la logística, Antonio Monaco (pág. 77).

Los adelantos tecnológicos y los nuevos escenarios internacionales vuelven necesario el desarrollo de sistemas integrados y de logística al servicio de las unidades, de realizarse con arreglo a criterios estratégicos precisos y a evaluaciones técnico-económicas sostenibles. Un camino arduo y complejo que requiere decisiones mesuradas y profesionalismo.

Las fortificaciones en la contraguerrilla, Giorgio Battisti (pág. 85).

No sólo son las herramientas más apropiadas para garantizar a las unidades libertad de maniobra y capacidad de proyección,

sino que también contribuyen a aumentar las posibilidades de éxito de las fuerzas empleadas para la pacificación de una región.

El futuro de los transportes estratégicos, Francesco Capillo y Franco Fratini (pág. 100).

Las Fuerzas armadas italianas desempeñan actualmente un papel primordial en los distintos teatros de operación, inclusive en los muy alejados de la madre patria. Este papel de Fuerza de paz capaz de ser proyectada con inmediatez en cualquier parte del mundo, ha requerido una reorganización operativa y logística con el fin de garantizar una herramienta eficiente, flexible y por consiguiente susceptible de atender las exigencias de la Nación y de la Comunidad internacional.

La 4ª Armada italiana en Francia, Salvatore Orlando (pág. 116).

Aunque no hayan sido de particular importancia, las operaciones llevadas a cabo por el ejército real allende los Alpes durante la Segunda Guerra mundial merecen ser mencionadas por haber involucrado a las poblaciones judías en dramáticos acontecimientos.

1867: el cólera en Italia. La actuación del Ejército Filippo Racco (pág. 127).

A la hora de hacer frente a la epidemia de cólera que azotó el Sur de Italia en 1867, los soldados italianos no escatimaron sus esfuerzos para garantizar el orden público y proteger a la población a la que las autoridades locales habían abandonado por completo. Fue testigo de aquellos dramáticos acontecimientos Edmondo De Amicis, subteniente del Ejército real de aquel entonces.

Con hierro y fuego, Leonello Oliveri (pág. 134).

Así se titulaba una exposición dedicada a «cosas de artillería» celebrada en Turín en 1995. Inspirándonos en esa interesante exposición, podemos analizar y conocer las artillerías francesas y austriacas utilizadas en las guerras napoleónicas, así como sus efectos devastadores.



Conflictos armados, de Giuseppe Romeo (pág. 2).

Os novos cenários internacionais e as novas capacidades tecnológicas impõem a redefinição da política de emprego do instrumento militar.

As unidades do futuro deverão operar em plena autonomia tática e logística para conseguir a necessária flexibilidade, útil ao atingimento dos efeitos e dos objectivos estratégicos desejados.

Recursos energéticos e terrorismo, de Giovanni Ercolani (pág. 10).

A guerra ao terrorismo e os problemas ligados à segurança dos recursos energéticos estão a desenhar o contorno de um «Regional Security Complex», mais amplo que os próprios confins geográficos dos países membros da NATO. Para enfrentar eficazmente os eventuais conflitos, que poderiam explodir nesta nova e ampla área, torna-se necessária uma verdadeira revolução cultural, que tome em consideração a importância estratégico-operativa da cultural intelligence e dos critical security studies.

A África do sub-Sahara, de Massimo Biagini (pág. 27).

Uma vasta área onde a inclemência do clima, geografia, miséria e lutas tribais ainda hoje se confirmam factores de alto valor impeditivo para o desenvolvimento económico, social e cultural. Uma área onde é cada vez mais estridente o contraste entre a riqueza do subsolo e a crónica pobreza dos habitantes. Uma área onde o processo de democratização encontra, hoje, oxigénio e uma nova esperança pela maior atenção da comunidade internacional.

O exército argelino, de Daniele Cellamare (pág. 39).

A Argélia retoma, hoje, um papel-chave no tabuleiro de xadrez mediterrânico. Uma análise aprofundada da sua história

ria e das suas Forças Armadas ajuda-nos a compreender política e estratégia.

O «milagre» indiano, de Riccardo Caimmi e Stefano Ciaramelletti (pág. 50).

Novo gigante do séc. XXI, a Índia concentra e exalta potenciais e contradições. E assim mesmo, apresenta uma estabilidade e uma afidabilidade, sem dúvida superiores a outras importantes realidades, que não sofrem os efeitos do preconceito cultural nem mesmo na relação, hoje problemática, com o mundo islâmico. Entretanto, a economia e a sociedade continuam a crescer....

Antoine Henry Jomini, o anti-Clausewitz, de Ferruccio Botti (pág. 58).

General de origem suíça, ao serviço de Napoleão e do Czar, soube difundir o seu pensamento militar mesmo sendo um auto-didacta.

Considerando a estratégia uma ciência exacta mais do que uma arte, pos-se em antítese com von Clausewitz. Mas o conhecimento mais aprofundado dos seus tratados faz emergir uma surpreendente complementariedade que, ainda hoje, encontra aplicação nos teatros operativos.

A evolução do Exército, de Giuseppe Maggi (pág. 67).

Todos os sistemas complexos tendem a mutar no tempo para se adaptarem a experiências maturadas ou para se prepararem a desafios futuros. O Exército, como e talvez mais que as outras organizações, foi objecto, durante anos, de contínuas mudanças que, ultimamente, sofreram uma decisiva aceleração. O artigo que vos propomos foi redigido pelo então Chefe de Secção de Planificação Geral e Financeira do Estado Maior do Exército com base na sua conferência tida, em Outubro passado, para os frequentantes do Centro de Altos Estudos da Defesa.

O management da logística, de Antonio Monaco (pág. 77).

O desenvolvimento tecnológico e os novos cenários internacionais requerem um desenvolvimento de sistemas integrados e de logística ao serviço das unidades a realizar segundo escolhas estratégicas precisas e avaliações técnico-económicas sustentáveis. Um percurso árduo e complexo que requer escolhas prudentes e profissionalismo nos operadores.

As fortificações na contra-guerrilha, de Giorgio Battisti (pág. 85).

São um dos instrumentos mais aptos a garantir às unidades liberdade de manobra e capacidade de projecção. Para além disso, contribuem a aumentar as probabilidades de sucesso das forças empenhadas na pacificação de uma região.

O futuro dos transportes estratégicos, de Francesco Capillo e Franco Fratini (pág. 100).

As Forças Armadas italianas cobrem actualmente um papel de protagonista em vários Teatros de Operações mesmo muito distantes da Pátria. Tal papel de Força de paz projectável, em tempos extremamente reduzidos, em qualquer parte do globo, requereu uma sensível reorganização operativa e logística, para garantir um instrumento eficiente, flexível, e portanto, aderente aos pedidos da Nação e da Comunidade Internacional.

A 4ª Armada Italiana em França, de Salvatore Orlando (pág. 116).

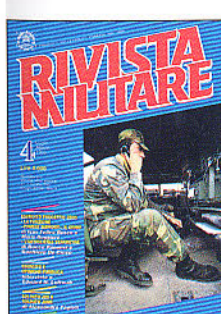
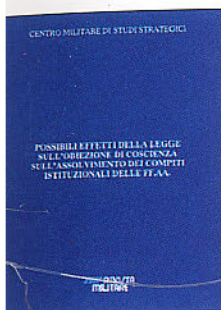
As operações bélicas efectuadas pelo Exército Régio para lá dos Alpes, durante o 2º conflito mundial, ainda que não de particular relevância, merecem ser recordadas sobretudo pelo dramático envolvimento das populações hebraicas.

1867: a cólera em Itália. A intervenção do Exército, de Filippo Racco (pág. 127).

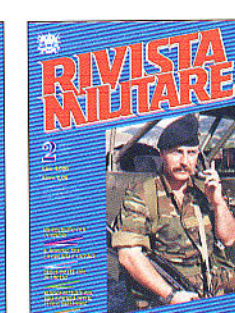
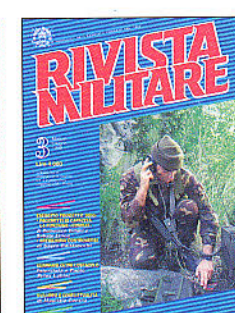
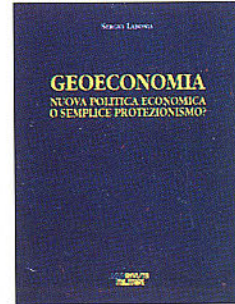
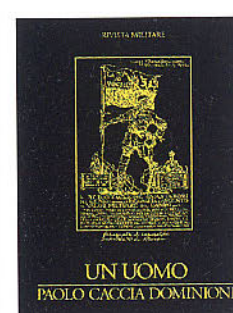
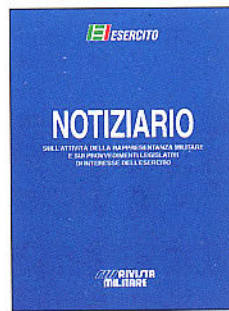
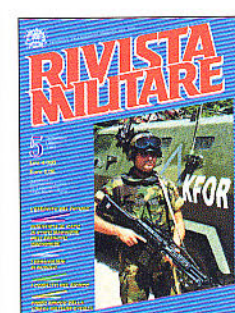
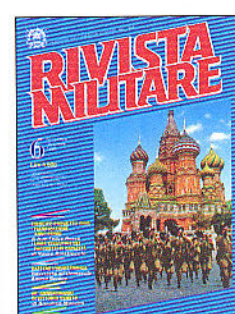
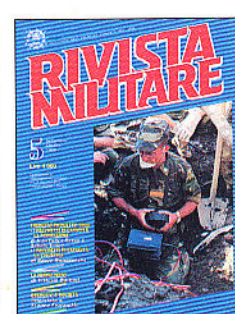
A epidemia, que atingiu a Itália meridional, viu os nossos soldados desempenhar uma capilar obra de tutela da ordem pública e de protecção da população, de todo abandonada pelas autoridades locais. Daqueles dramáticos dias, foi testemunha Edmondo De Amicis, então Sub-Tenente do Exército Régio.

Com o ferro e com o fogo, de Leonello Oliveri (pág. 134).

Era este o título de uma exposição dedicada às «coisas de artilharia» tida em Torino em 1995. Tomando o ponto desta interessante exposição, podemos analisar e conhecer a artilharia francesa e austriacas utilizadas no curso das guerras napoleónicas, com os relativos e devastantes efeitos.



THE EDITORIAL STYLE OF RIVISTA MILITARE



RIVISTA MILITARE

JOURNAL OF THE ITALIAN ARMY FOUNDED IN 1856



ENGLISH EDITION

3 September-October
November-December
2007



RIVISTA MILITARE



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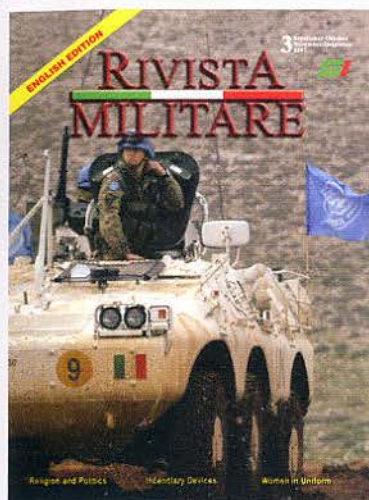
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FOUR-MONTHLY

Supplement to numbers 5 and 6 of Rivista Militare Italian Edition

Editor in Chief:
Marco CENTRITTO

Management and Editorial Office
8, Via di S. Marco - 00186 Rome
Phone 0039-06-47357373

Advertising
Care of the Secretariat of Rivista Militare
Phone 0039-06-47358139

Printer
IMAGO MEDIA
81010 Dragoni (CE)
Phone 0039-0823-866710
www.imagomedia.it

Conditions for 2008:
One number: Euro 2,10
One back number: Euro 4,20
Subscription rates:
Italy: Euro 11,40 a year
Abroad: Euro 15,50 a year
Payment must be made on postal account No.22521009 - SME - Centro Pubblicitaria dell'Esercito 123/A, Via XX Settembre - Rome
Residents abroad may remit payment through bank cheque or international postal order

Authorized by the Court of Rome under No. 994 of the Registry by Decree 7-6-1949.

2007
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The production of this magazine has been supervised by Omero Rampa.

Rivista Militare aims at broadening and updating the technical and vocational training of Army personnel. It is thus a means of propagating the military way of thinking and a forum of study and debate. Through the publication of articles of technical and scientific interest, Rivista Militare also aims at informing the general public on the Army and on military issues.



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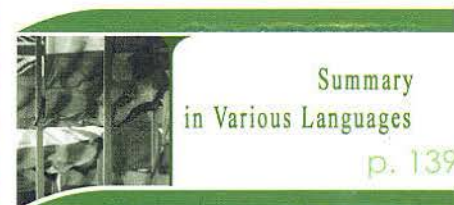
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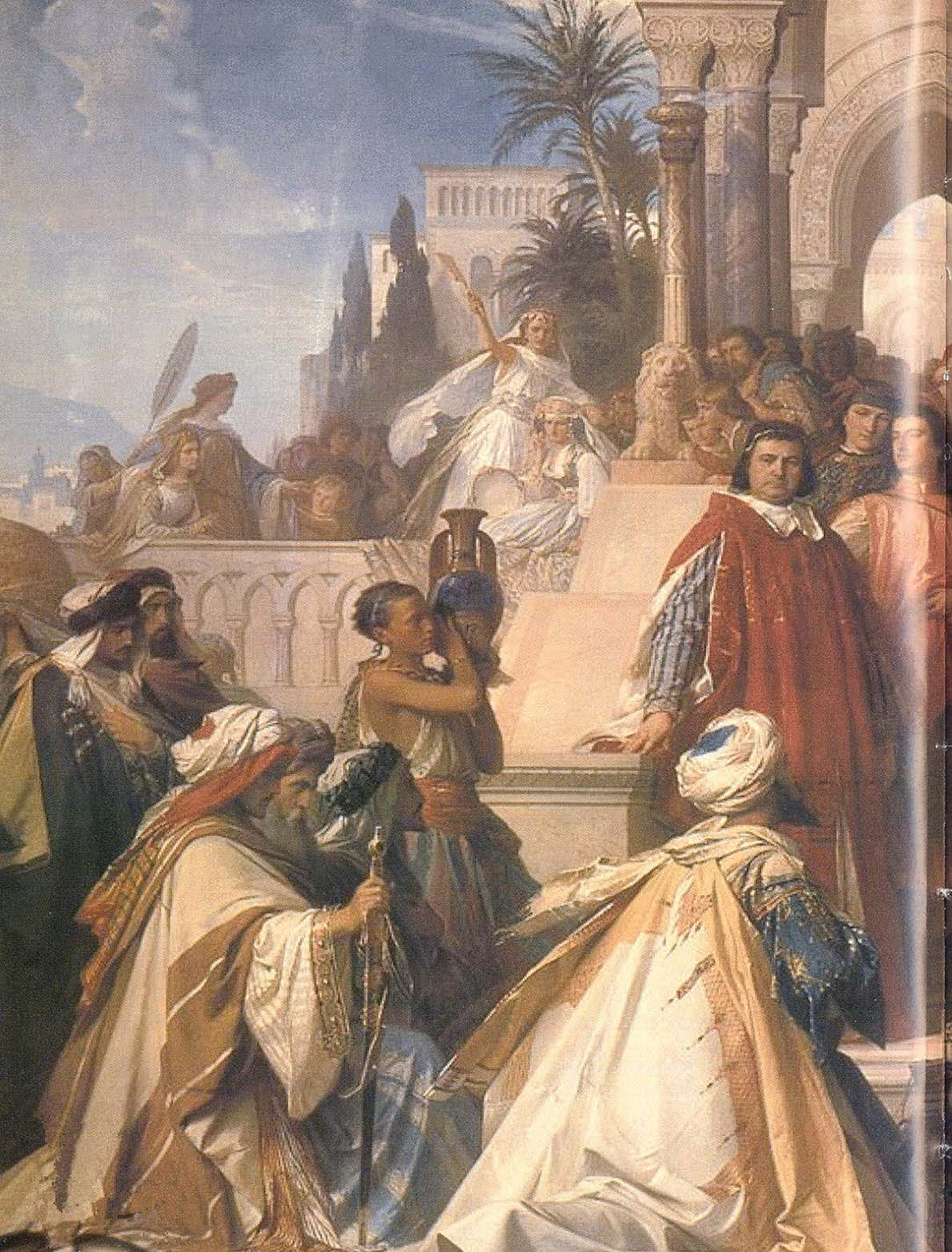
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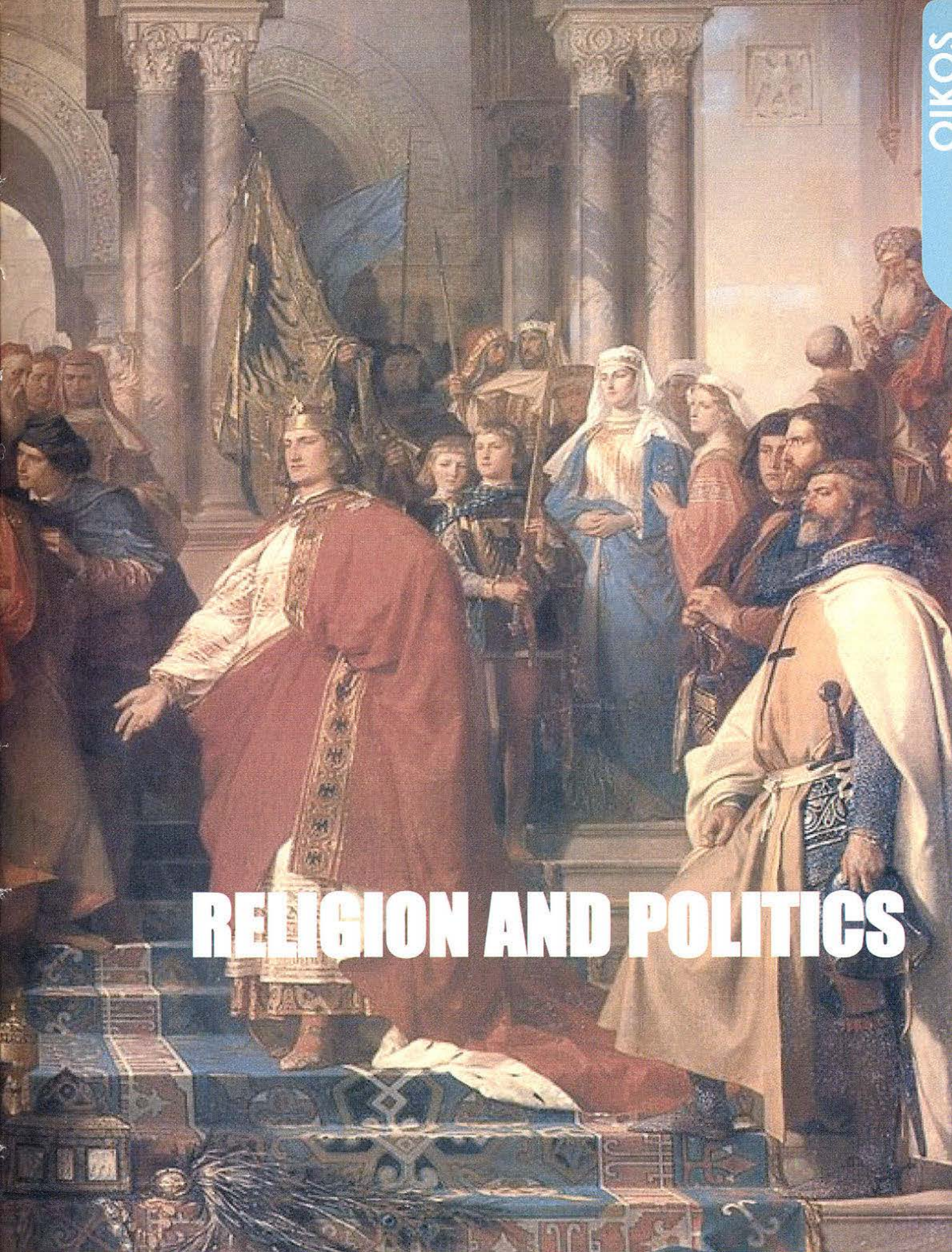
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RELIGION AND POLITICS

RELIGION AND POLITICS

In the political experience of the West and, more recently, of the Islamic East, during the last years there has been a felt need to single out the values of convergence between the two different cultures, in order to include them within a common framework of democratic participation in the life of a globalized society. The overlapping of political and religious dynamics, at a time when spirituality seems to dissolve, prompts the need to make the religious aspects and values coincide with political ideals.

In political relations, the legitimization of power has always been founded on the consensus of the community for an acknowledged authority: an authority, or State, that exercises its power in regard to individuals and communities. However, since the formation of Nation States, such neatly-defined symmetry has not always been apparent, especially if we look at a number of episodes in history in which power as a goal was overlaid demonstrations of political or religious power: from the coming to the fore of Christianity to the Crusades, from the Battle of Lepanto to the schismatic events that are a distinguishing mark of Western history. In the imperial epoch, a sense of legitimacy was considered indispensable for an authority whose very existence was owed to such juridical and political recognition – an acknowledged legitimacy in cultural as well as religious matters. Once the imperial age had come to an end, the progressive end of an absolute State and the rise of national identities redefined the relationship by transferring it onto a political level, entrusting the legitimization of those in power to support by the community. Since the since of the Cold War, the spread of power deriving from the implosion of ideologies triggered a search for identity by the community not only in political terms linked to tradition, but also in order to give a religious sense to the proposed social organization. In this double dimension of power, the role of religion in the search for a legitimization of political choices rendered into facts transcends its own result by setting political ideals in a context of manifest destiny, as seen in the neo-conservative American administration. The religious aspect looming large in the background as concerns monotheistic religions, whether referring to Christianity or Islam,

tends to see a type of perfect symmetry between Revelation, the origin of power and the community over which this power will be exercised. The uncertainty surrounding exactly where to draw the line between holiness, religion and politics is still today a limit crossed only in the desire to assert a definitive logic of domination. The underlying reason for this is that, beyond the desire or possibility to assert the secularity of politics, **the doubt remains as to whether any attempt to put the concepts of religion and politics in perfect relation to each other can succeed.** In Western society, for example, there was a sort of redefinition of the closely linked relation between the two, since the change from a sacred Christianity to a secular form

“...the doubt remains as to whether any attempt to put the concepts of religion and politics in perfect relation to each other can succeed”

of Christianity coincided with a synthesis between the various currents existing in sacred Christianity. Since Vatican II, an attempt has been made to reassemble a system of faith that had disintegrated into schismatic movements due not only to divergent doctrinal interpretations but also to very

different political horizons. The transition from a sacred religiosity to a profane one therefore favoured the transformation of Western society into one which is institutionally secular, in which the secularity of liberal democracy tries to gain popular support through religious freedom. Taking into consideration the role of religions in determining the behaviour of individuals, especially when they also express “political” objectives, the debate over how “sacred” is perceived should not be neglected. In a study of political support and democracy and the search for the source of legitimacy as concerns power, religion does not, paradoxically, belong only to a world apart from that of rationality. Though all monotheistic religions have believed throughout history that legit-

imacy of power is founded on a "liturgical" act, looking closely one can note considerable differences. In the Christian tradition, the need to safeguard the Church from secular and neo-Enlightenment democracy did not limit the interest in it. While the Catholic soul did not nurture much of a tendency towards liberalism, the Enlightenment introduced a political dimension to religion in that its use for political ends proved necessary for the success of the Liberal State. Montesquieu took advantage of the chance to restore the ineluctable connection between politics and religion. In his "Dissertation sur la politique des Romains", he tried to place religion in an ideological dimension, almost rationalizing its values by putting it at the service of power. This time it was a form of power based on liberal principles and values inside of which also religion had its role, with the latter's part in political life becoming yet another way to increase support for a new form of political organization of the community: the Liberal State. Faced with such a background of competitive relations between religions, and comparing itself with Islam, Christianity tends not to take the individual too far from his religious tradition. A loss of consensus would mean running the risk of a reduction in shared values which, even in a secular Liberal State, determine support, such as the defence of human rights and Western democracy itself, in its participatory and representative form. From this standpoint, Western society is suffering under a renewed challenge which extends beyond its geopolitical limit. It is a challenge between State and religion that has emerged on common ground between Islam and Christianity, from which they both have extracted from the shared history the values characterizing the dialogue and conflict between the Occident and Orient over time. What has become clear since the end of the Cold War is that the spur towards a progressive secularization of Western communities has led the individual back to spirituality, but without responding to the crisis of religious values with secular values universally recognized as such, on which political consensus could be built. Secular support for some such ones as religion provides, in turn, would have been an effective tool for the consolidation of reciprocal respect between Christianity and Islam.

OCCIDENT AND ORIENT: MONOTHEISMS COMPARED

The history of Western civilization can be seen as a progressive transition from a heteronomic model of political power to one in which the autonomy of power tends to involve single com-



Above.
Emperor Constantine I offering the Temple of Solomon to the Virgin. Byzantine mosaic from the X century, at the Aya Sofya Basilica in Constantinople.

Title pages.
Frederick II receiving the Oriental ambassadors. Illustration by Arthur Georg von Ramberg

munities: communities in which the only common element is the sense of belonging to a culture inspired by the same religious and political values. It is a transition which since 1989, with the end of the conflict between Eastern and Western Europe and the shift to conflict with the Middle East, as well as the extending of democratic opportunities to Eastern Europe, spread the perception of a dominant Western civilization with the advantage of being able to broaden its support basis both to the east in Europe and to the south in the Mediterranean basin. However, the recent history of Western civilization shows that societies organized according to market rules are horizontal ones, without the need for a vertical, juridical order to function. This was the basis for the first criticism of relations between politics and religion, between the Christian West and Islam: meaning the risk that a competitive impulse between the communities would have favoured the imbalance to access, pushing those excluded in the direction of Islam and bestowing on it ideological leadership for weaker communities. The West is forced to deal with and overcome, in such a complex geopolitical context, the markets and its rules which allow every society/community to act in its own interest. In reality this is nothing more than the overcoming of the historical limit of political Catholicism, the getting past of the individual dimension to lead the individual back to a community as political

identity. In this ideal effort, the relation between democracy and religion asserts itself. In Catholicism as well as all of Christianity, the utilitarian model proposed a type of individual religiosity which remained dominant for centuries in the past, relying on temporal power to realize earthly goals and institutionalize holy power. Nevertheless, in the current conflict with Islam the crisis of Catholic humanism can be seen as a type of return, not only in the secular sense of politics but also as part of the need to gain consensus. To put it in others terms, the need to assert the legitimacy of one's opinions by proving that democracy, based on dialogue and participation, carries out a fundamental role inside the community without alienating faith. By proving that liberty and democracy can respond, out of a sort of obedience to themselves, reinvigorating a type of individualism typical of Western Enlightenment without disparaging the content and interests of the community to which they belong. The reason for this is that this particular type of obedience, in the terms of an individualism seen in the competition for success by excluding others, is what the less fortunate reproach the West for, seen as a supporter of globalization and the standardization of the values of one individual over another. Taken together, Islam sees individualism as something that excludes the community from the rules of the game, since it only sets norms for individuals and, for this, interprets it as a danger to the sense of identity for the sense of community (ummah). What Islam fails to see is the liberal dimension that, in reality, does not allow political consensus based merely on the "broadened" desire to mark the legitimacy of a single holder of

power, neither political nor, to an even lesser extent, economic. Catholicism attempted to respond by revising its assumptions and moving towards a social democracy, in which the transcendent goal of salvation would not be forgotten. The moving on from the focus on the individual and the private side of faith have found a place in today's society in religious geopolitics, with a variety of religions on offer resulting in added value especially from the social and political standpoint and showing the existence of a link between politics and religion. In Islam, today's wariness towards democracy is the same wariness Christians of the past showed when faced with a political model which went past the individual by annulling it. While Christian Churches were wary of democracy, founded on individualistic and rationalistic (secular if not entirely atheistic), the relationship between the believer and the Church was no less individualistic, with the latter seen more as an established authority than as a community. In the West the relationship between religion and politics was overcome at the height of the Cold War with John XXIII's encyclical "Pacem in Terris". The new element was in the affirming of the political liberty of man, albeit while at the same time acknowledging the universal value of democracy since "...the living together of human beings cannot be orderly and fruitful if there is no authority ensuring order and contributing to the bringing about

Below left.
The Battle of Hattin (1187).



Below.
The Al-Aqsa mosque and the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem.



of the general good to a sufficient degree...". It even went so far as to say that "...this authority comes from God,...this does not mean that human beings do not have the freedom to choose those appointed with the task of exercising it, as well as deciding on the structures and public powers...". John XXIII's intent was that of showing how the positions taken by a realistically secular Catholicism in politics are reconcilable with any type of system that is "...genuinely democratic...".

In all of this there is almost a return to a new past. The getting past the soul as such, in the views of Tocqueville, who believed that religion is necessary to politics, would almost lead one to say that religion is of practical use as part of its influence on internal structures of political communities to the possibility of reaching a consensus among different types of souls who want to provide themselves with democratic systems of government. In other words, to raise to the status of a universal value not only the legitimization of power but also the acknowledgement of the limits of all as concerns others' freedom, with reciprocal opportunities through a sense of common legality. In addition, all religions take their sustenance from the same element which they lead (or which they aspire to lead): man. And while man is the force behind a religious system, he is also the moving spirit of democracy. Man is the one who decides on the relationship between morals and politics when he tries to combine values and expectations as concerns the community of which they are a part, finding their affirmation in its support. This is what should happen, paradoxically enough, in a community based on consensus (Ijma or Ijgma): Islam. If this were really the case then every community, even the most closed one, could use the chance for democracy as a sort of tool to bring about an open society, by looking towards the only possible synthesis between a government of the people and a government for the people. In the end, by looking closely at what is happening today, what is the clash between the West and the Islamic universe if not a sort of transposition and solution to the historical contradiction between Western anthropocentric humanism and a theocratic humanism in Islam? And how are we to make sure that, in communities in search of dialogue between religions based on the political credibility of both faiths, there is the chance for a secular system ensuring religious freedom without compromising civil growth of either society?

THE CLASH WITH ISLAM

Faced with such a view of the political and religious dialectic, the confrontation with Islam becomes complex for the West, seeing as the transfer of values as concerns political participation of the masses is only within a community of believers. Islam takes as fundamental categories both support by individuals and consensus by the community as something higher than the individual, with both seen as an alternative to democracy considered to be a model for civil participation of individuals in the political life of the community. Islam finds it difficult to define itself politically through categories which are not inherent to it by tradition, or in a juridical sense, in a model which combines religion and politics within the same Revelation. From a practical point of view, social and political difficulties make it extremely complicated to bring down political and religious leaderships since they have been permitted to exercise their authority. In addition, seeing as there are different interpretations of the Koran, Islam has created parallel authorities, with each having a different political outlook, such as in the Sunni and Shia branches. Islam is, therefore, very complex and the result of a social equilibrium originating from

“...what is the clash between the West and the Islamic universe if not a sort of transposition and solution to the historical contradiction between a Western anthropocentric Humanism and a theocratic Humanism in Islam?”

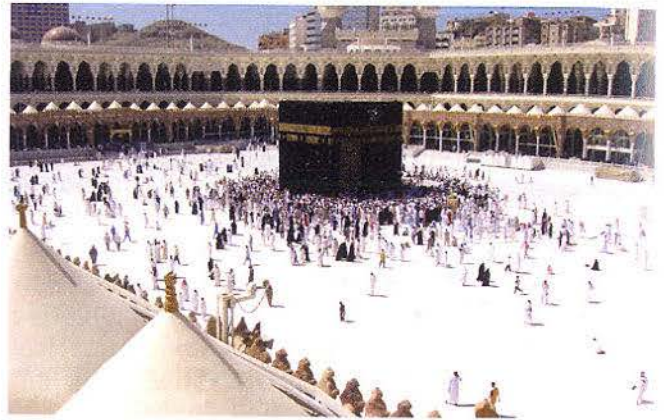
an accord reached between holy and secular power, with the former over the latter, reducing the possibility for widespread consensus in a community. From such a standpoint, any definition of democracy and any adaptation of the democratic model to an Islamic world, according to Western expectations, would be reductive and – for this very reason – devoid of any interest.

It would not be able to establish itself as something new and would only seem to be yet one more element of a certain type of modernity imposed by the West. Looking instead at Islam as regards the value placed on democracy, we see that the Koran contains the principles of consultation (shura), of independent reasoning (jihad) and consensus (Ijma or Ijgma). If we were to add the principle of justice and the possibility to disagree as part of the free expression of consensus, there would be sufficient elements to make Islam stand out, despite its doctrinal trends, from the other monotheistic religions – Christianity included – and from the political models known in the West. Making use of these observations in an attempt to bring about a suggestion for democracy in the Islamic world, the need arises to identify values on which democratic systems for political and social



Above.
A statue of Buddha.

Right.
Mecca.



life can be based, in order to be able to consider it a model of truly consensual participation. A model that can survive diversity, as well as economic and power-related rifts. A model for a government founded on freely offered support, without any fear of a Westernized modernization of Islam, at the heart of the fear and reaction to what is seen as a Westernization of its values. In this situation, by proposing a political model which calls for the sharing of the future, democracy plays a fundamental role in the possibility to redefine political and religious terms, restoring to the individual and the community political sovereignty over its future. Man can thereby carry out, while also taking part in the democratic life of the community (ummah), his duty to bring about the will of God every day, while at the same time respecting equal political and religious dignity. Moreover, power and the legitimization of it are the only way to assess a "new path" in the political history of the Arab world. In the Islamic world they are the two aspects which determine politics. Within the concept of a struggle, as radical Islam has shown, effect is sought in spreading a conflictual message that does not always respond to political interests determined by a national identity. The co-optation of consensus is not limited to a precise political dimension but tries to involve a community which does not always identify itself with an institutionalized political body, i.e. a State. In this alternative political vision which dematerializes in the religious dimension of the comparison, Islam attempts to propose its own model of social organization in response to an ideological vision of the world which western, market-based forms of reasoning

"The end result must necessarily be represented by a new modernity which will not be the westernization of political formulas and values"

have dissolved. It offers up tradition as a sort of alternative to the Western democratic model, making use of the weaknesses of its concrete application especially in comparison with the West's inability to govern the market and the effects of it according to the democratic values of equal growth and access. This is why the weakness of the West has favoured a radical form of Islam, which in turn tries to gain support in countries with moderate Islam in which the democratic sense of civil growth is slowly taking root (Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, for example). It is a radical sentiment of political antagonism functioning as a surrogate for the crisis of ideologies which is transformed into an alternative political force. A political force which aims to legitimize a form of leadership or qualify a regime as legal or not in line with attitudes held to be in accordance with the law or the interests of an authority.

ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY

While in the sphere of human relations Christianity has survived history, Islam is resisting it and is vying for a place as relational subject – not only a religious one but also as a political phenomenon. Globalization and internationalization have not managed to secularize the values to which the Islamic community aspires. The same relationship between culture and subculture cannot be applied to the Islamic community since the Islamic world has survived the diversities of which it is made up – diversities which conform to social rules which are stated, derived, interpreted and held to be consistent with Sharia principles. It is in this tolerance that lies the explanation for the longevity of contemporary regimes and the difficulty of a transition to democratic rules of civil government. These rules assume a change in direction towards moder-

nity in line with models alien to Islam and are the result of the social achievement of non-autochthonous political movements. The question remains open, however, as to whether Islam and democracy have points in common. In other words, whether the simple fact that institutionalized consensus is in the Koran is enough to demonstrate the existence of at the very least a certain democratic tendency, in the sense of participation in authority, of the individual as part of the ummah seen as a religious and political community. However, even if consensus is a fundamental aspect of the concept of "political" Islam, due to its existing before any type of political experience, it is greatly different from the western type, which is put into a historical context by way of the coming into being of the first constitutional and liberal states, despite it being a form of consensus limited to the majority and class. When Islam is referred to, however, it is often believed that the religious community is separate from the civil one; a belief far from reality. For example, in the Shia branch, in whatever form it takes, the religious community is bound by theological obligations to be a political community as well. From this standpoint, the popular aspect and the need to affirm the terms of legitimacy in how power and its exercise on Earth are conceived oblige contemporary Islam to compare itself with that form of modernity which it shuns. And so, in a situation in which there is the attempt to put in question an authority legitimized by a religious precept, there are two models which interfere with a democratic dimension. The first is the structure of an extremist authority in which religion and sovereignty are inextricably entangled (the Saudi regime) and the Republican vision which does not personalize the authority by acknowledging exclusivity only for God (the Islamic Republic of Iran). Nevertheless, though the presuppositions differ the underlying assumption remains the same: for Islam, as in other religions, what is central to the political life of the individual is only the universal obligation to God. It is a ideal and theological horizon which does not lose its "political" significance in its search for a divine legitimization for any type of power exercised on the community which conditions all secular forms of reinterpretation of the role of faith in secular Islam. The end result, however, must necessarily be represented by a new form of modernity which will not be the westernization of political formulas and values. It will, instead, be a synthesis needed to avoid and marginalize manipulations of consciences especially among the weakest communities by fundamentalist terrorism. And so, whatever place faith plays within a community, modernity and democracy are ever more the cause and effect of a process of world governance which no one can escape – above

all because democracy is considered to be the best-known institutionalization of the social life of an individual within a political community. In this process of ideal maturation, the religiosity that holds sway over the uncertainty of a confused world (due to a lack of equilibrium of stable authority) will not be able to avoid the onward march of history when every foolish unilateral ambition gives way to a truly multi-centred and multicultural international system: a system created in respect of diversity and legitimized by consensus as concerns shared values and forms of universal democratic participation.

CONCLUSIONS

The political future of the Arab world is at stake in these years, as is the chance for a process of autochthonous democratization to become ever more irreversible. What is at stake is the opportunity to reshape Arab and Islamic societies closest to the Western world, while ensuring the spread of an awareness that a feasible, secular path exists: one for a type of modernity all their own, without implying a loss of tradition. If the Prince of Believers, if Mohammed IV the King of Morocco has said that democracy is possible even when faced with the persistence of reactionary feelings in Islamic political society, then this is something worthy of note and well deserves a great deal of attention from democratic communities. From Casablanca to Algiers, from the attack to the political heart of Iraq to the attacks which follow one after another in the poorest communities of the most remote parts of the Islamic world, then we are faced with actions against democracy as a universal value, indistinct in principle but able to be shaped. They represent the violent threat used by those who do not want to look into their own religion, aware that they would find inside compatible principles and values, democratic elements founded on the separation of power, the liberalization of services, market economy and consensus by way of free dialectic comparison. They are the strongest manifestations against an inclusive future in which at stake are the bases on which to create social, juridical and economic opportunities for political convergence and dialogue at an equal level between the West and moderate Arab states. They are aspects which involve the Christian West. Aspects which have become so very important for the future of world peace and which are involving the world in the pain and fear of bloodshed in the name of radicalism used for political ends.

Giuseppe Romeo
Expert in geostrategy





GEOSTRATEGIC SCENARIOS FOR THE XXI CENTURY

GEOSTRATEGIC PROSPECTS FOR THE XXI CENTURY

The relations brought about by the globalization process, the evolution of the transport nets and the expected impoverishment of the energy resources are causing a more and more marked continental connotation of the security problems.

The assumption that the Armed Forces of a nation must be adequate to the role assigned them by the government and, as a consequence, have at their disposal the resources necessary for such a task, cannot in and of itself be sufficient to define the military as an instrument. To arrive at a valid definition of its role, one must start off by determining national interests. Initially this may seem a definition left to the confused judgement of the moment's decision-makers, moved more by the public mood than by well-founded considerations. But

appearances can be deceiving. Reality, on the other hand – in all its ruthless concreteness – lays precise, ineluctable challenges on the shoulders of every nation. It is also a case of a reality ever more divided and complex, making in-depth geo-strategic analysis necessary for a rational assessment of national interests. And so, only a pragmatic and historically-determined approach can allow us to bring this concept in line with the domestic and international parameters of our country. In the current situation, given the global course of events and constant acceleration due to technological development, we must begin with a wide-ranging strategic approach capable of directing national policy, shaping the country's overall

Title pages.

A formation of A-129 Mangusta attack helicopters flying over the Iraqi desert.



Fig. 1

system and, therefore, defining the role to assign to the Armed Forces.

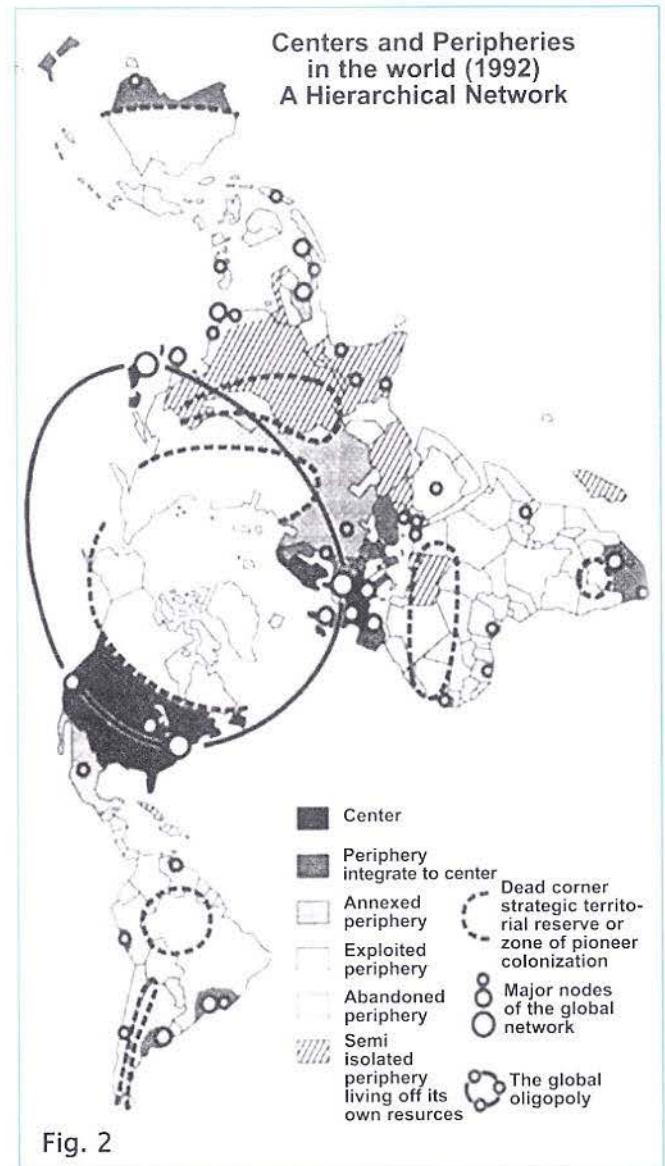
Consequently, our country must act in the awareness that without establishing and maintaining appropriate relations with other nations, it will not be able to compete in a world arena in rapid transition, where rank and power are ruthlessly shifting for all the players involved. Only if guided by this fact can we set objectives, define priorities and acquire the necessary flexibility to guide the military and the responsibilities of political power.

THE GLOBAL SCENARIO

From the shaded image of the planet (fig.1) we can see the frame of reference. The distinguishing feature underlying the situation is undoubtedly that of the unequal distribution of wealth. This imbalance gives rise to severe social tension, causing both friction at a global level and the cropping up of local and/or trans-national movements with terrorist or revolutionary tendencies. The prevailing perception of international geo-politics still closely resembles the oligopolistic one of the hierarchical network introduced by François Chesnais in 1992 (fig.2). The reduction of this inequality can be brought about – disregarding facile utopian-demagogic slogans – in only one of two ways: by promoting the economic development of the poorest countries or by impoverishing the richest ones. The former calls for a gradual change over time, requiring stability and security. The latter, on the other hand, can be immediate and normally triggered by serious crises. The latter is the ambition of terrorist-revolutionary groups (the Taliban in Afghanistan, for example) who try to get hold of power by taking advantage of discontent and inciting violence, promising immediate results without regard for the well-being of the people concerned.

Economic development, to be brought about by access to resources and markets, therefore remains a top priority, both for the centre and the peripheries of the world. Therefore the system seems bound in the direction of gradual expansion through the progressive inclusion of peripheral zones: by globalizing markets, cultural references, information and even emotions. However, while globalization spreads and grows stronger, in peripheral zones two types of states are taking shape. The first are those that try to align their internal

“...a reality making an in-depth geostrategic analysis necessary for a rational assessment of national interests”



organization with new global rules (Putin's Russia, for example, or emerging Asians economies such as China or India), while the second consist of countries that instead refuse internal realignment, thereby remaining unconnected with globalization, either due to cultural/political rigidity (as in the case of Middle Eastern countries) or persistent backwardness (vast regions of Africa, central Asia or Latin America). This separation is currently the main reason for the instability of war studies.

Barnett and Gaffney, in their "Pentagon's New Map" (U.S.A. 2004), distinguish the following four main flow categories, the dynamics of which develop between the "Functioning Core" of globalization (countries led by the United States) and

the “Non-Integrating Gap”, or countries unconnected. An understanding of these dynamics is of the utmost importance, since world stability depends on a harmonious balance of the following flows.

Flows of people – from the Gap to the Core

According to the United Nations, in 2050 world population will reach its peak with approximately 9 billion inhabitants (and an overall parity between those under 15 and those over 60), to then drop (with a progressive increase percentage-wise of those over 60). In theory, the increase in average age should reduce conflict, both inside and between different countries. Today violence is highest in the Gap where, on average, less than 10 percent of the population is over 60, compared with 10–25pct of the Core. The “oldest” societies of the Core generally have a low level of violence, since they are societies that have successfully emerged from the process of globalization, with high levels of well being and a lower number of children per family.

Also according to United Nations estimates, in 2050 the ratio between the active population (between 15 and 64) and those over 65 will drop for advanced economies from 5 to 1 all the way to 2 to 1, where it will remain roughly 10 to 1 in less-developed regions. This means that, beyond the foreseeable social security crisis, the maintaining of an adequate workforce capable of keeping current welfare levels in the West will require considerable immigration. The latter will also work as a healthy safety valve for the system itself, despite the problems that the management of these flows brings with it, increasing the population with access to affluence and reducing the risk of a possibly explosive situations which, beginning in the poorest countries, could destabilize the entire system.

Security Flows: from the Core to the Gap

The combination of prosperity wrought by globalization and the surplus of military strength (mostly from the United States), has eliminated “high intensity wars” from one region to the next. At the beginning of the XXI century, this type of conflict has become unthinkable in the West, across Europe and anywhere on the seas. The hope is that in a few decades, the same combination of efforts – a mixture of security and cooperation – can make war unthinkable even in a developing Asia. However, for the foreseeable future the export of security to the Islamic regions of Sub-Saharan Africa as well as Central and South-western Asia should remain a priority.

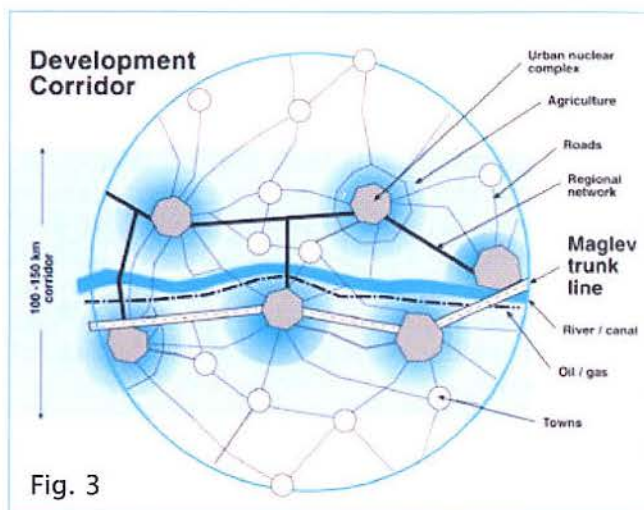


Fig. 3

Energy flows: from the Gap to the Core

At some point in the next twenty years Asia will be replacing North America and Europe as the centre of the global demand for energy. The reason for this is that energy demand in the United States and the EU will grow rather slowly, whereas in Asia it will double. Supplies to meet this demand will come from Central and South-western Asia as well as Russia. And so the following relation has been established: while the energy needed by the Far East depends ever more on Middle Eastern politico-military stability, at the same time Middle eastern countries need Asian growth for their economies. In 2020 Asia will be buying a bit less than 2/3 of the oil exported from Persian Gulf countries, equal to 4/5 of Asian demand.

Any threat to the flow of Middle Eastern oil or the full integration of Asian countries into the Core could drive China or India to lay claim to a role of power in the Persian Gulf. The latter could give rise to worrisome competition between Core nations, with the risk of becoming involved in the chronic conflict of the Gap.

We must also take into consideration the fact that China's domestic market represents a huge commercial opportunity, and that India supplies almost half of the total amount of software worldwide.

And so the efforts made to ensure the security of the Middle East, even if not with the aim of protecting “our” oil, also ensure “our” prosperity.

Investment flows: from the old Core to the new one

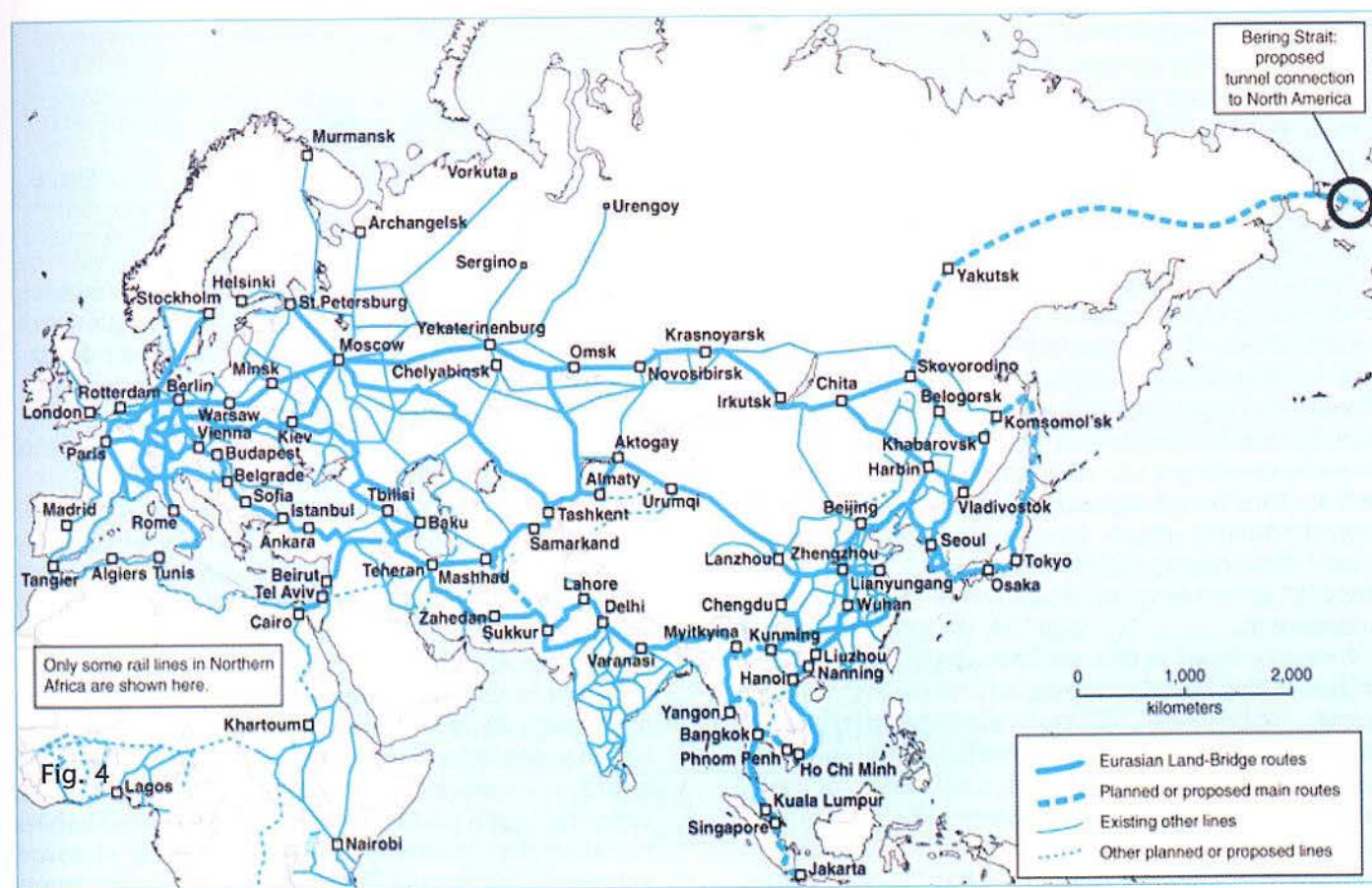
An inflow of unprecedented foreign investment, almost 2 trillion dollars in 2020, will be necessary for the development of Asian infrastructures (especially for energy output). Asians themselves

will be bearing a large part of the burden of costs, but money will also be coming from private American and European investors who, together, will control about two thirds of the annual global flow. And so Asia (the new Core) is not only dependent on the Gap for energy, but also on the old Core (the United States and the European Union) for financing.

Flows management

The authors of the book "The Pentagon's New

Figure 4 shows the main Euro-Asian continental corridors, both the existing ones and those in development.



Map" therefore suggest a "trans-national" strategy taking the importance of the four flows into account. It would be based on the following macro-rules:

- improve relations for the security of the Functioning Core, maintaining and expanding historical alliances;
- activate a sort of discrete fire-wall to protect the Core from the most destabilizing exports of the Gap (terrorism, drugs, pandemics) while clearly defined ru-

les are being established to ensure opportunities from those who would like to contribute to development;

- progressively reduce the Gap, continuing to export security in the direction of the most turbulent points, at the same time integrating every nation as soon as it becomes economically and culturally compatible.

THE GEOSTRATEGIC OUTLINE - FROM NAVALISM TO CONTINENTALISM

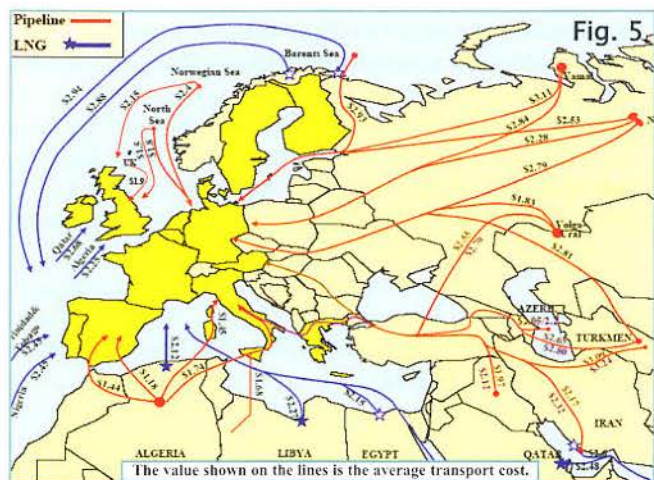
The expansion of the Core is causing a significant change in the traditional relationship between land and sea. The inconceivability of internal high-

"The expansion of the Core is causing a significant change in the traditional relationship between land and sea"

intensity conflicts in the Core is encouraging the development of integrated and high-capacity transport networks based on the concept of "strategic corridors" (fig. 3).

A Eurasian Land-Bridge has long been theorized on the basis of high-capacity road and railway networks, which could even connect with the

United States by way of a feasible tunnel under the Bering Strait.



In addition, as concerns energy transport, a closely linked network of oil and gas pipelines has long been under construction, which will allow for more convenient and less risky transport than the traditional sea routes. The latter will, in any case, retain its flexibility, making it possible to adapt rapidly to any unexpected security crisis of a technical or political nature along the pipeline routes (fig. 5).

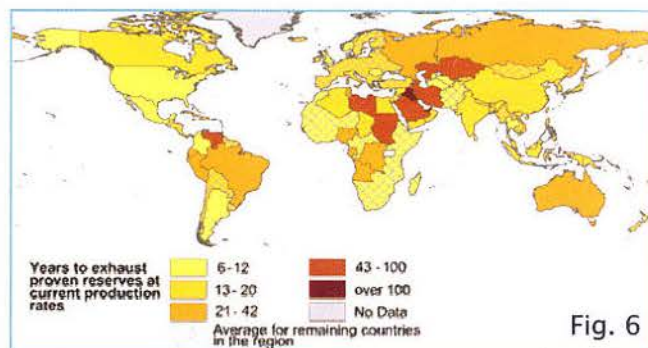
Also the geo-strategic function of the sea is undergoing change. Over the course of history, up until the end of the bipolar conflict, the control of the sea was always fought over between navies of the time's largest powers to ensure its use by their sailors, while denying it to their adversaries – thereby creating a significant advantage for themselves. The threat to navigational liberty is today overshadowed more by criminality, requiring patrol powerboats rather than torpedo boats with missile launchers, multi-purpose frigates and submarines.

A case to itself in this evolutionary turn of events is surely the Mediterranean, which seems an ever more "solid sea", a transport infrastructure crossed by large volumes of traffic, both legal and illegal. Surveillance of the later calls more for procedures and systems more common to police forces rather than to fleets.

And so, in "Mare Nostrum" that "joint governance of a shared sea" suggested by Defence Minister Arturo Parisi in his speech at the "6th Regional Sea Power Symposium for the Navies of the Mediterranean and Black Sea Countries", held in Venice on 13 October 2006. The creation of a supra-national authority to guarantee the security of this "infrastructure" is the natural evolution of sub-regional systems, like the "5+5 Initiative" (complementary to the Barcelona Process among central-western Mediterranean countries taken part in by France, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Spain, Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania and Tunisia) or the

Virtual-Regional Maritime Traffic Centre (V-RMTC) (1). The direct consequence of this evolution will be the end of naval conflict in the Mediterranean, a basin almost entirely sealed off with easily controllable access points, the stability of which depends more on "geo-strategic hinges" (the Middle East, the Balkans, etc.) than it does on the Navies.

This does not mean that navies will prove no longer necessary since, as discussed further on, high-intensity regional crises could always arise in



which ensuring surveillance of the seas may be necessary, preventing enemy forces from making use of it and projecting amphibian and air force potential onto possible crisis areas along coast-lines.

TEMPORAL OUTLOOK

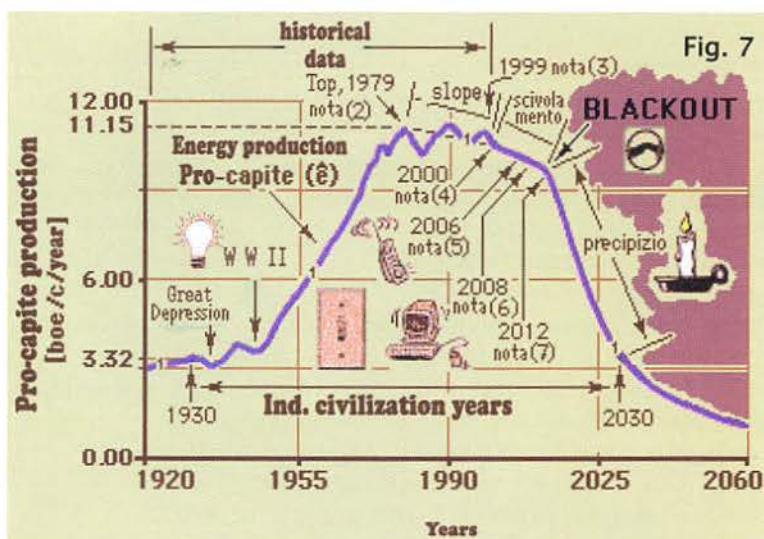
The progressive impoverishment of energy resources (fig.6), set against the current pattern of economic development, could deeply alter future outlooks.

Despite leaving aside such pessimistic theories as the Olduvai one (fig.7), it is necessary to say that a reduction in energy supply, in addition to profoundly altering economic relations, could – especially towards the middle of the century – give rise to serious international crises capable of threatening even the survival of some economic systems. This situation could, then, be aggravated by the climate change underway which, beyond any disquisitions into whether it is caused by human actions or not, will impact the needs of the populations of vast areas on the planet.

Even in the future, as has occurred in the past and is still occurring now, these crises will be accompanied by ethical, social, religious or cultural reasons, and will be resolved, as always, through the use of force. This implies the impossibility of getting past the "Hobbesian" pattern of international relations based on reciprocal wariness and hostility. Faced with

The figure shows the complete Olduvai curve from 1930 to 2030. Historical figures include the period from 1930 to 1999, and projected figures from 2000 to 2030. These hundred years are called the Industrialized Civilization. Taken as a whole, the curve and the events are the "Olduvai diagram". It can be seen that the curve in its entirety has a periodic shape, with excess followed by collapse. Eight key energy-related events define the pattern.

- The first event in 1930 (note 1) marks the beginning of the Industrial Civilization, when pro capita energy produced reached 3.32 boe/c. This is the "entrance to 30%", a standard way to define the duration of an impulse.
- The second, in 1979 (note 2), marks the peak of pro capita world energy production at 11.15 boe/c.
- The third in 1999 (note 3) marks the end of cheap oil.
- The fourth, on 28 September 2000 (note 4) marks the eruption of violence in the Middle East.
- The fifth, in 2006 (note 5), marks the peak of world energy production.
- The sixth, in 2008 (note 6) marks the gaining of prominence for OPEC nations as opposed to non-OPEC ones, since the 11 OPEC nations will be producing 51% of oil worldwide and will control almost 100% of world oil exports.
- The "precipice" is the last period in the Olduvai diagram. It starts with the seventh event in 2012 (note 7) when an "epidemic" of permanent blackouts will spread across the entire world, by way of isolated problems and temporary blackouts giving way to a total collapse of power networks.
- The eighth event in 2030 (note 8) marks the fall in production (use) of pro capita energy worldwide to 1930 levels. This is the exit from 30% corresponding to when the Industrialized Society came into being. The average rate of decline is 5.44% annually in the period between 2012 and 2030.



such vital needs, friends today could turn into the rivals of tomorrow or the enemies of the day after.

A possible consequence of such a scenario could be the rise of, between 2020 and 2050, regional crises with possible escalation into ones of high intensity. In managing these crises, the lack of military preparedness would be –as history has shown time and time again – an incentive for the most aggressive side to make use of violence.

A further consequence of the foreseeable running dry of fossil fuel supplies is the proliferation of nuclear energy for civilian ends and, potentially, military ones. In fact, in all the nations which currently depend on fossil fuels export as a pillar of their economy, nuclear energy is seen as an indispensable resource to foster domestic economic development, while maintaining gas and oil export levels high. Unfortunately, the access to nuclear technology cannot be limited exclusively energy uses; nuclear capacity being by

its very definition employable for military ends as well.

POSSIBLE LINES OF ACTION

A global, strategic approach is therefore necessary today more than ever before, able to guide national efforts in the right direction. Stubbornly insisting on taking a comforting regional standpoint on things, even if this were to be extended to the "wider Mediterranean basin", would force us to be continually caught off-guard by events, without having taken the necessary precautions with the limited resources available. Only a clear vision of the whole can lead to choices based on reason.

Italy is included in the Functioning Core, with which, in any case, it maintains competitive relations that are the distinguishing feature of free market economies. It therefore is affected by the benefits and critical state of the globalized

"A possible consequence of such a scenario could be the rise of regional crises between 2020 and 2050"

economy and is, at the same time, origin and destination of a large part of the flow with the Non-Integrating Gap. As concerns the type of relations brought in by this flow, it is possible to identify a polycentric series of "strategic arcs" (fig.8) that can be used to draw up specific lines of action.

"Cooptative" European integration

The possibility to effectively control the phenomena distinguishing the current global back-drop presuppose a "geo-political critical mass" larger than that which Italy or other European nations can provide. However, all the countries of the "Old Europe" share similar and inter-dependent needs, problems and goals. The current European inability to come up with an organizational pattern able to get past national partiality could be overcome through a programmatic approach based on common needs. We must get past the deadlock regularly affecting many of the organizational structures of the European Union.

From this standpoint, the national line of conduct could be directed towards the identification of common needs that could provide the basis for convergence of efforts with those of other European nations. A possible form of cooperation could be the one recently used to solve the Lebanese crisis, in which the initiative of the Italian government "pulled" other European governments behind it.

Obviously, cooperation on extemporaneous initiatives should not be seen as an alternative to the creation of an internationally recognized European body, but simply as an accelerator for the integration process. In fact, reflection on the fact that Europeans have more things in common than they do difference among them could help overcome the current stalemate connected with disquisitions on common cultural roots (which are in any case rather fragmentary), to move in the direction of future needs (undoubtedly very similar).

Of fundamental importance will be the contribution that Italy will both be able to and know how to give to the creation of a common European foreign and security policy. It is necessary to prevent the current underestimation of the need to rationalize the military component, which, with overall investment similar to the level of the US due to excessive national fragmentation, ends up with insignificant capacity at a global level.

This situation means that, at the moment, the security flow from the Core to the Gap originates for the most part from the United States with

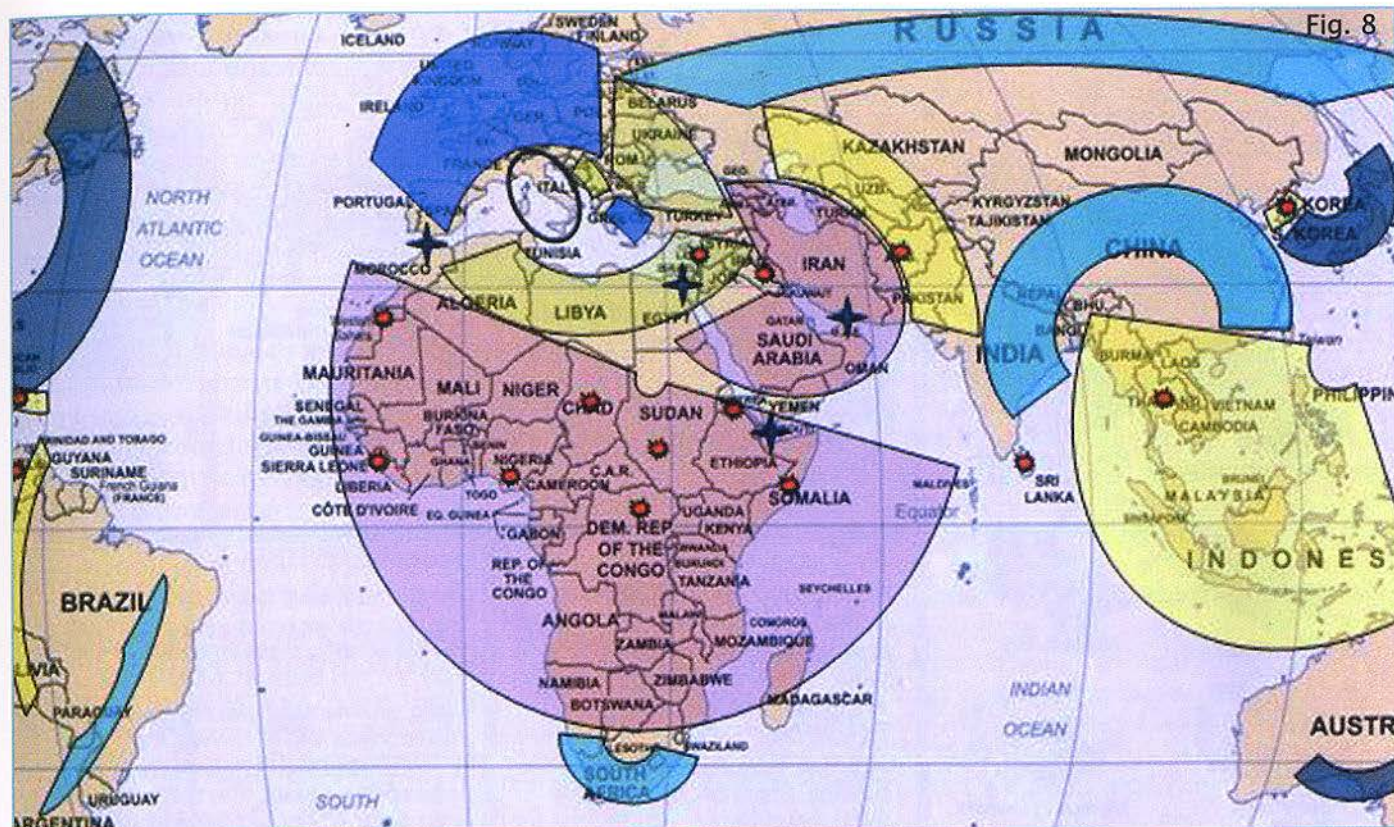
Europe's contribution being of a "variable structure", lacking in any wide-ranging strategic vision, and absolutely marginal as concerns problem resolution.

Mediterranean integration, European enlargement and "cooperative" stabilization of the Balkans

The number one priority of national strategy is undoubtedly this type of geo-political "internal ring". The countries of the latter are, in turn, origin of flows from the Gap, but in any case they are always crossed by flows headed for Europe and Italy. Natural gas from North Africa is a perfect example, as is that from Russia by way of East European countries. In addition, in most cases, these countries are well advanced as concerns development and democratisation processes (soon to become part of the Core), enabling collaboration and cooperation on an equal standing. In particular, while in the stabilization of the Balkans and European enlargement to the east Italy can play a high profile role as part of a European Union policy that seems clear and well-defined, it is surely with African and Asian countries of the Mediterranean that it is necessary to take on a more active role. There is the real possibility of integrating the initiatives for European-Mediterranean partnership and dialogue – with which NATO intends to normalize security flow in the area – by way of national initiatives, which could channel more wide-ranging European synergies, as in the example of the Lebanese crisis previously discussed.

Support for "active" development

As concerns Gap countries, in which most of the flows to Italy originate, policies need to be brought in that promote development. The areas concerned are countries of the Caucasus, of the continental Middle East and the Arabian Peninsula, as well as all of Sub-Saharan Africa. The promotion of development for these countries calls first and foremost for the creation and maintaining of adequate security and stability. Insecurity and instability are the current obstacles to improvement, making any other form of aid ineffective. And so, concrete support for the development of these areas must necessarily come about through an effective flow of security from the Core. The lack of taking on of responsibility in this sector is leading to a security void that China seems willing to fill. Nevertheless, there is still the need for a clear strategy – national if not at a European level – that takes into account the need to counterbal-



ance energy and population flows with an adequate security one.

"Competitive" world stabilization

The need to contain crises from the Gap before they interfere with existing flows or spread to the point of involving Core countries calls for intervention at a global level. Taking part in this intervention, the goal of which is the maintaining of collective security, is one of the assessment factors for the geo-political weight of a nation. It would therefore be necessary to include it in a national strategic vision to avoid dangerous dispersion of forces.

Integration of the new "assertive" economies

Once the geographical borders of our country's flows of interest have clearly been identified, it will also be possible to more clearly establish relations with the "new economies" (economies of the new Core). In particular, it is necessary to understand that the integration of new economies is an exceptional opportunity for development only if carried out with the requisite commercial and financial open-mindedness. In addition, it is necessary to keep in mind that some of these nations are competitors in some areas, such as Russia for Eastern Europe or China in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Elements of the Functioning Core

European Integration

Mediterranean integration, European enlargement and stabilization of the Balkans

Promotion of development

World stabilization

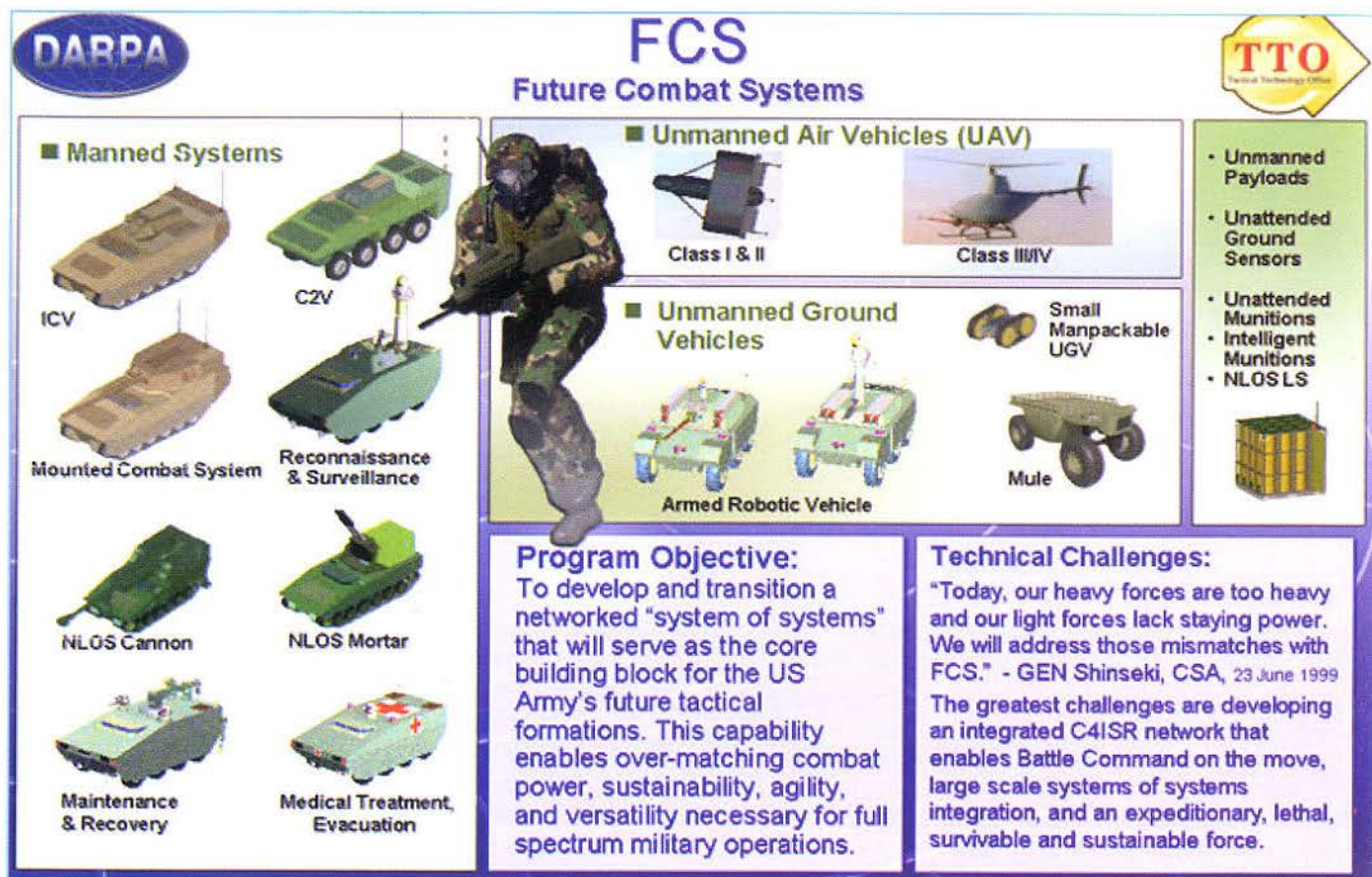
Integration of new economies

Conflicts/crises currently underway requiring land force intervention for stabilization

Potentially sensitive points for maritime traffic

The current situation

If we analyze the Italian strategic approach employed over the past few years, we can see that it is already set up along these lines. And it could not be otherwise, considering that fact that – as mentioned at the beginning of this article – reality lays precise, ineluctable challenges on the shoulders of every nation. Take, for example, the many missions currently underway, from Afghanistan (competitive world stabilization) to the Balkans. Unfortunately, without an organic geo-strategic vision of the problem, it is not always possible to understand fully (and make understood) the vital



Graphic diagram showing the elements of land-based Future Combat Systems, under development in the United States.

need for such commitments. Our missions are often seen simply as optional (and costly at that) for a rather pretentious foreign policy. Without an overall view of the situation it cannot be understood that these missions are indispensable – the without which a detachment process from the Core would be set in motion, leading to the country's economic and political decline. If we do not fully understand the dynamics of the globalized world, then it will prove impossible to understand that Afghanistan is as important for Italy as the Balkans are. To take just one example, if Central-Asia is destabilized by the situation in Afghanistan, then ENI would find it next to impossible to work in Kazakhstan in order to diversify national energy sources.

It is undoubtedly difficult to communicate this complexity to the general public opinion, used as it is to superficiality and strongly conditioned by the commonplaces that confuse

causes with effects (2). However, indefinite objectives and the consequent inadequateness of the military as an instrument, both in terms of numerical underestimation and in a lack of funding for technology and training, would have much more dire consequences on the future of Italy than the misfortunes which are generally seen as the worst possible, such as a high public deficit and inadequate infrastructure in the country.

THE MILITARY OUTLOOK

Given the situation just discussed, it is necessary to revise some concepts regarding the use of the Armed Forces, replacing the old "projection of power" capacity with a more modern "projection of security" capacity. Once again, by referring to the global situa-

tion (fig.8) it can clearly be noted that the problem of the "projection of security" from the Core to the Gap is a prevalently continental problem or, if you like, a problem mostly relating to the air-land component of the military. This aspect should not be underestimated,

“The problem of the projection of security is mostly related to the air-land component...”

especially as concerns an inter-force outlook, as the component that must be the mark of modern militaries. This is the point of view taken by the major western nations (including those with more maritime experience, such as the UK or the U.S.), which, though within a firm JOINT vision, are building up consistency and capacity in their land forces.

National priorities in the sector of security are still:

- defence capacity, to ensure national sovereignty and involvement in alliances for common defence (with war skills necessary even to be able to manage predictable regional crises), and
- expeditionary capacity, to take part in world stabilization necessary for a national, globalized economy (Peace Support/Crisis Response Operations capacity).

For both of these priorities shared European priorities can be identified. And so, even in defence, Italy could play an active role, with the goal of cooperating with other nations on projects of military politics, forming important synergies with industry organizations for European defence, which go beyond specific multinational projects (as already achieved for EFA, HORIZON, FREMM, etc.).

In particular, the development of autonomous European capacity in the military field, capable of working alongside the United States in bringing security to the Gap, could have as beneficial effects for Europe as it would for America.

In fact, NATO – despite the need for adjustments – is today the only military alliance in which European countries take part with a firm and trustworthy organization. But the predominance of the United States in the alliance seems to hint at the existence of another internal security flow within the old Core (from the United States to Europe). While in the past this flow proved useful for the maintaining of European and Euro-Asian equilibriums, the current situation, which requires greater European involvement in the stabilization of the Gap, will have no choice but to stimulate the development of autonomous capacities by the Old Continent. The latter will develop gradually and become polarized within around specific programmes, with the aim of achieving such economies of scale as to make them comparable with the United States.

The possible European integrations to bring into being by getting past individual national programme go from Anti-Ballistic Missile defence to air defence, from tactical and strategic ISTAR capacities and strategic transport to integrated

logistics, to the point of hypothesizing a possible shared nuclear deterrent.

But the most important European integration must be that concerning operative land forces. Land forces are still fragmented and, despite efforts at standardization of doctrine and procedure by NATO, are of difficult interoperability.

It is in this field that a holistic approach could today be extremely effective. It is a case of drawing up a European “army pattern” able to systemize a standardization of military codes (mostly concerning staff, doctrine and procedures) with the development of a “family of systems”, thought up for Europe along the same lines as the United States’ Future Combat System (FCS) programme, to work as a “system of systems”, the capacity of which would be greater than the sum of its single parts due to the network-centred plan.

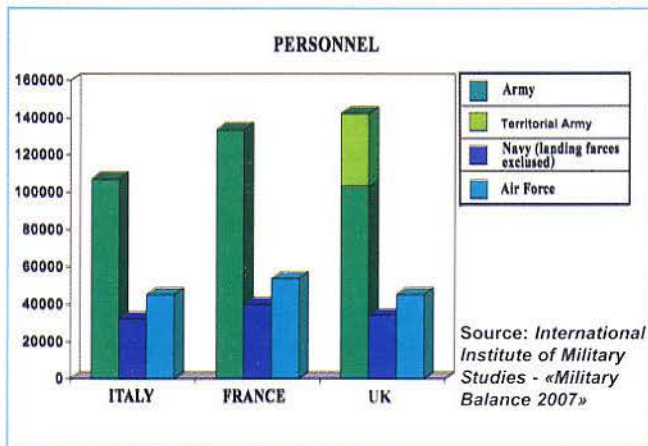
Such a project could:

- make a valid operative instrument available for decisive political corps for effective and efficient dispatch, easily integrated even at a European level in which, awaiting the consolidation of a stable decision-making body, coalitions can have a variable structure;
- polarize industrial research and development, bringing into being synergies and economies of scale among the large number of national projects (such as “Future Soldier” ones developed by every European nation), at the moment not up to achieving as ambitious of objectives as are required;
- ensure trustworthy combat capacity, as necessary for stabilization as for deterrence or possible involvement in regional crises (3);
- supply a workable frame of reference for operating requisites that gets past the “obsession” for light-armed troops, a distinguishing feature of the American FCS programme (conditioned by a hegemonic strategic vision and the underrating of operations like –to take just one example – surveillance of a nation in an urban setting), ensuring the achieving of the necessary economies as much in the acquisition phase as in logistic sustainability.

In this scenario, it would be necessary to support a revision of competences and procedures for the various levels of command of the large units:

- Armed Corps (Multinational) for carrying out operative tasks (the basis of CJTF);
- vDivisions (National or Framework) to carry out tactical ones;
- Brigade Combat Team (BCT – National or Framework) for carrying out autonomous multiple-weapon actions.

These commands should be able to make use of



Comparison between the armed forces of major European countries with which Italy intends to be at the same level.

national pawns (armoured, light, airmobile, Combat Support, Combat Service Support) at the regiment level and standardized as concerns structure, employment procedures, equipment and training levels. Pawns that would use the new, purpose built network-centred systems by way of Community industrial initiatives, in to keep abreast of current challenges to security and not relegated to the role of a "sacrificable second line" in operations lead by others.

Another factor to keep in mind must be the size of the national land forces. For the Army, in contrast with the other Services, the number of soldiers is a very important parameter and not reducible – at least beyond certain limits – by technological progress. And so, while for the Navy and Air Force we should aim at platforms which, due to automation and greater system capacity, are managed and serviced by the smallest number of staff possible, for the Army technological progress can improve combat capacity and increase security but cannot replace the soldier (4). In addition, beyond factors related to current and foreseeable use of our troops, it is necessary to take into consideration the fact that the relative weight of various nations taking part in an alliance or a mission is assessed in terms of the number of men put at the disposal, and not just overall capacity.

And, finally, an effort is needed in the field of defence to align internal and international parameters for a correct definition of the military instrument, with a clear inter-force vision and a solid land component. Easy to say, but also not so very difficult to do. Especially if we convince ourselves that this effort could decide the fate not only of the role of the military, but that of

the geo-strategic future of Italy and Europe as a whole.

CONCLUSIONS

The dawn of the twenty-first century did not hesitate to reveal to us the planetary upheaval of which we are only beginning to perceive the extent. Therefore, it would be extremely dangerous to base the preparation of the military exclusively on recent national operative experience, blinding ourselves to threats looming in the background.

Not understanding inter-relations that today govern the globalized world would condemn us to being perennially left behind.

And so, underestimating the clearly continental nature of current threats to security and not taking into consideration the fact that they may evolve – especially around mid-century – into high intensity threats, may lead our Armed Forces to a situation similar to the one seen between the two worlds wars. In that period we stubbornly insisted on preparation based on the experience gained in the First World War and in colonial expeditions, above all because it was in line with what our national industry was able to offer. The consequences were disastrous.

Marco Centritto

*Colonel, Editor in Chief,
Rivista Militare*

NOTES

(1) The V-RMTC project includes the participation of a large part of the Navies of the area, and so far 26 Navies have taken part in various roles, including 13 not part of NATO. The project already has the active participation of 16 operations centres with abundant prospects for growth over the medium term.

(2) Military expenditure are commonly believed to be a cause of human conflicts instead of a consequence, a depth of analysis on a par to those who, stuck in a traffic jam, blames it on the traffic warden who is instead acting to avoid total gridlock.

(3) Take, for example, the current programmes for precision artillery munitions (VOLCANO programme), able to restore the fire component to a high-level role in war-type operations such as peace keeping and the need to protect foreign bases from terrorist attacks with rockets, artillery and mortar shelling (C-RAM need).

(4) As extensively shown, as if there were really any need, by the failure of the "Rumsfeld doctrine" in Iraq (which called for smaller and lighter Armed Forces but endowed with greater capacity thanks to their overwhelming technological superiority).

SM and SMH

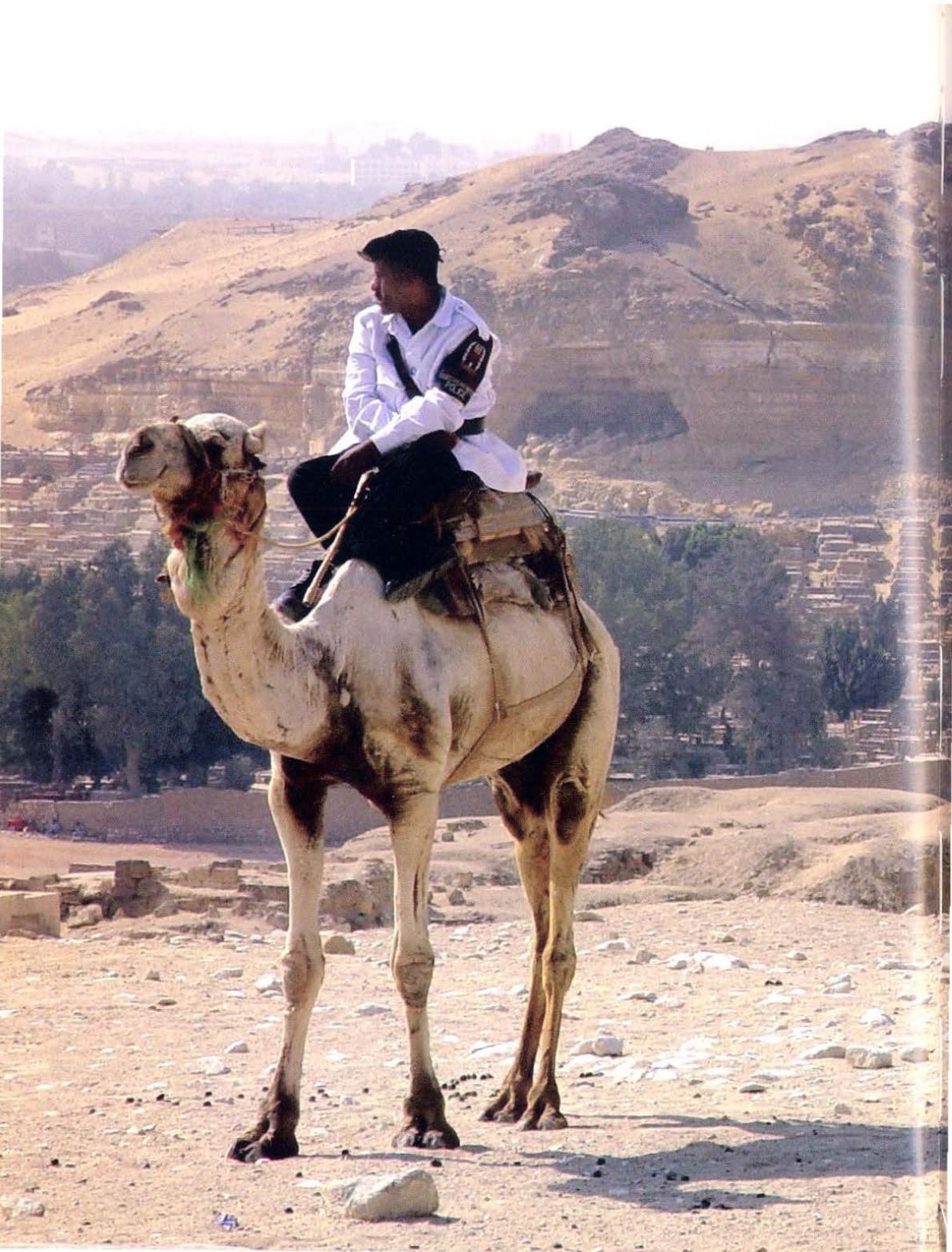
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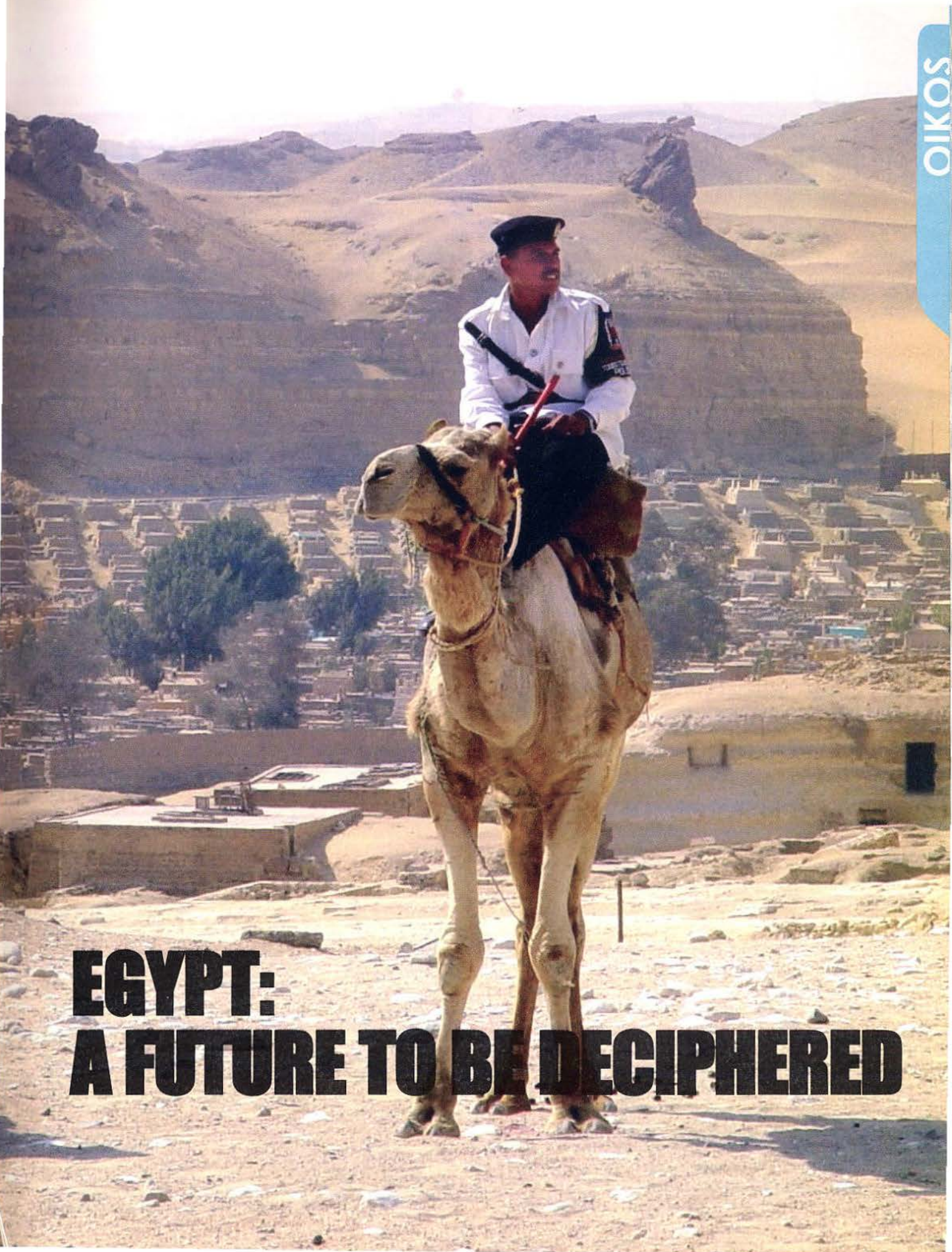


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A man in a white uniform and cap is riding a camel in a desert landscape. The camel is standing on a sandy, rocky ground. In the background, there are rolling hills and a small village with many small, white buildings. The sky is clear and blue.

EGYPT: A FUTURE TO BE DECIPHERED

EGYPT: A FUTURE TO BE DECIPHERED

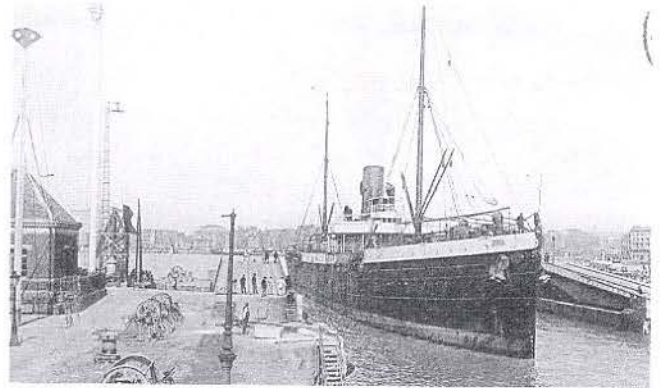
Although not a member of NATO, Egypt is a reliable ally and an important strategic reference. The four Presidents that succeeded each other after the fall of the Monarchy come from the Armed Forces, as does the whole ruling class of the Country. It is a monolithic regime, but the wind of Islam is blowing harder and harder.

With the end of the Ottoman rule, Egypt becomes a British protectorate until the 18th of February 1922, when it acquires the dignity of a formally independent Monarchy, even if the English retain their military bases on the territory and share the control of Sudan with Egypt.

After the unsuccessful war of 1948, waged with other Arab Countries against Israel (in the year of the proclamation of the Jewish State), the ancient dynasty founded by Mohammed Ali in the XIX Century is expelled from the Country by the coup d'état of 1952, led by General Mohammed Naguib, who forces King Farouk to abdicate. The Arab Republic of Egypt is thus born and General Naguib assumes the office of President and Prime Minister until the coming of Colonel Gamal Abd el-Nasser on the political scene of the Country.

When, in 1956, Nasser announces the nationalization of the Company of the Suez Canal, he causes the armed intervention of France, the United Kingdom and Israel. The troops with the "Star of David" occupy the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip, which had been part of Palestine and administered by Egypt since 1948. Only a peremptory action of the United Nations, with the preventive accord of the United States and the Soviet Union, forces Israel to retreat, until the new conflict of 1967 – the Six-day War – when the troops of Tel Aviv reconquer the Sinai and the Gaza Strip.

When Nasser dies in 1970 he is succeeded by Vice President Anwar Sadat, who tries to liberate the Sinai and, together with Syria, in 1973 opens hostilities against Israel – War of the Yom Kippur – but also this time without achieving the desired results. Although Egypt can count on the support of a Soviet air contingent, Israel manages to cross the Canal and conquer the city of Suez. A sequence of successive accords (1974 and 1975) envisage the withdrawal of the Israeli Army from the western side of the Canal and the presence of an Egyptian military contingent along a section of the territory on the eastern bank, as well as Tel Aviv's surrender of some oilfields in the Sinai.



Title pages.
Policemen on patrol.

Above.
A French ship crossing the Suez Canal (1906).

Between 1977 and 1979 President Sadat, presumably prompted by a real desire for peace, goes first to Jerusalem and, afterwards, signs with Israeli Prime Minister Begin a Peace Treaty that allows Egypt to gradually retrieve the Sinai (1982). This puts an end to a thirty-year war and re-establishes diplomatic relations between the two Countries.

However, the Muslim world does not seem to appreciate Egypt's new foreign policy (after the signature of the Treaty, Egypt is excluded from the Arab League until 1989) and on the 6th of October 1981 – the year in which the Palestine Liberation Organization makes as many as 248 terrorist attacks against Israeli targets – Sadat is cruelly assassinated, during a military parade, by an Islamic extremist group (Islamic al-Jihad or Muslim Brotherhood?) and his successor is Vice President Hosni Mubarak, Egypt's new "Pharaoh", who still today sits on the prestigious throne.

MUBARAK ON THE THRONE

The nineties with the new President are marked by the worsening of the political and social ten-

sions of the Islamic fundamentalist current – two unsuccessful attempts on Mubarak's life, one in Ethiopia and one in Cairo – after his decision to support the Allied Forces against Iraq in the Gulf War (1991) and the bloody attacks against western tourists near Luxor (1997).

General Mohammed Hosni El-Sayed Mubarak, born in 1928, comes from the Air Force and attended the "Frunze" War College in the Soviet Union. He was Chief of Staff in 1969 and Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Air Force in 1972 (the Air Force owes him its reorganization before the war of 1973) till he was appointed Vice President in 1975.

As Sadat's designate successor, the new President must support the process of peace with Israel and, at the same time, he does his best to improve Egypt's image in the Arab world. An image compromised by an accord with the Zionist State considered premature, to say the least.

While winning the respect of many Western Countries, in the nineties Mubarak carries out a harsh repression against fundamentalist terrorism and, at the same time, implements a parallel and underground Islamization of the national laws, pursuing a necessary and indispensable national cohesion: the judicial system, for example, combines elements of the British Common Law, the Napoleonic Codes and the Koran Law. But the problems of stability of the new President must take into account a public opinion, which, with increased insistence, manifests a marked sentiment of hostility against the "Stars and Stripes" of the U.S.

Also during the impressive "Bright Star" exercise, which took place in Egypt in October 2001 – which

“ Mubarak must support the peace process with Israel and, at the same time, he does his best to improve Egypt's image in the Arab world... ”

constituted the greatest concentration of multinational forces with non-operational tasks, conducted in order to implement common combat procedures and verify the interoperability of the various Commands – the local press preferred to keep a low profile.

Despite the presence of 70,000 soldiers of ten different Countries (including Italy, with 1200 men) President Mubarak could not ignore the strong internal opposition, and the visit paid by the Commander of the Operations in Afghanistan (American General Tommy Franks) incurred some criticisms for the bombings being carried out on the Kabul territory, considered by Egyptian public opinion an attack on Islam.

And also in 2003, when the United States organized at Camp Lemonier, an old base of the Foreign Legion in Djibouti, the Command of the "Combined Joint Task Force Horn of Africa" for operations against terrorism in the Horn of Africa, Mubarak does not hesitate to express his perplexities – the area is historically under Cairo's sphere of influence – by objecting to the support given by the U.S. to the secessionist rebels of southern Sudan, precisely where the balances of the region could be jeopardized to the detriment of Egypt, worried by the destiny of the precious natural contribution constituted by the Nile.

But the international policy on which the President has embarked cannot afford dangerous deviations: in 2002 the trade relations with the U.S. exceed 4 billion dollars, not counting another billion that reaches Cairo directly from Washington in the form of military aid.

Moreover, Egypt is now included in a group of Countries that, within NATO, are identified with the name of "Mediterranean Dialog" (Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Israel, Morocco, Mauritania and Tunisia), while Italy has been entrusted with the leadership of preferential contacts with the Egyptian political and military authorities.

Thanks to precise bilateral agreements, Italy can count on wide training areas – insufficient on our territory – for mechanized and armoured units, in order to improve each force's specific training with the special operational connotation; always as part of joint exercises with the Egyptian Army (among the most important, the "Pinerolo" Brigade in 2002 and the "Garibaldi" Brigade in 2004).

Moreover, in 2003, NATO envisions its enlargement – the greatest threats come precisely from the Middle East – for a more stable geostrategic balance of the area and, among the proposed Countries the emerging name is precisely that of Egypt.

The project is not without foundation, at least from the purely technical viewpoint.

A camp of Palestinian refugees (1948).





Ariel Sharon and Menachem Begin during the Six-Day War (1967).

Vis-à-vis almost one and a half million soldiers (European allies and Canada), only 55,000 men are actually operational – and therefore projectable out of area – and, at the same time, almost all are employed in international peacekeeping missions: the Alliance needs men and the Egyptian Army can count on almost half a million soldiers (in 2003: Army 71%, Air Force 25% and Navy 4%, with military expenditure equal to 2.7% of the nation's GDP).

The following year a similar discussion opens at the United Nations, on the occasion of the beginning of the works for a possible reform of the Organization. The Arab world – but it is more correct to speak of over one billion Muslims not represented – presses at the doors of the Security Council, where Christians (in the widest acceptance of the term) can count on four seats, while the fifth is an exclusive prerogative of the Chinese "world". As is known, the Countries with the right of veto are the United States, Russia, China, France and the United Kingdom. But if Saudi Arabia can put forward assurances, why could not Egypt – so intensely engaged in military operations side by side with the Western powers – do the same?

But the Country is pressed on one side by Washington's politico-military offensive against the dictatorial regimes of the Middle East and on the other by the fresh outbreak of terrorist attacks. In October 2004 a group of Islamic fundamentalists strike the Hilton hotel at Taba – on the Gulf of Aqaba –, which accommodates many Israeli clients for the "Sukkot" celebrations (the Feast of Tabernacles) and bathe in blood also three tourist resorts on the Egyptian side of the Red Sea.

After only a few months, the dreadful attack in the most crowded area of Sharm el Shéik causes

about hundred victims and terror spreads its shadow as far as the valley of the Nile delta.

2005, A DIFFICULT YEAR

Although Mubarak managed to patch up the fracture between Egypt and the Arab world after the peace accords with Israel – and to place himself in a privileged position among the Countries of the area and the Western world – a cautious dialogue with the moderate opposition did not suffice to grant to the Country the process of democratisation that was deemed necessary to guarantee its internal stability.

Even if he enjoys a large popular consent – Mubarak has become an influent personality after the good proof given by the Egyptian Army during the war of 1973 – in the face of the intransigent opposition to Islamic fundamentalism, the President has ordered a strict control on the "loyal" Armed Forces, on the Secret Services, on radio and television networks, as well as on the entire economy of the Country.

After 24 years of undisputed power, the squares of Cairo – until recently important stages for demonstrations against Israel, the United States and the Iraq war – are now crowded with people claiming for political and social reforms.

They wave the flags of the reformists of the *Kifaya* ("Enough!") party, of the intelligentsia of the "Kaldum Centre" and the progressives' flag of the *Wafd* party, but when, on the central Ramsis and Tharir squares descend the Muslim Brothers – the largest opposition force, banned since 1954 but tolerated for many years – thousands of men in riot gear come out from the Police Headquarters of the neighbouring Lazoghly Square and, after a violent repression (dozens of arrests), disperse the demonstration and restore order in the turbulent streets of the city.

Egypt chooses to repress the intransigent reading of the Koran and the Wahabite rigour: but who are the Muslim Brothers today?

They are the oldest Islamic political movement of the Arab world – founded in Egypt in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna – who started his terrorist activity by carrying out violent and bloody actions against King Farouk's government. When Nasser's "Council of the Revolutionary Command" decides the constitution of a lay State, therefore absolutely non-Islamic, the Brotherhood is accused of the attempt on the President's life in 1954. The repression is very harsh: thousands of militants are arrested, six leaders are sentenced to death and one of them, Hassan al-Hudaybi, is sentenced to life imprisonment. Also the most moderate wing of the organization is banned from the Country and, most probably, is weakened by Nasser's great popularity and his winning pan-Arab ideology. But the Egyptian defeat in the war of 1967 and, therefore, the crisis of pan-Arab secularism, reopen the



President Sadat's historical visit to Tel Aviv (November 21, 1977).

doors to the Brotherhood's return on the political stage. Once more accused of complicity in the murder of President Sadat in 1981, the Muslim Brothers remain in the list of the outlawed organizations, even if in time they have apparently softened their political positions: they advocate the birth of an Islamic State, but today they intend to achieve it with democratic means.

Mubarak somehow accepts the new trend and tolerates that 16 candidates of the Brotherhood – formally independent – be elected to Parliament in 2000, thus favouring the main voice opposing his regime.

In 2005 the Brotherhood's leader, Mohammad Ahmed Akef, declared to "Al Jazeera" that the Brothers renounce the foundation of an Islamic State (hypothesis considered improbable by many analysts), accept the recognition of the "Copt Brothers", condemn violence and promise their collaboration with Cairo's government, without forgetting – a decidedly unusual fact for an Islamic movement – their approval to the parity of man and woman's rights.

But then, why does Mubarak take such an intransigent attitude?

The U.S. State Department insists that the whole Middle East should start democratic procedures and asks of Egypt in particular the slackening of the reins of power and a minimum recognition of the opposition forces (Condoleezza Rice's intervention in 2005, at Cairo American University: democratic reforms and assertion of a State subject to the rule of Law).

But the Muslim Brothers, already since the times of the Diaspora, have started numerous extremist and paramilitary movements in the whole Arab world, becoming the symbol of religious radicalism against freedom and democracy of the entire hemisphere.

The most intransigent fringe groups have sensed the limits of al-Banna's founding ideology (lack of a military organization and ambiguity in view of their possible assumption of political power) and have found greater inspiration in Sayyid Qutb, an ideologue that distinguished himself for having developed a decidedly revolutionary theory for the Sunni confession.

According to Qutb, the real believer has the right to oust the illegitimate governments – from the Islamic principles viewpoint – using the Jihad instrument, upheld by martyrs inspired and prepared for sacrifice in order to promote Allah's authority in the world.

However, although the Egyptian leadership has succeeded in creating an efficient and widespread organization in Cairo – the first urban-based Islamic movement capable of becoming a part of a difficult social fabric with its medical-hospital services, social security and educational institutions – in the movement there is still a tough wing fed by young militants of the last generation, keen supporters of the Shari'a and motivated by fierce anti-West sentiments.

Mubarak's reckonings seem to be simple and pragmatic.

Urged by Washington, at the beginning of 2005, he announces "Cairo's Springtime", i.e. direct-suffrage presidential elections and release of the most important lay dissident, Ayman Nour, head of the pro-liberal party "Al Ghad" ("Tomorrow"), who, within half an hour had seen himself deprived of his parliamentary immunity with the charge of having forged fifty signatures on an official request for social reforms.

But when the Muslim Brothers take to the streets, Mubarak chooses the hard line to show that – despite his having granted their political requests – the Brotherhood remains a hotbed of protests and disorders, therefore it must be considered a reason for serious concern also for the White House.

And the taciturn and astute President knows his American allies well and does not forget to remind them what occurred in

Algeria in 1991 – when the Islamic Salvation Front won the election with a remarkable majority and the military were forced to suspend the poll, starting a dramatic season of repressions and slaughters on both sides – therefore the message reaches its target, loud and clear: the analogy with Algeria is cogent.

Washington's Administration certainly does not remain indifferent to this alarm bell, and when Condoleezza Rice travels again to Cairo in January

“ Egypt is included in a group of Countries that, within NATO, are identified with the name of “Mediterranean Dialogue”, while Italy has been entrusted with the leadership of preferential contacts with the Cairo authorities ”



The Israeli Flag waving at El Arish.

2007 to meet Foreign Minister Ahmed Aboul Gheit, she is very careful not to mention the reinforcement of the rights of a legally constituted State, limiting herself to praise the contribution offered by Egypt to the U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East.

Mubarak has played his cards well: the democratic game has cautiously started but the fundamentalist forces – especially those aiming at a religious dictatorship – must stay out.

And when the important Saudi newspaper “Arab News” – through its director, political analyst Khaled al-Maeena – invites Egypt to give a democratic possibility to the Muslim Brothers (“They have changed in comparison with the past [...] today they are perceived as the sole force that fights corruption and poverty and opposes foreign interference [...] they should be put to the test”) Mubarak obtains a further political support to his thesis: aren't the Muslim Brothers actually attracted into the ideological sphere of Wahabism? And is not, in its turn, the political support given by Saudi Arabia a form of questionable interference in a sovereign State that tries by all means to fight Islamic terrorism in the name of a by now consolidated secularism?

But Mubarak has also to deal with an additional threat, which in some aspects is even more difficult to manage.

In 2005 there are important changes in the societies of the Arab Countries. The television net-

works transmit the elections in Afghanistan and Iraq, quotas of female presence are introduced in Morocco and Jordan, and Kuwaiti women claim their right to vote.

The winds of reform start to blow also on the monolithic Mubarak regime.

The success obtained by the new political party led by young lawyer Ayman Nour – middle class, liberal and non-ideological – seems to be a serious alternative to the National Democratic Party, the President's political formation.

In practice, Mubarak sees that the foundations of his power are undermined, and his thesis (either us or the Islamic extremists) is a kind of “political blackmail” that today could lose all its value.

The Armed Forces are loyal to him, intelligence is under firm control, external threats do not constitute a problem and, therefore, Mubarak must play his game on the politico-constitutional plane.

Even if he has been leading the Country since 1981, the President wants to obtain his fifth consecutive mandate, despite his having reached the respectable age of seventy-seven in a health condition that arouses great concern among his collaborators and serious perplexities among Western observers.

In the history of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Mubarak is the first President that has not appointed a Vice President, with the risk of creating a power vacuum in case of death or disability (Egypt has always had a kind of automatic succession between the President and the Vice President) and this situation creates a serious diffidence among diplomats and foreign analysts.

The President of the Republic, on the basis of Article 76 of the Constitution, is elected with a rather unusual procedure.

Parliament is called to choose, with an absolute majority, a single candidate that will be submitted to the people's judgement for his definitive nomination, for a period of about six years. The active electorate can only express a favourable or opposing vote, but there has always been unanimous agreement.

And in this case, with about 90% of the seats in Parliament assigned to the Democratic National Party, certainly there are no signs of noticeable concern, and Mubarak can afford himself the luxury of winning the elections by challenging also other candidates. The President accepts that any candidate who is supported by at least 10% of Parliament can present himself for election (Constitutional amendment approved by referendum on the 26th of May 2005).

This is the start, only from a strictly formal point of view, of the first competition in the presidential elections.

Mubarak obtains 88.6% of the consents (the Party has put at his disposal for the electoral cam-

paign its impressive machinery) vis-à-vis his challenges Ayman Nour (7.6%) and Nomaan Gomaa, head of the Wafd historical party. Of course, there is no lack of criticisms: Nour complains that there were no equal opportunities and Gomaa asks that the vote be repeated, saying that he has been subject to limitations of various nature and, moreover, many international observers express great perplexities about the correctness of the elections.

Even if the turnout was a scarce 23% (7 million Egyptian went to the polls, out of the entitled 32 million) in the people there is still an undisputed willingness to rely on a charismatic leader – the personality cult is a characterizing feature – capable of leading the Country with authority, prestige and steadiness.

In any case, the first manifestation of democracy seems to be sprouting from the land of the Pharaohs, even if in a markedly Egyptian style.

ARMED FORCES, INTELLIGENCE AND TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS

According to the Constitution of 1971 (Articles 180–183) the Egyptian Armed Forces “belong” to the people and are called to defend the Country, not only for what concerns the territory and the national security, but also to protect the social conquests achieved. Still according to the Constitution, Egypt is in fact an “Arab Republic with a democratic socialist system” and the President, elected with a six-year mandate, is also Chief of the Executive.

The defence of the Homeland is considered a “sacred duty”, and the Command of the Armed Forces is entrusted to the President of the Republic, who exercises full powers with the sole aid of the “Council of National Defence”, the main advisory body for what concerns the national security. Although instituted by the Constitution itself, it is actually hardly ever convened, as the decisional power remains de facto in the hands of the President and the Minister of Defence.

It is not without reason that the four Presidents of the Republic – after the fall of the Monarchy in 1952 – and more precisely Naguib, Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak, all come from the Armed Forces, considered by public opinion as the most important supply source of the Country’s ruling class.

With a number of active men nearing half a million, Egypt’s Army is considered the strongest force of the region – in 2005 the military expense has reached 3.5% of the GNP – which, albeit not a



Jets engaged in Exercise “Bright Star” (2001).

NATO member, remains an important military and strategic ally (it is the only Arab Nation that has spy satellites) and its leadership on the African continent allows it to propose itself as a privileged interlocutor for providing assistance and training also to other Countries.

With conscription, compulsory at 18 years of age and lasting three years, every year the young men that reach the age for military service are about one million, and the yearly availability almost reaches the remarkable number of 20 million adults aged between 18 and 49.

Thanks to the important role played by the President of the Republic – also for controlling the Ministry of War Production and the National Council for Military Provisions – one can objectively talk of a high degree of militarization of the Country.

Besides the summit command structure, the “Arab Organization for Industrialization” – a consortium of a markedly national connotation – is also of strategic importance. Its stated objective is to achieve operational autonomy from the West through the planning and production of defence systems.

Besides, Egypt is one of the biggest producers of arms. According to some Western experts, in Leopolis, near Cairo International Airport, there is a structure for military production (from hand grenades to tanks, up to medium-range missiles) considered one of the largest in the world as regards dimension and

diversified typology of war production.

It is therefore a high-profile military policy, which intends to reward the aspirations of the Egyptian leadership (the leadership of the Arab world) through the role of the Armed Forces, an effective means of internal policy and, first of all, a powerful instrument of international policy.

Under the Ministry of the Interior there are two paramilitary Corps: the “Security Central Forces” (250,000 men equipped also with armoured vehi-

“The U.S. State Department insists that the whole Middle East should start democratic procedures and asks of Egypt, in particular, a minimum recognition of the opposition forces”



President Mubarak meets Lebanese President Lahoud (May 21, 2006).

cles and mortars) and the "National Guard" (60,000 men armed with light weapons), while under the Ministry of Defence (at General Mohamed Hussein Tantawi's orders) there are the "Forces of National Protection" (60,000 men), the "Frontier Forces" (20,000 men) and the "Forces of Coastal Protection" (2000 men for the security of public installations along the littoral and for anti-smuggling activities)

Under the Ministry of the Interior there is also the first of the Special Forces created in the eighties to fight terrorism, the "Hostage Rescue Force" based in southern Cairo, with about 100 men trained for opposing urban terrorist activities, in collaboration with the metropolitan Police.

The second team – the information concerning it is very scarce – is called Unit 333 and should consist of 50 men directly subordinate to the Army.

The third Unit, called 777 (also known as "al-Sa'ika" or Thunderbolt Force) is considered the most important. Trained by the U.S. since 1981, this airtransported unit consists of about 300 men, and only of late has reached qualitative levels of a certain significance. It is now under the Army's command, trains periodically with the Delta Force and has apparently made some illicit trespassing to capture extremist elements of the Muslim Brotherhood.

The intelligence activity is organized in three main sectors which are called "General Security Services", directly under the Presidency of the Republic, "Secret Services", under the Ministry of Defence, and "General Directorate for Security Investigations (GDSSI), under the direct control of the Ministry of the Interior, and responsible, with an activity often considered too intransigent, for the complex and many-sided national security.

After the iron hand wanted by Nasser (20,000 political prisoners, control of political meetings and even of public discussions), the GDSSI has been discredited by President Sadat's assassination (inefficiency or indirect complicity?), but reacquired prestige and a good reputation with Mubarak's rise to power.

Tasked with controlling the representatives of the opposition, the journalists, the foreign diplomats and the political activists suspected of subversive activities, in 1986 this Unit was accused of tortures on captured Islamic extremists, and forty Officers were indicted for 422 crimes against members of the al-Jihad terrorist association. After a two-year investigation the court acquitted all the defendants but, while acknowledging the actual use of inhuman practices, it could not (or believed inopportune) attribute the responsibility of the atrocities to the Officers indicted.

In any case, today the GDSSI is the only body entitled to fight the political subversion, and its organization has apparently infiltrated political parties, media, unions, public companies and even government bodies.

But who are the real enemies of the Egyptian public institutions?

The al-Jihad (Holy War) is an organization of Islamic militants who split from the Muslim Brotherhood in the seventies (contesting their refusal to use violence) to start an armed activity against the Copt minority in particular and the government's institutions in general (President Sadat).

Beyond the capability of organizing bloody attacks against the government, its dangerousness consists mainly in making converts among the Egyptian military.

Very much hindered by the intelligence and by the Special Forces (almost all its historical leaders have been arrested), the new members of the new generation of the "Holy War" have created, already since the nineties, a new formation called

"Vanguard of the Conquerors", considered the most determined and intransigent fringe group of the entire organization.

On the contrary, the "Islamic Group" springs from the student movement, which also separated from the Islamic Brotherhood at the end of the seventies. After a political alliance with the "Holy War" (the common enemy is the Government), which lasted until the mid-eighties, the "students" of the "Islamic Group" have started their diffused activity of proselytism among the poorer classes of the Capital and in the rural villages of the south, soon becoming a military and organizational point of reference for some thirty minor Islamic organizations spread on the territory.

“With a number of men nearing half a million, Egypt's is considered the strongest Army in the region...”

Based on this new force, the Islamic Group has proved particularly aggressive and dangerous and caused a harsh reaction from the Government, with the physical elimination of many of its most important members. In particular, the 1997 Luxor attack, where 58 foreign tourists lost their life, was apparently organized by militants of that Group, trained in Afghanistan with the collaboration of the Taliban.

Although in 1977, immediately after the massacre, six historical leaders of the movement, imprisoned in Cairo, made an appeal for a unilateral "ceasefire" (refused also by Mubarak), the new leadership has dissociated itself from the declaration of social policy and has tried to re-consolidate the guerrilla groups, in order to resume the armed struggle.

The "Egyptian Revolution" is another extremist movement, which is not linked to the Muslim Brotherhood but is financed by Khaled Abdel Nasser, son of the former-President. Despite its responsibility for killing two Israeli citizens (1985) and two American Officers (1987), this movement does not seem to have much following among the population, owing to the total absence of an ideological background, either political or religious.

The arrest of its most significant members – much emphasized by the media – occurred at the end of the eighties, and the related sentences have apparently weakened the force and dangerousness of the entire organization.

The Muslim Brotherhood, which, as we said, appears on the political stage of the Country with a new ideological passport, seems to have consolidated its position of refusal to be an interposition entity between people and power, convinced that it can constitute a valid (democratic?) means of achieving an Islamic State.

But the strengthening of the geopolitical and strategic positions of the theocratic States (Iran and Sudan) and Mubarak's unwillingness to take part in any kind of negotiation could induce the Muslim Brothers to pursue their religious and cultural specificity with greater determination.

Even if at present the Muslim Brotherhood controls the professional and trade-union organizations of the Country and can count on the sponsorship of the financial and commercial establishment – it is actually perceived as a bourgeois and exclusive secret association – this movement remains the only association in a position to catalyse the Islamic challenges that come from the southern regions, where the backward economic and cultural conditions are the best ground for extremist inclinations.

Moreover, wasn't perhaps the Constitution of 1971 modified too many times in order to be subjected to the exclusive interests of the President and his regime?

In fact, Ayman al-Zawahiri's appeal, made in the first months of 2006 ("Let's take the Jihad to Africa")



Condoleezza Rice on a visit to Cairo(2007).

was immediately received by the "Salafite Group for Preaching and Fighting", which – according to French and Spanish intelligence sources – after swearing their submission to al-Qaeda, gathered on the Algerian mountains their armed Islamic militants, in order to create a real logistic platform.

The objective is that of training men and exporting the struggle to the North African Countries (Egypt is considered "excessively" non-ideological), in obedience to the directions of the ideologue Abu Azam al-Ansari: "*Africa is a gold mine for the Jihad [...] the proximity to Europe allows us to move rapidly to attack the infidels*".

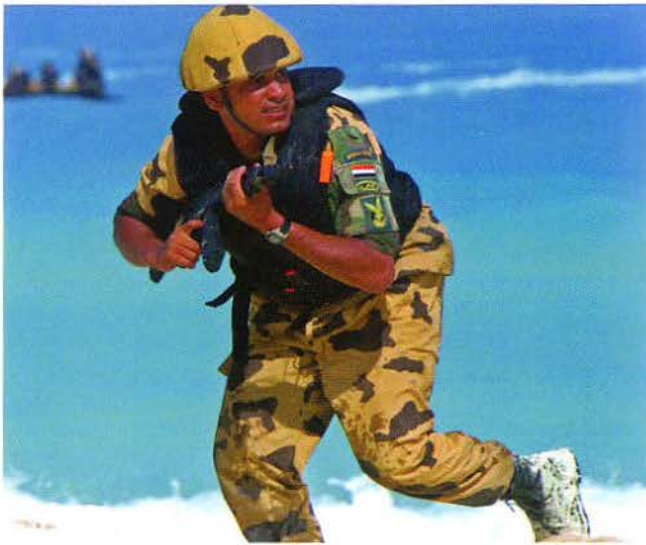
Will a Government's strong position be sufficient to stop the al-Qaeda's violence that the founder of the Egyptian Jihad, Imam Abdul Aziz al-Sharif, and the brother of al Qaeda's number two, Mohammed al-Zawahiri – both detained in Cairo's prisons – intend to launch?

AN HEIR TO THE THRONE ?

Already during the presidential elections of 2005, Mubarak decided to delegate to his son Gamal the process of democratic innovation of the Country, at the same time – as a kind of general test – entrusting him with the delicate task of organizing and conducting the first direct-suffrage election campaign.

Gamal Mubarak, having become in a very short time the most important personality in the political field, enjoys a wide popular consent and, at the moment, is considered the natural candidate to the leadership of the Country.

Second-born son of the President, young Gamal is not yet forty-five. After a master in "Business Administration", obtained at Cairo's American University, and a job with the Bank of America (Cairo and London), he sets up an investment company, "Medinvest", and at present controls assets estimated around 100 million dollars.



An Egyptian soldier during an amphibious operation.

After his father's election, he is appointed Vice-Secretary General of the Democratic National Party, and with the help of young technocrats, starts the modernization of the economic and financial structures of the Country, that have been considered fossilized since Sadat's times.

Although President Mubarak along the years continued to consolidate his alliance with Washington (in 30 years the US has meted out, in various forms, more than 60 billion dollars), Gamal is apparently assuming a political attitude more heedful of the interests of the Country, rather than the historical collaboration with the U.S. State Department.

At the beginning of 2006 he gets engaged to the 23-years-old daughter of el-Gammal - belonging to a powerful family of building contractors - and, as the name of the young lady is Khadija, like that of Mohammed's first wife, the Muslim Brothers in the choice of the future wife read a respectful tribute to Muslim tradition: do they have perhaps a new important ally?

On September 19, 2006, in an official statement, Gamal Mubarak openly criticises the American policy in the Middle East and unexpectedly announces his intention of verifying the hypothesis of nuclear option. Actually, Egypt has an old project that was interrupted in 1986, after the tragic Chernobyl disaster, stopping the works of the atomic plant of el-Dabaa (Alexandria) and the tests of the "National Centre of Atomic Researches", which had brought the Country to the highest level in the Arab world. But today the grey smoke of nuclear power seems to linger all over the Maghreb and the Middle East. An open threat to the Israeli State? In March 2007, a documentary broadcast by the Israeli television on the "Six-Day War" (fought from 5 to 10 June 1967 between Israel and an alliance of Arab Countries,

Egypt, Syria Jordan and Iraq, and broken out as a consequence of the blockade imposed by Egypt on the Israeli ships in the Gulf of Aqaba) is interpreted by Egypt as an admission of guilt in the slaughter of hundreds of prisoners of war. Despite the denials of the film director, Ron Edelist, (it was a squad of Palestinian guerrillas organized within the Egyptian Armed Forces during a regular shoot-out), the Egyptian press accuses the then Commander of the "Shaker" (Almond) Special Unit of massacre: "Forty years ago, he ordered the slaughter of 250 prisoners of war, his hands are dirty with our blood". The Commander of the Unit, from 1967 to 1970, is Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, Tel Aviv's former Minister of Defence and today Minister of Infrastructure, a General of Iraqi origins who speaks a perfect Arabic and is held in great consideration by the Egyptian President and by the Head of the Cairo intelligence.

Nevertheless, the media and the Deputies of the Muslim Brotherhood ride on the resentment of the Egyptian population: the former induce the Foreign Minister to summon the Israeli Ambassador, Shalom Cohen, and the latter threaten to "cut his throat if he dares to set his foot on our courtyard". And they go even beyond that, they go as far as asking the recall of the Egyptian ambassador to Tel Aviv, the freeze of the Camp David accords, the interruption of the agreements for economic cooperation and, through the voice of Salama al-Ruqi - independent Sinai MP - also the use of weapons: "The only way of resolving the situation is to declare the state of war!" The only option left to Minister Ben-Eliezer, who had planned a visit to Cairo to discuss the importation of gas, was to cancel the meeting.

Even if the "Six-Day War" has seen the loss of 21,000 soldiers of the Arab Alliance, of 45,000 wounded and 6000 prisoners (against 779 Israeli dead, more than 2000 wounded and only 15 prisoners), President Mubarak cautiously tries to extinguish the fire and surely does not forget that the Israeli exports to Egypt in 2006 have reached 126 million dollars (against 29 millions in 2004) and that Egypt has sold goods to Israel for 77 millions, compared to 29 millions realized in 2004.

Therefore, if the concern constituted by Israel cannot be considered legitimate (its nuclear value is only that of a "final" deterrence) it is more credible to surmise that Iran's obstinate determination to build an atomic arsenal probably conditions a great deal, from an anti-Shi'ite viewpoint, the Governments of the region. The population of the area is almost totally Sunnite, and the fear of Shi'ite Iran's military growth and regional invasiveness drives these Countries towards an instinctive mechanism of defence: Algeria has announced that wants to resume its programme started in 1985 and later interrupted, Libya has made known that it wants to take up again the programme started secretly, and



Egyptian expatriates demonstrating in front of the White House for the liberation of Ayman Nour (2005).

even peripheral and unassuming Morocco has started negotiations with American companies for building modern nuclear reactors. Saudi Arabia, Jordan, the Arab Emirates and Kuwait, owing to their strategic alliance with the United States, have already formalized their request to the Director of the International Agency for Atomic Energy, Mohammed el Baradei (according to Saudi Foreign Minister Saud al-Faisal, this course must advance in an "open, legal and official way"). Yemen, Oman and Bahrein are simply on the waiting list, precisely like Turkey, and Syria, led by young Bashar Assad.

Therefore, not only does Gamal Mubarak distance himself from the (non-ideological and authoritarian) nationalism of his father, but raises his sights and is apparently ready to contest the American ally just to get an applause by Cairo's Islamists: analysts believe that, despite the U.S. pressures, Egypt will build from three to ten nuclear reactors. The official thesis is, as always, that of a choice for research and development of a source of civilian energy (the alternative ones would require almost 50 years) for answering the needs of the Country.

As we have already pointed out, President Mubarak has not appointed a deputy (a dangerous precedent, according to many analysts) and, therefore, at the moment no automatic succession is practicable. Although public opinion has not liked the Syrian model (Bashar Assad has taken his father Hafez' place and Egypt is not a "Monarchy" but a republic), young Gamal seems to be the only prestigious figure in a position to reach the highest office of the Country.

Still, there is an even more delicate problem: Gamal Mubarak is not a soldier.

All the Presidents of the Arab Republic of Egypt come from the Armed Forces, and is the Country really ready to see, for the first time, a civilian as Head of the State? We have already expressed our

considerations on the importance of the Army, as determinant element in the training of the ruling class, and cannot exclude that Mubarak's choices (absence of a Vice President and start of constitutional reforms) may foreshadow the beginning of a course for the succession of his son.

Even if at present Gamal is considered the true political leader of the Country, there is actually an ideal candidate who answers to the name of Oman Suleiman, Head of the Secret Service.

He is an influential figure who enjoys wide prestige in the Arab world and liking in the West, besides a wide consent inside the Country, which he has obtained through complex negotiations, carried out with particular ability, with the Palestinian armed groups, on the difficult road towards peace with Israel.

However, will the uniform with a General's stars and the right political and organizational talents be sufficient to defeat such an ambitious and openly favoured competitor?

"Mubarak's unwillingness to conduct any kind of negotiation could induce the Muslim Brothers to pursue their religious and cultural specificity with greater determination"

2007: LAUNCHING THE CONTESTED CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

In the spring of 2007, Parliament - where President Mubarak's party dominates unopposed - approves, with 315 votes for and 134 against, as many as 34 amendments to the Constitution, introduced by the Government and inspired by a "deep democratic reform".

The amendments, harshly criticised by the opposition and by the human rights organizations, are submitted to the Egyptian people for a referendary vote (also in this case it is possible to accept or



Above.
A demonstration of the Muslim Brothers in Cairo.

Right.
Egyptian and American servicemen of "Task Force Strength" in Afghanistan.



against terrorism justifies the abolition of the citizens' rights and, according to Amnesty International, it is the "worse blow dealt to human rights" in Egypt since the special laws of 1981.

Art.5 forbids to create political parties with a religious basis or trend, and art.62 bars the way to the Muslim Brotherhood definitively: no independent candidate can stand for election, since the Brothers – precisely as independent candidates – had succeeded in gaining one fifth of the seats in the legislative elections of 2005 and, therefore, constituted themselves as the sole organized opposition force. The reactions of leader Essam al-Aryan are apparently justified: the transformation of the Republic into a de-facto Monarchy has started, and the amendments are preparing the road for the son of President Mubarak.

The actual victim of art.88 is instead the Magistracy: according to some analysts it is responsible for having openly challenged the Security Forces that prevented the electors (also with the use

of weapons) from voting in polling stations where the Democratic National Party was particularly weak. After its opposition to the electoral frauds in the elections of 2005, the Magistracy finds itself excluded from the responsibility (and from the guarantee) of the correctness of the vote. An "independent" Government Commission

replaces it in order to monitor the validity of the vote. In the opinion of Nassar Amin, Director of the Arab Centre for the Independence of Magistrates, this is the "final blow to our democracy".

For the whole opposition – from the Islamic to the non-ideological one – the revision of the Constitution is a real coup d'état ("the death of every personal freedom") and more than a hundred MPs leave the room in order to organize a sit-in of protest: *We want a clean conscience, let the DNP alone answer for this*

reject them as one) on the 26th of March 2007. The day before the elections many unpleasant incidents occur during some demonstrations. Only a massive police intervention, with several charges and the arrest of hundreds of demonstrators, manages to restore order in the squares.

But what are the real changes in the constitutional system?

The amendments to art.179 of the Constitution envisage the formalization – into constitutional law – of the special laws introduced during the Sadat regime and tightened up immediately after his assassination, even if the population had wanted them mitigated, and even abrogated, already since their institution in distant 1981, i.e. the emergency and "transitory" laws that have always accompanied Mubarak's presidency.

Today every citizen can be arrested and detained with no limits of time, and can also be tried by military courts. Moreover, in the investigations against terrorism, the Police can carry out searches and eavesdropping without a warrant from a magistrate. Communications (by phone, mail and computer) are no more an inviolable right, just like private homes and personal privacy: the fight

“...Israeli exports to Egypt in 2006 have reached 126 million dollars (against 29 million in 2004) and Egypt has sold goods to Israel for 77 million...”



Above.
President Hosni Mubarak with Austrian Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel.

Right.
U.S. General Myers and Egyptian General Sami.

shame before the people. The State television, which usually broadcasts every working session, avoids showing the empty seats in Parliament.

But the day of the popular referendum is getting near (March 26, 2007) and in the streets of Cairo there is a remarkable number of vans that tour the city with an imposing picture of Mubarak who, through a megaphone, gives his suggestions to the population: *Vote yes, for the good of your children and for your future.*

But for those that manage to avoid them, it is the State television that takes it upon itself to broadcast the Rais' message methodically: *these are democratic reforms that encourage the activity of the parties, that put an end to the exploitation of religion and illicit behaviours, protecting our Homeland from terrorism.*

The opposition succeeds in making its voice heard only through political rallies and public calls (sms do a lot more) and the appeal is to boycott the referendum, even if the price for it is the arrest of six members of al-Ghad in their offices, and of thirteen activists during the organization of a popular protest.

The day of the referendum the Government has given instructions to transport the civil servants to the polls. Hundreds of coaches picked them up from the textile factories of the Nile delta and the Suez most remote oil fields. And with 20% of popular participation (less than 5% according to independent observers) and 75.9% of approval, Mubarak's reforms dominate the political and social life of the Country.

There are many charges of a "rigged referendum" and, among these, the influential voice of the National Council for Human Rights, an organization recognized by the State and directed by Boutros

Ghali, former Secretary General of the United Nations: civil servants have been compelled to vote, the records at the polling stations are not accurate, some observers have been barred from even getting near the polls and a certain number of persons responsible for the vote have filled in many ballots in advance.

These serious charges join the chorus of protests from the Judges Circle, the Kifaya Movement, former Premier Aziz Sedqui, dissident poet Ahmad Negm and, of course, the Muslim Brothers.



Hosni Mubarak's important and authoritarian constitutional reform, besides aggravating the already precarious condition of human rights, actually legalizes the difficult situation in which thousands of political detainees in the Egyptian prisons find themselves. In addition to the accusation by Human Rights Watch (the arrest of Muhammad al-Sharqawi, a 25-year-old blogger detained and tortured), the one by Amnesty International (April 2007) is particularly harsh: "Egypt is the international centre of torture – also on behalf of other States – and is the theatre of systematic violations in the name of national security. The prisoners, against whom no precise charge has even been made, reach the number of 18,000 and have been kept in prison for over ten years".

The Government has immediately rejected all charges, proclaiming itself "deeply offended", and confirmed that as regards human rights the Country is making "real and continuous progress". Nevertheless, the day before the Amnesty International official report, ten members of the

Gamal Mubarak.





Muslim Brothers are arrested without apparent reasons: Mubarak has today a formidable alibi for putting his political adversaries out of action.

But does this intransigence, besides its political opportunism, actually constitute the hinge of the fight against terrorism, even if today the Islamic militancy presents itself with the democratic connotation of popular consent?

The fear, shared by some analysts, resides precisely in the excessive preclusion to the democratic ways, which could bring about, as happened in previous situations, a recrudescence of terrorist activities, nourishing the hypothesis of a single practicable way for determining one's own religious specificities.

Nevertheless, one of the last moves is made, as usual, with cunning and stubborn determination.

Even if the international press has given scarce attention to this piece of news, (which has been totally ignored by the Italian dailies), today a further amendment to the Constitution reserves to the Prime Minister the right to take over the presidential office in case of death or incapacity of the President. Therefore there is no more obligation to appoint a Vice President- with all the problems we have examined if the choice had fallen directly on the son - but the succession becomes automatic with the second political position of the Country, irrespective of the uniform and the pre-established appointment of a Vice President: another step towards a "Monarchy" has been made.

But on the road of son Gamal - by now paved with political prestige - something important is

still required for an ampler project, aimed at making this man the natural heir to the Presidency of his father: a necessary and sumptuous matrimony.

In the Egyptian culture, where the average male age for saying goodbye to celibacy is around twenty-five, a prestigious office cannot prescind from the deep-rooted concept of family, traditionally considered as a mark of personal maturity and social prestige. If Egyptian public opinion is still hesitant about a President without the collar badges of command, it is certainly not ready to accept this office without a first lady.

And this is what prompts the future "heir to the throne" to take a wife on the 4th of May 2007, exactly on the 79th birthday of the President, and immediately after the end of the sessions of the "International Conference for the Stabilization of Iraq", held at Sharm el Sheik, the Egyptian pearl of the Red Sea.

Left.

Attack helicopters exercising in the desert.

Below.

Policemen watching over a district of the capital.



Although the actual marriage settlement had already been signed the week before at the "Air Force Club" of Heliopolis in Cairo (before the highest authority of the Sunnite world, Great Imam Mohammed Sayyed al Tantawi - author of the harshest criticisms to Benedict XVI's address at Ratisbon -

and with the Head of the intelligence, Omar Suleyman, as the bridegroom's best man) - the merry celebration of the wedding with beautiful, young and rich Khadija el-Gammal takes place in the presidential villa of Sharm el Sheik with thousands of guests.

A quip that circulates among Cairo's intellectuals labels the event with ill-concealed irony:

"The wedding present? Egypt!". But the interrogatives put forward by analysts are not few. Among

“ Although public opinion has not liked the Syrian model, young Gamal seems to be the only prestigious figure in a position to reach the highest office of the Country ”



A unit of the Egyptian Navy on parade.



Amphibious infantrymen on training.

the most important that ought to be pointed out there is that presumably Gamal Mubarak does not know his Country in depth (and this is seen as a serious political shortcoming) and his youth would not allow him to fully understand the complex traditions of the national culture and politics.

But if we are really facing a definitive transformation of the old socialist regime into a modern system governed by free market (even if still impervious to democratic demands) the real question that should be asked is: what do the military think about it?

And, moreover: in its next configuration is Egypt ready to meet the challenges that are increasingly crowding precisely inside North Africa?

The dramatic appeal sent out by al Qaeda has not remained unheeded.

Since the beginning of 2007 a chain of bloody attacks has shaken the entire region, scattering wounded and dead among the civilian population of the Mediterranean shores. At the gates of peaceful Tunis (January 2007) an actual battle was fought between the Police and a Jihadist cell that was planning a series of attacks against Embassies (US and Great Britain), luxury hotels and the most important tourist resorts.

In cosmopolitan Casablanca (March 2007) three suicide bombers blow themselves up to avoid capture – they were equipped with explosive belts – during an attempt to counter the numerous clandestine terrorist cells detected by the Moroccan police.

But the most appalling attack occurs in Algiers (April 2007) with a frightful explosion caused by a car driven by a suicide bomber against the Government's Palace, in the heart of the city, immediately followed by two more car bombs launched against the "Bab Ezzouar" Police barracks, along the road leading to the airport: about 30 dead and more than 220 wounded, with the trademark and responsibility claimed by al Qaeda, which uses the new logo "al Qaeda in the Land of

Islamic Maghreb".

A long fuse is alight in North Africa and slowly burning...but in which powder keg is the explosive?

Egypt has been objectively left alone with its difficult decisions.

As we have mentioned, the European and American media have given little and fleeting attention to the recent developments in the Country, as did the democratic Institutions charged with this type of analysis and with working out the short- and medium-term scenarios.

The problem of nuclear power – or better, of its strategic connotation – could inflame the national pride, which is already put to the test by Israel's and Iran's political and military superiority and, although President Mubarak has, up to now, been against the development of weapons of mass destruction, what

is the position of the new leadership wanted by son Gamal going to be? Will it be the large economic deficit reached with the United States that prompts Egypt to accept the tempting offers that come from Russia and China? Moreover: what is the role of the Muslim Brotherhood going

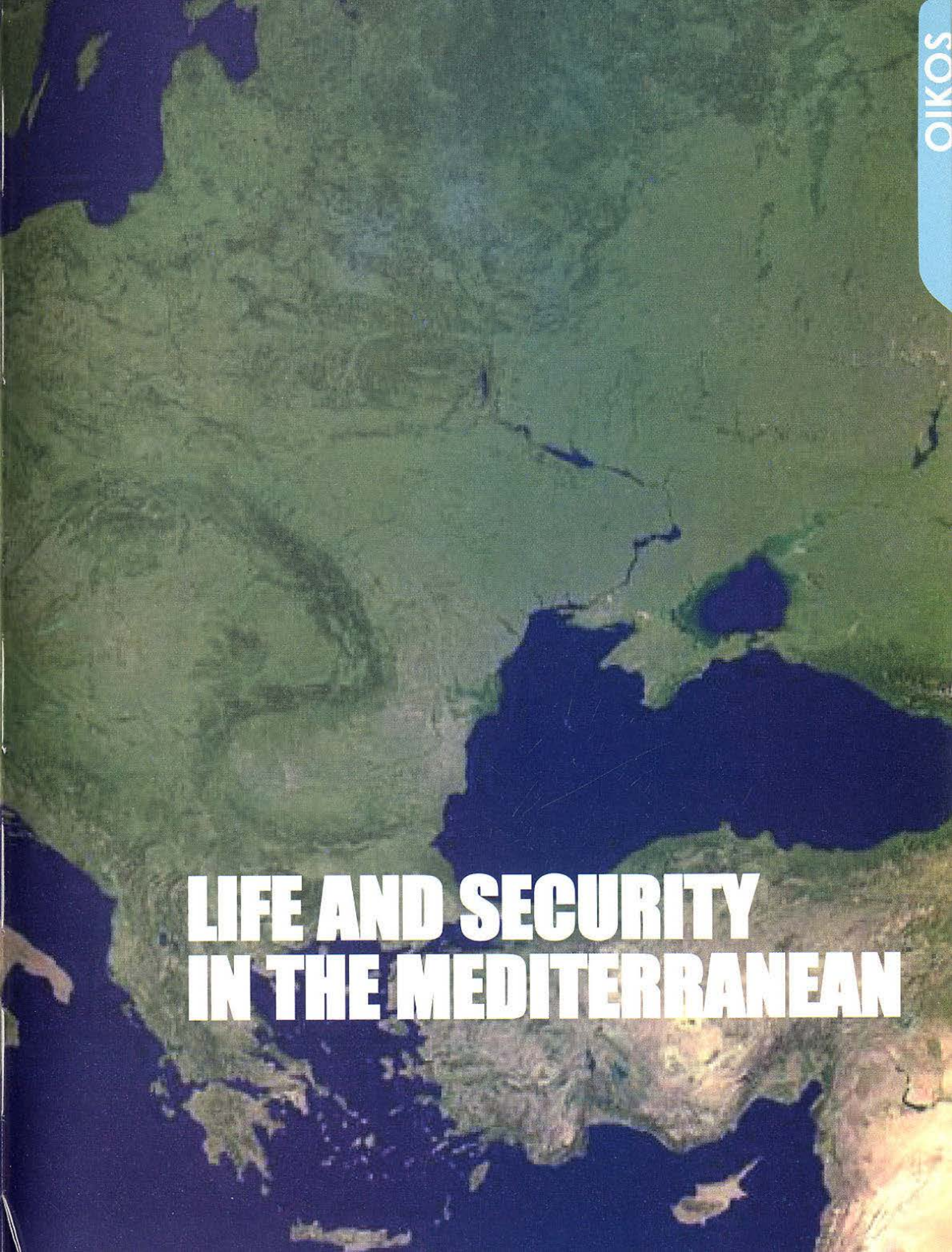
to be, after the expulsion from the political life of the Country?

Besides the political and decision-making fickleness of the European Union, the U.S. State Department is apparently distracted by particularly intricate problems. The Iraqi quagmire, the difficulties met in Afghanistan, Iran's political meddling, Lebanon's and Palestine's enduring instability have presumably convinced Washington to work out a doctrine based on defensive positions, where priorities do not consist any more in spreading democracy in the Middle East area, but in consolidating the stability (the residual one) still present in the region.

Daniele Cellamare
Lecturer of History
of International Relations

“We are facing a transformation of the old socialist regime into a modern system governed by free market...”



An aerial photograph of the Mediterranean Sea, showing the dark blue water and the surrounding green and brown landmasses of Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. The text is overlaid on the lower half of the image.

LIFE AND SECURITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

LIFE AND SECURITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

In a background characterized by globalization, one perceives the need of a strategy that could influence the future order of the Mediterranean, so as to avert the risks of political and social degeneration in an ancient and highly civilized region. Italy has always been working in order to keep this area firmly bound to a common destiny of development and freedom.

For we Italians this problem, which has turned out to be serious, although it is linked with the security of the whole world which now touches every country, is extremely important for lots of reasons, not only the geographical ones. It has been discussed in a recent meeting that was organized by the Centre of Studies on Defence and Security and chaired by Sen. General Luigi Ramponi, former President of the Defence Committee of the Chamber of Deputies.

The issue has been developed on four levels: the local level of the basin; the issue of the enlarged Mediterranean; the European and the world level, which are linked with each other.

The analysis has focused on some fundamental questions: first of all, the need for a reliable international strategy, because the phenomenon of globalization, which could bring about terrorist effects, puts all countries at risk and make them vulnerable. The transformation of NATO from an element of contraposition into an instrument of cooperation between countries, especially with ex-communist

countries (this process was started in a summit that was held in Rome in November 1991) has been positive. For Italy the acknowledgement of the existence of a strong link between European and Mediterranean security is extremely important and in Brussels discussion meetings about this issue are

arranged as well as other meetings with the six countries of the Persian Gulf and with Morocco and the most important one was held in Istanbul.

The need for a change within the framework of the acknowledged centrality of the Mediterranean also concerns the military order; it is necessary to

take a firm and joint action, with better coordination and use of resources, and this requires the participation of Israel and the Muslim countries. For this purpose it is essential to create a network of information about the Mediterranean traffic, whose entity is enormous (about two thousand departures every day from the ports of the 25 coastal countries as well as arrivals from every part of the world).

“ For Italy the acknowledgement of the existence of a strong link between European and Mediterranean security is extremely important ”

THE ITALIAN POSITION

In this complex situation Italy has always played a central role and, in the last decades, has reached its exact position and has become aware of the

Left.

Sen. General Luigi Ramponi and the Hon. Massimo D'Alema at the Conference of the Centre for Defence and Security Studies.

Title pages.

A satellite image of Italy and the Mediterranean basin.





importance of an improvement of the relationships between the three coasts of this sea.

In the meeting lots of special issues have been examined: the significant level of commercial partnership, as well as political and military, for example with regard to training, between Italy and Middle East countries, in particular Lebanon; the large flow of energy resources that arrive or pass through this sea (recently there has been an increase in the flow to Sardinia), and the care they require for reasons of ecological security. Hence the need for thorough checks that we should do. As a consequence of the Italian activism, Europe has paid much more attention to the problem concerning the Middle East, where our Allies is finding more and more difficulties. An example can be given by one of the latest crises, when we were able to lift the naval blockade that had been imposed on Lebanon by Israel.

THE «SEISMIC DANGER» OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

Another crucial issue is that relating to Mediterranean as «fault line» on which the three biggest and most ancient geographical and political entities of the world come into contact with each other: Europe, Asia and Africa with their history, culture, religion and tradition. Therefore it requires to be discussed thoroughly and with great care. This stresses the importance of the Armed

"Lagunari" on surveillance duty in Lebanon.

Forces as a «stretched out arm» of Italy abroad, where they have shown considerable operational skills that have earned Italy the respect of other countries. This shows again our inherent ability to establish a positive relationship with people and the institutions of the countries where we have operated, despite all problems that inevitably arise.

«STRATEGIC CHANGES»

The end of the stability that was based on nuclear energy has brought about a significant change that must be discussed. Another important issue is the importance of the Middle East problem. This has led to a period of great conflict, which is atypical from the past, because it is localized to specific areas of the planet and, at the same time, is extended to every part of the world because of the presence of millions of Muslims in all world countries, whose culture must be considered as a resource and not as a problem. However it could result in fanatical behaviour and lead to terrorist attacks. The most worrying aspect is that, differently from traditional conflicts, terrorism does not need to win. It aims not to be defeated and it is very difficult to handle this aspect on a military level. It can be compared to the

BALANCE AND HARMONY BETWEEN SEA, LAND AND SKY

In this sense the prospect of the responsibility of the Armed Forces changes. The responsibility of the air and naval forces remains considerable: links in the transports, control and protection of the constant civil and commercial maritime traffic, of the enormous number of underwater links, with thousands of kilometres of gas pipeline, telephone and electric cables, providing land forces who operate in risky areas with air and sea cover, thanks to maritime artillery units which are effective over a longer range and are able to move more easily than land units, avoiding difficulties that could arise when they operate on uneven and impracticable ground, and the great speed of military aircraft also to enable them to retreat in case of excessive risk.

Naval patrolling and air control remain important to prevent illegal immigration and acts of maritime piracy (e.g. the "Achille Lauro" case).

The risk of facing "naval battles" has been reduced while the difficulties land forces have to cope with have increased and require special skills, more sophisticated weapons and resources in order to spot risky areas. It also requires new training activities to carry out effective actions in areas that can be considered atypical if they are compared to the old concept of "battlefield" or "front", which does not exist any more; the conduction of operations is much more difficult in these zones, especially in built-up areas and requires a more complex and careful organization of the operations.

Ensuring balance and cooperation among the three Services, because of the increasing emergencies to cope with, and an equal distribution of wealth, are now even more important.

To conclude, the political authorities should take another factor into account: the role played by Italy within the framework of the international powers involves making available more funds not only at internal level but also at European and world level.

«guerrilla warfare in the mountains», because it is not conducted by military formations that are easily identifiable but by people spread across the world. Terrorists can hide in common houses, among the woodland trees and in the gorges in the mountains. In this framework, the role of our country both in designing new strategies of investigation and defence and in promoting the European activity has been important so that we will be able to handle properly something that touches us directly, coordinate our work with that of other countries and act unanimously, provided that we want to regard Europe as a «European Union» (table 1). As a positive result of our diplomacy, the Israelis have agreed to use an international instrument to strengthen their security, in the Israeli-Arab-Palestinian conflict, which constitutes the main factor of destabilization in the world and causes knotty problems, such as the new recruitment of terrorism even in the African continent.

There is another important element that is linked with the issue of security: the contribution to economic development and to the improvement of living conditions in other countries. Not only is this contribution civilly necessary, but it is essential also because people who have got nothing to lose and are on the breadline are more likely to adhere to extremist positions.

Luigi Ramponi and his Study Centre have stressed these points and have highlighted the role of Italy in Iraq not to «help the Americans», as some people have improperly said, but to demonstrate that there are more appropriate and constructive instruments to handle the situation.

The meeting was lacking only in giving information about the progress of construction works on the system of pan-European multi-modal corridors of communication and transport. People have the right to know, at least in general, what is happening and how things are going.

THE «PROCESS OF BARCELONA»

Interest of the Mediterranean «on a large scale»

The conference of Barcelona, which was held in November 1995 and was entitled «Euro-Mediterranean», demonstrated at least two things:

how to establish a dialogue even in the most complex situations and between awkward partners provided that there is goodwill, good faith and clarity of aims;

that the Mediterranean includes in its sphere of

interests not only its coastal countries but also other areas. In fact, even distant countries attended the conference, although they were already represented because there was both the Council of the European Union in the person of Javier Solana and the European Committee represented by Vice-President Manuel Marin. Despite

this, also Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, Holland, Great Britain and Sweden had wanted to attend. This body has been one of the few (apart from the UN), and maybe the only one, where Israel and the Palestinian Authority, in the person of Yasser Arafat, were present at the same time. All the conference members continue to work silently on its «process», despite lots of diffi-

“...the role of our country in both designing new strategies of investigation and defence and promoting the European activity has been very important”

culties, according to the definition of the conference as an «open process in evolution». In this sense, the «significant emphasis on the social, cultural and human dimension» is very important for the heritage of our culture «because they are the three fundamental aspects of the shared objectives about the Mediterranean».

The security issue comes to the foreground

In particular, the first chapter was about security. After stressing in the preamble the strategic importance of the Mediterranean the need for a peace settlement in the Middle East (Table 2) was underlined. This gives rise to strong suspicions about the world foreign policy: the protagonists of the events could lie deliberately or other entities or reasons hide behind the situation and sabotage any possible agreement systematically.

As well as reaffirmations concerning the need for peace, stability and security, the reference to the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the principles of democracy, of a balanced economic and social devel-



Right.

Minister of Defence Arturo Parisi at the Conference of the Centre for Defence and Security Studies.

Below.

A barge crammed with illegal immigrants.

opment, of dialogue and of respect for the distinctive characteristics of every single populace and for the noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries, another point was stressed: they recognize the necessity to promote and strengthen peace, stability and security in the Mediterranean by all means at their disposal, adhering to the principle that «the regional security must be promoted to achieve the goal of the non-proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, as well as conventional... through international and regional agreements on control and disarmament and the creation of demilitarised areas... the reduction of troops and weapons



THE DECLARATION OF BARCELONA

In the Declaration of Barcelona, the first part was dedicated to common objectives in the field of policy and security to create a common area of peace and stability.

In this framework, in the military sector, the participants said that they wanted to "promote regional security supporting any actions aimed at achieving the goal of the non-proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, through the cooperation between international and regional organizations on the non-proliferation, arms control and agreements on disarmament such as N.P.T., C.W.C., B.W.C., C.T.B.T., and also through regional agreements on demilitarized areas, including control systems, as well as through a serious commitment to adhering to conventions on arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation".

"The goal is to create an area, in the Middle East, free from weapons of mass destruction, nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and their launching systems, and jointly really controllable".

"In addition, the participants will work towards a solution in order to prevent the proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the excessive accumulation of conventional weapons".

"They prevent the military forces from pursuing objectives that go beyond a pure necessity of defence and uphold their decision to obtain the same level of security and mutual trust, using as fewer troops and weapons as possible and adhering to the C.C.W.".

"They promote the establishment of good neighbourly relations and will support the actions that are aimed at ensuring stability, security, wealth and regional and sub-regional cooperation".

"They take any measures aimed at ensuring security and seen by each participant as a good instrument for creating an area of peace and stability in the Mediterranean, including the long-term opportunity to create a European-Mediterranean pact for this purpose".

to the minimum... the establishment of neighbourly relations and good cooperation... in order to create an area of peace and stability in the Mediterranean».

With regard to cooperation it is necessary to refer to Italy, especially in the military field (but also in other fields: health service, education, public works and so on) both with the present countries and other coastal countries (e.g. Albania) considering the strong presence in the Italian Military Schools of dozens of young people coming from those countries and the activity of training and support to the local institutions (Iraq and Lebanon) that is still done today.

Economic cooperation

The second part was dedicated to economic cooperation to narrow the development gap between the Mediterranean regions and the par-

ticipants put forward the idea, which is still impracticable, of expanding and opening the market by 2010, according to the European free trade agreement, at least to some countries that are situated in the South and East Mediterranean (and in prospect to all countries). This is still impracticable because these countries are far removed from reaching the economic, administrative, organizational and legislative standards that are required by the EU, but this idea is still harboured and encouraged by close contact that has been established between the different populations, especially between the younger generations; just twenty years ago, in fact, no one would have bet on the birth of a European Union.

Lots of aspects have been highlighted: protection of intellectual and industrial copyright, the development of market economy, modernization of economic and social structure especially in the private sector, encouraging the agreement between companies; environment; the role of women, energy policy, water resources, agriculture, transports, information and telecommunications, maritime law, scientific research, financial cooperation, cultural and religious tolerance, paying attention to the role of the mass media, education and cultural and student exchanges, health, decentralized cooperation, emigration, terrorism prevention, drugs deal, racism prevention, xenophobia and intolerance.

To achieve all these objectives regular meetings between the foreign ministers of the participant countries were held. They drew up a comprehensive work programme that was designed to create a Mediterranean area of free trade, to stimulate



Javier Solana, President of the Council of the European Union.



Technical intervention on a pylon of a marine platform.



A marine platform in the Mediterranean.

investments, to encourage industry, agriculture, transports and energy; it also included issues concerning regional planning, tourism, environment, science, technology, water resources, fishing, human resources, dialogue between cultures, means of information, the young, exchanges between different societies, social development, health, emigration, close contact at a parliamentary level and between public institutions.

THE INSTITUTIONAL MARCH OF THE ARAB WORLD

The Arab-Maghreb Union

In order to value whether it is possible to carry out this programme, it is necessary to refer to the Arab Maghreb Union, which is an organization that was founded on the 17th February 1989. It is based in Rabat and includes Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania and Tunisia.

Its principal aim is to strengthen the links between member countries, to ensure regional stability, the common defence and the noninterference in the internal affairs of the partners and to improve political coordination. It also aims at promoting a gradual insertion in the area of free movement of goods, services and inputs. Since 1990, thirty-six multilateral agreements have been signed in different sectors: commercial tariffs, farm produce, guarantees on investments.

There is also an ambitious motorway project to link Mauritania with Algeria (Autoroute East-West): it will be 7 thousand kilometres long, 1 200 of which have already been built in Algeria. Its completion would be a remarkable factor of economic growth in the area. Work is continuing, despite logistic and normative difficulties due to the complexity of the project, the lots of interests it involves and to the different social, cultural and political realities it crosses.

The most important economic partner of the Maghreb, and consequently of the Arab Maghreb Union, is the EU, with about 70% of its foreign trade: exports especially in the sector of minerals, hydrocarbon, farm produce and labour; imports especially in the sector of farm produce, industrial products, trade relations with European industrial plants which are situated in the area to take advantage of lower labour costs. Studies are now under way on bilateral free trade agreements, which are warmly supported by the "process of Barcelona".

Through the modern means of communication (especially television), in the last years there has been an increase also in the cultural relationships with the West.

According to the information published on its website, the Arab Maghreb Union copes mainly with the task of spreading knowledge of the area across the world, deals with

economic, commercial, tourist and computer issues and fosters the creation of a «female forum» for Moroccan members of Parliament, thus promoting the advancement of women in society.

This slow but constant headway, especially in the coastal areas (and this has caused problems in the more internal areas), on the one hand opens up opportunities, and on the other poses dangers caused by the globalization performed by the West with its massive and at times invasive methods.

Considering the interdependence between political, cultural, economic and military events, it is important to take into account this process and the good opportunities that could arise from it: they could seem limited, but actually they can lead to important changes, always taking as an example what has taken place in Europe.

Giordana Canti
Journalist

“With regard to cooperation it is necessary to refer to Italy, especially in the military field...”



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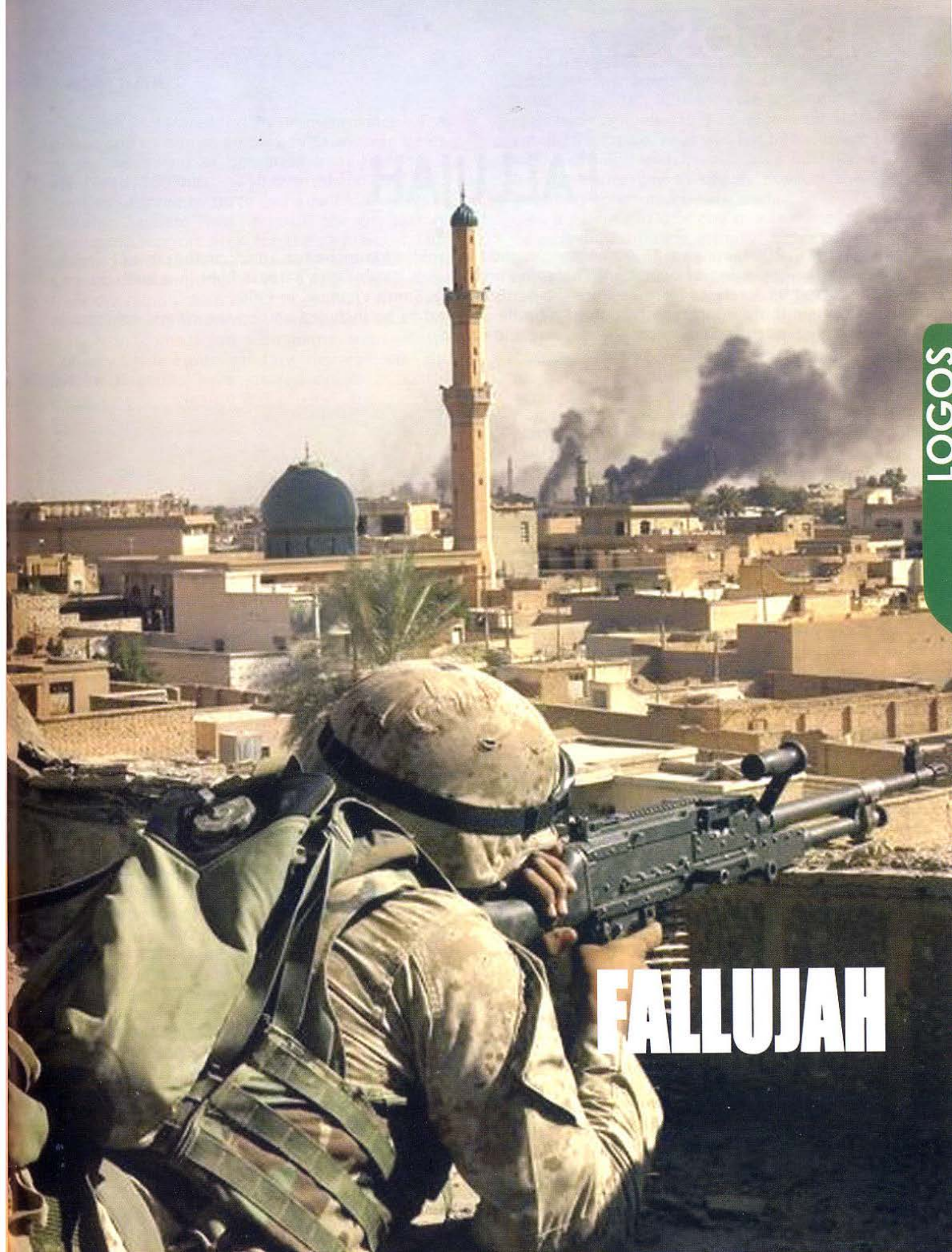
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LOGOS

FALLUJAH

FALLUJAH

On November 8, 2004, at dawn, 15,000 American and Iraqi soldiers launched an attack on the city of Fallujah, Iraq. It was the beginning of operation "Phantom Fury"/Al-Fajr (Dawn) the hardest fight in a built-up area ever conducted by American Marines since the battle of Hue, South Vietnam, in 1968. This article is a thorough reconstruction of a battle destined to be included among the classic combats in inhabited areas, such as Stalingrad, Ortona, Hue and Grozny.

On March 31, 2004, a logistic convoy, escorted by private military contractors from the "Black Water USA" American company, fell into an ambush while driving through the city of Fallujah. The four members of the escort were killed and their mangled bodies were hung from a bridge on the Euphrates. The strong emotional impact of the event started, as wished by the guerrillas, a new strategy of tension, aimed at disproving, through the world's mass media, the official American reports on the progressive improvement of the situation in Iraq. On April 4, the 1st Marine Division, which had replaced the 82nd Airborne Division in February, assuming the responsibility for the area, launched, as an immediate response, operation "Vigilant Resolve" (1-5 and 2-1 Marines), with the intention of dislodging the resistance groups from the city. The operation ended after three weeks of fierce fighting: the American forces avoided entering the city, because of the high number of victims this would have caused among the civilians, with a notable damage to the mission's image in Iraq. The local authorities, which had worked to prevent the extension of the fighting into the city centre, undertook to keep the city from hostile forces and to create a local security force (the Fallujah Brigade), which would guarantee the pledge. On May 1, the guerrillas took to the streets of the city, proclaiming their "triumph". In all, 39 marines and 600 resistance-fighters died. The media of the whole Middle East talked of a resounding American defeat.

Despite the accords of the late summer of 2004, according to the American intelligence, in Fallujah there were no less than 2000-3000 hidden resistance fighters: until November 9, it was considered almost certain that also the charismatic Jordanian leader Abu-Musab al-Zarkawi had his headquarters there.

The "Sunni triangle" had been a hard nut to



crack for the coalition forces, but Fallujah in particular was like a finger pointed directly at Laying along the Euphrates, about 69 km Baghdad. west of the capital, the city was the natural logistic stop on the infiltration routes of the Jihadist fighters who, following the ancient river, headed for the heart of the Country. From a political viewpoint the presence of a sanctuary of the guerrillas a few kilometres from the capital was a real outrage to the credibility that the new Iraqi government was trying to gain. The approaching national elections, which were due in January 2005, made a rapid response mandatory.

Operation "Iraqi Freedom" was nearing the end of its second year: time, as in all counterinsurgency activities, was beginning to play inexorably against the side unable to keep the initiative against the enemy.

Title page.

M240 machine gunner supporting the irruption of his squad from a roof.

Above.

A Marine squad moving to the attack.

THE BATTLEFIELD

Fallujah is located in the Iraqi province of Al Anbar, and its origins go back to Babylonian times. At the beginning of operation Iraqi Freedom it numbered 300,000 - 350,000 inhabitants on a territory of three by three and a half kilometres.

During Saddam Hussein's rule the city was an important support area for the regime. In fact, mostly Sunni Iraqis inhabited the city, and many prominent members of the Ba'ath party came from the region. Also because of this, during the regime the city underwent a massive industrialization in comparison with many areas of the Country. Numerous military installations and industrial plants were located on its outskirts: already during the Gulf War of 1991, the area was often bombed, for the suspicion that the factories producing chemical weapons were hidden there. More than for its industrial importance, the city is known in the region as the "City of Mosques", thanks to the more than 200 religious buildings rising in its centre and in the nearby villages.

During the invasion of Iraq in 2003, the city was marginally involved in the clashes. The units of the Iraqi Army stationed there simply laid down their weapons and equipment and mingled with the population. The collapse of the regime caused an institutional vacuum: for several weeks, criminal bands raged in the area stripping all buildings of anything valuable. This was made even worse by the fact that Saddam, in one of his last official acts, had released all the inmates of the nearby prison of Abu Ghraib. Thus the inhabitants had to organize themselves to protect their homes from the thieves.

This largely explains why, at the beginning of the invasion, the mayor of the city, Taha Bidaywi Hamed, elected by the tribes' chiefs, initially sided openly with the Americans, helping them to re-establish order in the region.

However, the situation worsened in the following months: the restrictive measures imposed by the American Army to stop the terrorist activity, such as curfew, strict control of identities, limited freedom of movement, gradually raised the hostility of the population. The most serious incident took place on April 28, 2003 when a throng protesting against the curfew gathered in front of a school occupied by paratroopers of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division, demanding that the school be reopened: the soldiers fired on the crowd of civilians, killing 7 and wounding more than 70. A couple of days later, another protest ended with the

death of two Iraqis. Despite the efforts of the American military authorities to prove that the soldiers had responded to the fire of terrorists hidden among the crowd, what was left by the tragic event was a growing and irremediable hostility, which led the entire city to openly support the Sunni guerrillas sponsored by al-Qaeda.

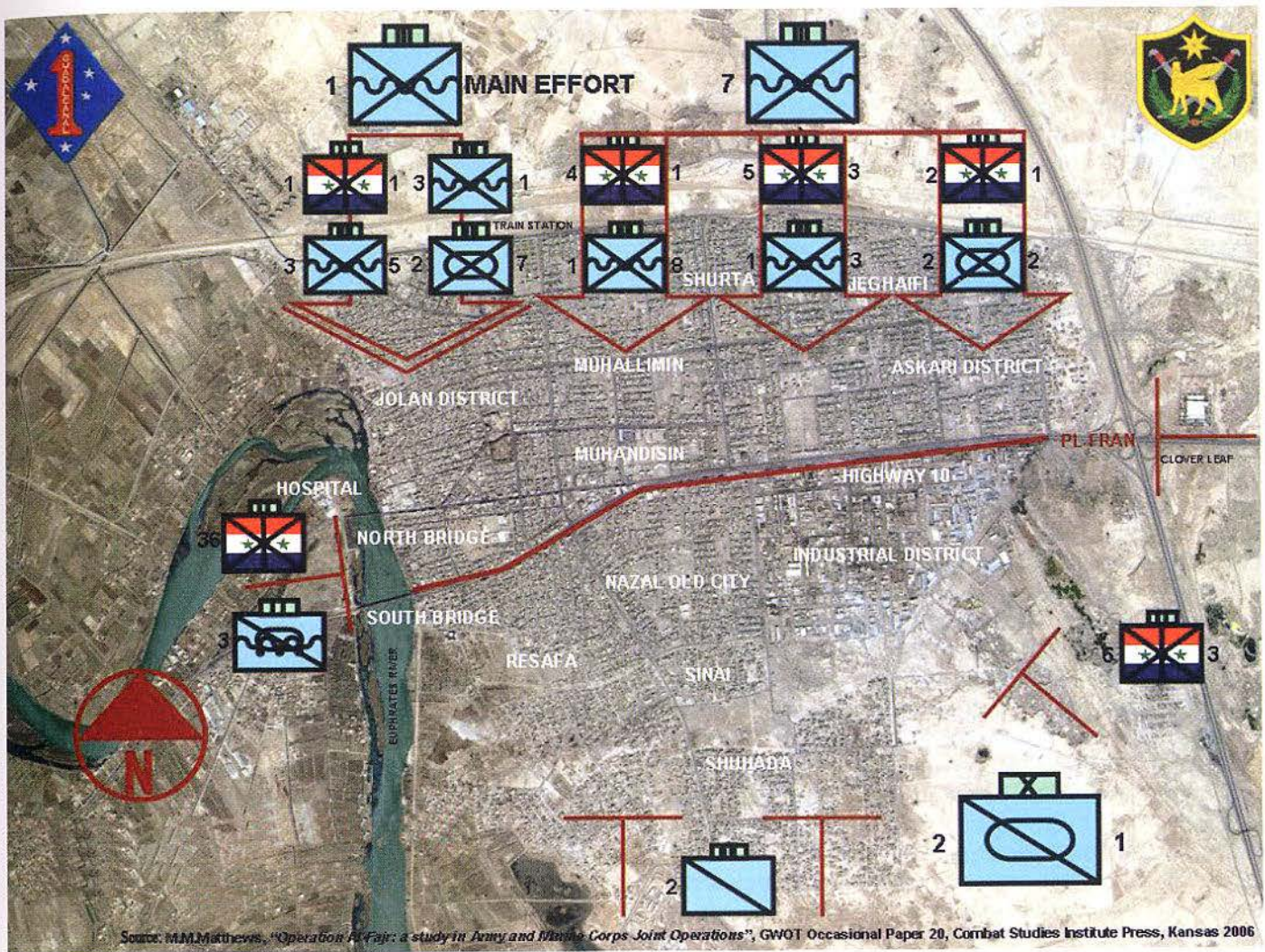
As a battlefield, the city is a real nightmare. A densely-built up area, without a clear distinction between residential, commercial and industrial quarters, it does not permit an optimal distribution of attack sectors to the units. The movements of armoured vehicles are limited to the main streets, which form districts of about 100x200 metres. Inside the districts the streets are narrow, with walls on both sides; these characteristics hinder the movement of the vehicles and the traverse of the weapons on board. The infantry on foot can expect an equally difficult job: forced dispersion of forces, splitting down to squad level, lack of fire and observation fields and, therefore, problems in the Command, Control and coordination of the forces, even at the lowest levels. But the most delicate aspect is the clearing of buildings. The houses, made of bricks, are densely grouped in blocks, and can either be adjoining or stand at a few metres from each other: in both cases it is possible to move from one to the next without being seen, even from observation points on the roofs. Almost all

“ Laying along the Euphrates... the city was the natural logistic stop on the infiltration routes of the Jihadist fighters ... ”

houses have an internal garden surrounded by walls, with a potting shed that can accommodate a man. The windows overlooking the garden, unlike those on the exterior, are rather large. Many have bars and shutters to obstruct the view from the outside.

Often the entrance has two doors, an iron one towards the exterior and a second one, more internal, made of iron and wood. Through the second door one enters an anteroom with two more doors that open on two adjacent rooms and, past them, one converges on a central passage. All the rooms of the first floor open on the passage, where there are also the stairs that lead to the second floor, with a number of rooms proportioned to the size of the house. There can be also a small iron staircase leading to a spacious terrace, from which through another small staircase one can reach the roof itself.

This short description gives only an idea of what anybody wanting to liberate the city from an enemy had to expect: 39,000 buildings with more than 400,000 rooms to inspect, destroy with bulldozers or blow up.



Battalion was to occupy the hospital, located on a peninsula on the Euphrates, and prevent its tactical use by the enemy.

Backed by a mighty air and land support fire, in the morning of November 8, and the whole following day, the 2nd BCT "Blackjack" started probing the defences on the south, occupying the first lines of the houses on the outskirts. By five o'clock in the afternoon the electricity to the city had been cut. Together with the initial attacks conducted on November 7 to the west of the city, the initial American efforts were a part of a more general deception plan aimed at making the defenders of the city believe that the bulk of the attack would come from the south, thus diverting the greatest part of the forces from the main attack sector to the north.

Meanwhile, on November 8, at 7 p.m., on the northeastern side of the city, RCT-1 and RCT-7 had crossed the starting lines, beginning the main attack: the marine units took advantage of the surprise and quickly occupied a group of apartments (3/5 Marines) and the railway station (2-7 CAV and 1/3 Marines), which was immediately

Attack deployment on November 6, 2004.

transformed into a support base for the extension of the efforts inside the city. Also special units of the Iraqi security forces (ISF), some 2000 men, joined the combat.

Later in the afternoon of November 8, both the advance of the RCT-1, in the northwestern district of Jolan, and that of the RCT-7 in the northeastern district of Askari were 700–800 metres deep. On November 9, the most advanced vanguards of the American mechanized infantry had actually reached Highway no. 10, in the heart of the city.

Instead of using the Abrams tanks and Bradley IFVs in a mere function of support to the infantry in its systematic clearing of the various districts, some armoured elements of the 2-7 CAV were immediately projected forward. Pushing their way by firing on confirmed or suspected enemy positions, the tanks went as far as Highway no.10, thus preventing the guerrillas from consolidating their defences on successive lines exploiting the slower advance of the infantry. As a matter of fact, the

risk was that the enemy, withdrawing undisturbed, could practically nullify the efforts aimed at stopping and progressively weakening it, setting up at the same time traps and explosive devices along the attackers' way.

As expected, the resistance in the southwest became immediately much harder, slowing down the first attempts to enter the city. The Jihadists had concentrated most of their heavy weapons in the south, a sign that the American's deceit plan had been fruitful. In April the marines had arrived from the south and the leaders of the resistance expected the same script, albeit on a larger scale.

As envisaged by the fire plan of the operations, in the beginning the city was stricken by a heavy supporting air and ground fire: in particular, during the first 12 hours of the attack there was not a minute of pause. The land units that made it to the first bridgeheads in the outskirts of the city could count mainly on their own mortars and on the artillery deployed at Camp Fallujah, 22 kilometres southwest of the city. With its M-198 howitzers and 155-mm M-109A6 Paladin self-propelled gun, the artillery ensured the efficacy of its fire through the numerous Fire Support Teams (FIST) detached with the infantry units, often under the 600-metre security distance envisaged by the doctrine.

The air support was provided by fixed-wing land-based aircraft, belonging to the Marines and the USAF: AV-88 Harriers, F/A-18 Hornets, cannon-armed AC-130 Spectres, multitask fighters F-15 Strike Eagles and F-16 Falcons. The F/A-18C Hornets and the F-14 Tomcats of the US Navy in the Persian Gulf were taking off from the USS John F. Kennedy (CV 67) aircraft carrier. AH-1 Cobra and AH-64 Apache helicopters completed the spectacular deployment in the sky of Fallujah.

TO THE LAST MAN

The guerrillas barricaded in Fallujah displayed from the very beginning a very good knowledge of the art of urban fighting. They adopted a flexible deployment, and moved their forces very cleverly to the points of greater concentration of the American troops, trying to nullify their impetus. The investigations conducted at the end of the fighting clearly demonstrated that the defenders were real professionals of the international Jihad, coming from eighteen different nations. The volunteers from Chechnya were

among the hardest: by taking with them the experience of the terrible fights against the Russians in Grozny, the Chechnyan "wolves" put very often into practice their ambushing ability, with dreadful results.

The credentials of those expert fighters were confirmed by the fact that the defence was anything but improvised: they had learned very well the lesson from the American attack launched in April. As a matter of fact, the American units found several tunnels and communication trenches across the city, connecting the strong points of the defence with depots of weapons and ammunition, prearranged along the main withdrawal routes. Besides, breaches in the walls were opened between buildings: they were used as escapes and, once utilized, were covered with traps. With this organized systems of movement among buildings, it was not easy to prevent the resistance fighters from escaping the systematic clearing conducted by the American infantry, resuming the fight behind the advanced units and exploiting the voids between adjoining units. In order to reduce the impact of the American firepower, exposed movements were avoided – especially those perpendicular to the American advanced line – by moving from one sector to the next in parallel.



An M 198 howitzer of the 4th Battalion/14th Marines, Mike Battery, in support of the units in Fallujah.



The effect of a JDAM on a building.

In fact, during the April fights, the snipers of the 2nd Battalion/1st Marines (2/1) and the tanks had made havoc of all those that had carelessly ventured in the open.

At any rate, not all the fighters that were in town intended to withdraw and resume the combat another day. Together with the groups of guerrillas, who exploited all possible tactics to strike and disappear as quickly as possible, there were also units of actual martyrs, ready to sacrifice their life taking at least a marine with them. Usually these fanatics occupied the fortified positions of the defence and resisted on the spot to the last man. They often set up concealed positions inside the houses and waited silently for the American infantry to come forward to clear the house: at that point, they tried to wound one of the soldiers, in order to entrap the entire squad that was trying to help him, thus increasing the number of the victims.

They were not easy to drive out and eliminate. As reported later by the American veterans who had taken part in the battle, syringes of adrenaline and psychotropic substances were frequently found. The Jihadists employed them to increase their resistance to fatigue and pain. It was not uncommon for guerrillas, wounded by several 5.56mm shots, to keep on fighting ferociously. The result was that, in order to shoot down an enemy, the marines had to aim directly at his face, completely discharging the magazine of their M16s. In their turn, the enemy did the same to avoid the marines' bulletproof jackets.

“...it was not easy to prevent the resistance fighters from escaping the systematic clearing conducted by the American infantry”

On November 10, 2004, after a two-day battle, the American Command announced that the land forces held 70% of the city, including important strategic points, such as city hall, numerous mosques and the market. With this success, the American troops controlled highway no.10 (in code: Phase Line Fran) and consolidated their success for the subsequent leap forward.

Together with the advance of the land forces, there were incessant air strikes: AGM-65 E Maverick and Hellfire missiles were launched as close as 200 metres from the friendly units, while satellite-guided JDAM (Joint Direct Attack Munition) of the GBU-38 type were surgically striking and destroying the buildings occupied by the groups of the resistance behind the lines. Compared to the progress made in the north, in the southwestern part of the city the situation was more intricate and difficult. In the Resala and Nadal districts the defence had progressively stiffened and become stronger and stronger and better organized as the units went deeper inside them. Obstacles and explosive traps covered the most important accesses, channelling the units against resistance strongholds planned so as to ensure a reciprocal cover. General George W. Casey Jr., Commander of the American troops in Iraq, expected just that: with the closing of the circle the fighting would become bloodier, leaving less space to manoeuvre and giving more importance to a real battle of attrition, which would wear out the enemy till its annihilation.

The fighting did not spare protected buildings, such as mosques, often used by the guerrillas as shelters for their wounded, or ammunition and arms depots. At any rate, in order to avoid negative implications, the clearing of mosques was mostly left to Iraqi troops, with the American units functioning as support. In fact it was precisely the occupation of the Muhammadia mosque that gave rise to one of the fiercest and bloodiest fights of the whole operation: 8 riflemen of Company B, 1/8 Marines lost their life in a few hours. Inside the buildings the troops found stacks of weapons and munitions, together with materials for making bombs and explosive traps.

HOUSE BY HOUSE

Despite the prearranged high logistic and technological support, life for the American infantry squads was anything but easy.

The teams tried to carry out their tasks as best as possible, despite the fact that they were below strength even before the beginning of the fight (in some cases they were as much as 50% short). With the protraction of the combat, the sectors assigned to companies and platoons began to be too wide, thus forcing the units to reduce the number of men tasked with searches, security and isolation outside the blocks of buildings. This was particularly dangerous, since if the block was not properly isolated and cleared there was a growing risk that the enemy escaped the fight or, even worse, that it could manoeuvre to the rear or on the flanks of the attacking units.

As proof of the fact that the infantry work is something that can be learned mostly on the field, after the first clashes the attacking units learned to select carefully the buildings they would attack. In fact, there was the very high risk of entering a building that had been turned into a trap (BCIED - Building containing IED), with the tragic consequences of losing an entire squad in a single blow. The same fate could hit those who imprudently got near parked vehicles without making sure beforehand that they were not VBIEDs (Vehicle-Borne IED), "clearing" them with automatic fire.

Once the building was selected, the marines and the infantrymen avoided, if possible, entering through doors and windows, preferring to breach the walls with the Abrams' main armament and the Bradleys' antitank weapons. Often the best way to conquer a building was to go through the roof. This, besides offering the best positions for observation and fire, permitted to take by surprise the guerrillas barricaded inside the buildings. The tactical importance of the higher floors was also understood by the expert resistance fighters who, in a lot of buildings, destroyed the stairs or walled up the accesses that led to the roof. Whatever the way used by the attackers to penetrate, they were awaited by explosive traps or by an enemy ready to reveal itself only at very close contact, in scarce light, a lot of dust and with the deafening noise of automatic weapons in the enclosed environment. Even though each room was cleared by a grenade before the irruption, the enemy could still fire through prearranged breaches from room to room. The psychophysical stress increased rapidly among the men: a slow and methodical clearing offered the enemy an easy target, while in a quick foray a tripping wire tied to a grenade could go unnoticed.

Once a building suitable for defence was conquered, a platoon set up a firing base on a dominant position, which provided a mutual cover with the supporting armoured units moving on



Marines attacking with an AT-4 rocket launcher.

the streets. Only with fire superiority one could keep the initiative against a probable counterattack.

Once the objective was reached, a new consolidation line was set up and secured, which permitted the infantry to organize, evacuate the wounded and receive supplies from the logistic columns. The combats didn't even stop at night, when the guerrillas hoped to escape the overwhelming superiority of the Americans. AC-130Us airplanes, real flying arsenals, equipped with thermic cameras for night vision, spewed fire on anything moving that was not recognised as friend, thus protecting the positions occupied by the marines for the night from the risk of being isolated and crushed.

On November 11 the coalition announced that the searches in the central part of the city had brought to light the existence of houses organized and used as real torture rooms. Some of them were later recognized as the places where many hostages had been detained and killed. On the same day, the defenders shot down two Cobra helicopters, but luckily the pilots were rescued and did not fall into the hands of the adversary. As the American units completed the mopping up of the districts, advancing more and more in the house-to-house battle, the cleared districts were handed over to the Iraqi units, which secured them so as to prevent the enemy from reoccupying them.

By that time, the favourable situation was convincing the Americans that the game could be ended within 48 hours, with an additional week for clearing the entire area once and for all: the day ended with 18 Americans and 5 Iraqi soldiers



Members of the 1st Company 3-5 Marines directing mortar fire.

killed and 164 members of the coalition forces wounded. The losses of the guerrillas were estimated in approximately 600 dead.

By November 12, eighty percent of the city was firmly in the hands of the coalition forces. There were more and more frequent episodes where separate groups of survivors of the resistance laid down their weapons and negotiated the surrender. The irreducible ones concentrated in the southern quarters. Some groups succeeded in eluding the control of the advanced troops making the battlefield very irregular. Having carefully studied the battle of Grozny, the American Commanders were not surprised at these infiltrations; however, as the fight continued, they increased the number of the secure areas, while the reserves began to run short. The immediate consequence was that the units that had at last been replaced on the front-line for having exhausted their operational capability, had to conduct back-clearing operations, even though they were tired and decimated. Thus, scattered fights raged in many areas of the city, making insecure the logistic itineraries and the routes for the evacuation of the wounded. Although early on November 13 a thousand guerrillas had been killed and two hundred were taken prisoners, the house-to-house operations did not end. On November 14 and 15, fighting still raged: inconsistent with the previous announcements, the American military authorities declared that 3 to 4 days more were needed in order to wipe out all the pockets of resistance. That the defence of the city had been well prepared and

organized was confirmed also by the discovery of an actual fortified system of buildings, all connected through a network of communication trenches and tunnels leading to underground bunkers and hidden depot of weapons that contained even anti-aircraft guns. Clearing the compound, full of explosive traps, slowed down the advance considerably. The depots of arms and ammunition discovered inside the buildings were too many to be counted, and so were the chemical laboratories.

After as long as a week of intense fighting, the tactics employed by the American infantry in clearing the districts became less "surgical": if a building was suspected to house enemy forces or explosive devices, was directly blown up or razed to the ground by D-9 armoured bulldozers. The squads that assaulted the buildings, by then cut to the bones, did not want to hear losses mentioned any more. As a matter of fact, the number of American casualties had gone up to 38 dead and 275 wounded, while 1200 guerrillas had reportedly been killed.

In time, together with the sufferings of the fighters, the tragedies of the civilians were growing in proportion. The Red Crescent reported more and more insistently the lack of food and water for the evacuees from the city. For the Iraqi civilians trapped in the city the situation was even worse. The crossfire prevented the humanitarian workers from helping those entangled in the fights. The Iraqi government managed to organize several humanitarian convoys in order to meet the primary needs of the tens of thousands of citizens encamped at the gates of the city, but it was impossible to enter or leave Fallujah.

A CONTROVERSIAL VICTORY

At last, on November 16 the coalition Forces announced that the city was in their hands. Marines and Iraqi soldiers were still fighting in some areas of the city, but by then there were, apparently, only some glimmers of resistance. In the north of the city, a last joint operation of the Iraqi 6th Battalion/3rd Brigade and the US 1st Cavalry Division led to the capture of 17 more suspects who were immediately transferred to the Abu Ghraib prison to be questioned.

Actually, similar operations actually continued until as late as December 23, but the end of large-scale actions had already been officially declared and SASOs (Stability and Support Operations) had replaced them.

On the same day of the diffusion of the news on all the world media, the victory was obscured by a

tragic event. The American network "NBC News" broadcast a report by Kevin Sites, a journalist embedded with the American troops, showing a marine killing in cold blood a captured wounded guerrilla. The case compelled CENTCOM to issue an immediate answer, announcing that the First Marine Division was already holding an official inquiry in order to ascertain the truth about the alleged war crime.

In a similar way, the international press started to spread news about the alleged employment by the Americans of MK-77 incendiary phosphorus bombs and napalm to drive the guerrillas out of their shelters. The use of this type of arms is banned by both the III Protocol of the Geneva Convention of 1980 and the Convention on chemical weapons of 1993. Thus the U.S. Defence Department had to admit that some of these devices had actually been used against the guerrillas, but their employment against civilian targets had never been authorized. As a matter of fact, the land artillery had been using a tactic called "Shake and Bake", which consisted in throwing WP (White Phosphorus) grenades in order to flush the guerrillas out of their positions and then hit them in the open with HE (High Explosive) grenades. In any case, once the glares of battle were over, the press lost interest in the matter.

The American units officially left the area only at the end of January 2005. After the hectic phases of the battle, the city had to be cleared of the enormous amount of enemy arms and equipment that had been impossible to remove during the fight.

The city suffered heavy destructions. About 60% of the buildings were permanently damaged, while 20% was completely destroyed. Sixty of the about two-hundred mosques of the city were razed to the ground. American reports relate that that these religious buildings were amply used by the guerrillas as combat positions or arm depots, contrary to the provisions of art.16 of the Geneva Convention.

The estimates of the losses of the "Multinational Force-Iraq" report 1350 guerrilla fighters killed and about 1000 taken prisoners. The losses of the Iraqi Army amount to 11 dead and 43 wounded. Allegedly, the American losses as of December 2003 are 95 soldiers killed in combat and over 425 wounded.

There are no credible estimates about the civilian victims of the combats, since not even the number of the population at the moment of the attack is certain. In any case, humanitarian sources

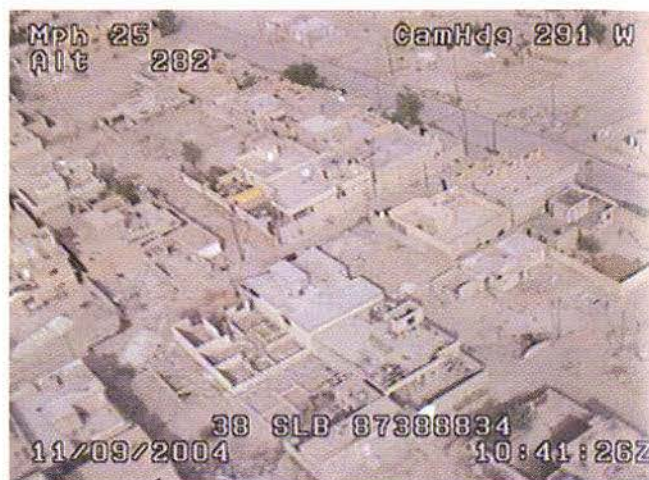


Photo of a Fallujah district taken by a UAV Dragon.

report that about 200,000 Iraqis should be considered IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons), for they have not returned to the region after the evacuation.

The Iraqis who wanted to go back to their homes were authorized to do it after the middle of December, and only after each one of them had been issued an ID card to be carried at all times.

CONCLUSIONS

The battle of Fallujah has already entered among the classics of combat in inhabited areas, next to names like Stalingrad, Ortona, Hue and Grozny. For the Armies of the 21st Century it is already an important chapter of history to be studied and analysed, since the lessons learned, if appropriately assimilated and used on the doctrinal plane, will help

to improve the preparation of the units for combat in these very difficult and dramatically probable contexts.

From a tactical viewpoint the operation was an unquestionable success. In its general lines, the plan was simple and could not be easily thwarted by possible unexpected events. Although the announcement was made in advance to the civilian residents, so that they could clear the city as quickly as possible, this did not preclude the effectiveness of the deception plan aimed at concealing the real direction of the main attack. The preparation of reception camps outside the city made it possible to estimate the number of people who remained within the city belt, and to evaluate correctly that about 95% of the popula-

“ The city suffered heavy destructions. About 60% of the buildings were permanently damaged, while 20% was completely destroyed ”



The TF 2-7 on highway no.10.

tion could be considered not involved in the fighting. This had an important weight on the decision about the instruments to be employed inside the city in order to reduce the losses to a minimum.

During the planning it was made sure that, down to company level, the decision-making process could resort to any type of available information and digital support, extremely up-to-date maps and satellite photographs. Enormous scale models of the city were prepared in order to enable the Commanders to review with their men all phases of the action. The intelligence cycle was organized so that the information could timely reach the units on the ground, allowing the necessary tactical adjustments: deep targets were directly transferred to the air force and the artillery, while the infantry was tasked with clearing the rest. To complete the training framework before the operation, and provide the update of the operational situation during the mission, 10 types of UAVs ("Dragon Eyes", "Predators" and "Ravens" among them) flew over the battlefield, recording every detail, from defences to troop movements inside the city, giving a precious help in the assessment of the necessary adjustments. UAVs were issued down to Task Force level.

Considering the complexity of the operations, it was not forgotten to emphasize the coordination procedures, including the identification of friendly troops. At least officially, there is no knowledge of instances of victims of "friendly fire" despite the great volume of fire: 4000 artillery shells, 10,000 mortar rounds and over 10 tons of bombs dropped by airplanes. The Commander of a Marine

tank company said that his unit had concluded the combat firing 1600 rounds of 120mm mortar, 121,000 rounds of 7.62 rifle and 49,000 rounds of 12.7 machine gun.

As was to be expected, the fight became a job for platoons and squads. At these levels, training and cohesion of the units were the winning cards. All the units employed had already been operating in Iraq for months, gaining a solid combat experience. Thus they had a high degree of knowledge about the type of combat that awaited them in Fallujah, together with a sense of belonging that bound the men together.

Moreover, the leadership was strengthened by the previous experience in the war theatre: the infantry Commanders showed a marked capability of initiative in combat, often employing "intuitive tactics" in order to carry out the assigned mission with minimum losses. Lack of orders or failure of radio connection with the higher Headquarters – just as strength shortages that were progressively increasing within the squads – never paralysed the advancing units. To have an idea of the hard job entrusted to the infantry, suffice it to think that, for the whole two weeks of the battle, each platoon was tasked with clearing 60 to 80 buildings a day. This entailed a daily average of two to four clashes with the enemy: every squad concluded the operation with at least 24 engagements to its credit; the duration of each of them varied from a few minutes to several hours.

The quality of Command and Control at the lowest levels was also confirmed by the skill shown in the employment of the engineers and of the advanced observers of the artillery and the Air Force, which were detached down to platoon level. Even if it is equipped with the most advanced technological instruments, investing time and resources to prepare squad, platoon and company Commanders provides the unit with the solidity and credibility necessary for conducting such a hard and wearing combat.

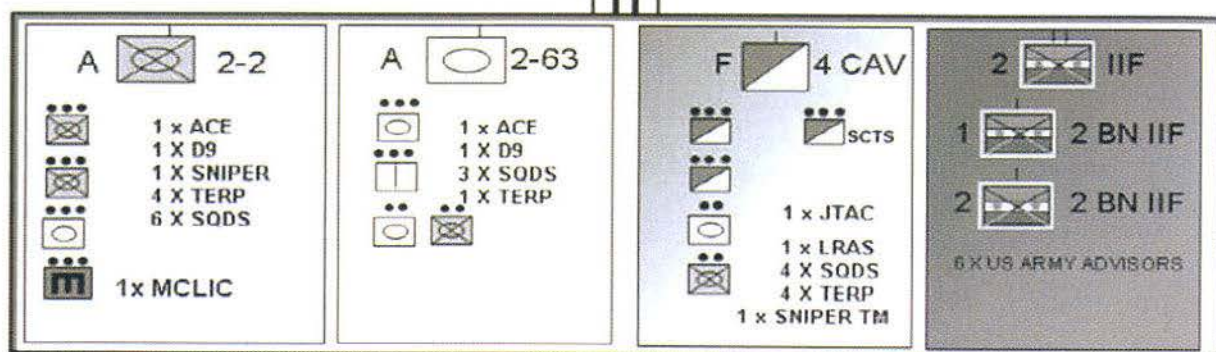
Particularly noteworthy was also the capability of cooperating at close contact with the tank sections, which needed covering and fast indication of the targets. The Abrams tanks were able to develop all their power in support of the infantry: each of them fired an average of twelve to twenty-four 120mm rounds a day, together with five hundred 12.7mm and over two thousand 7.62mm from the coaxial machine gun.

As a training ground for the verification of doctrine and TTPs (Tactics, Technics and

“The battle of Fallujah has already entered among the classics of combat in inhabited centres, next to names like Stalingrad, Ortona, Hue and Grozny”

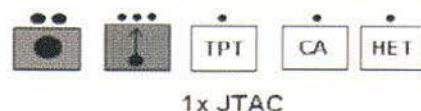
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TASK ORGANIZATION TF 2-2



Cbt Power:

14 x M1A1
 16 x M2A2
 4 x M1064 (120MM MORTARS)
 2 x 81MM MORTARS
 38 x M1114
 16 x M998AOA
 2 x M109A6 (155MM PALADIN)
 1 x MCLIC (2 X RELOADS)
 1 X GBS (PREDATOR (UAV DOWNLINK))
 2 X RVT
 1 X FORWARD EYES (SCAN EAGLE DOWNLINK)
 3 X RAVENS



Source: M.MMatthews, "Operation Al-Fajr: a study in Army and Marine Corps Joint Operations", GWOT Occasional Paper 20, Combat Studies Institute Press, Kansas 2006.

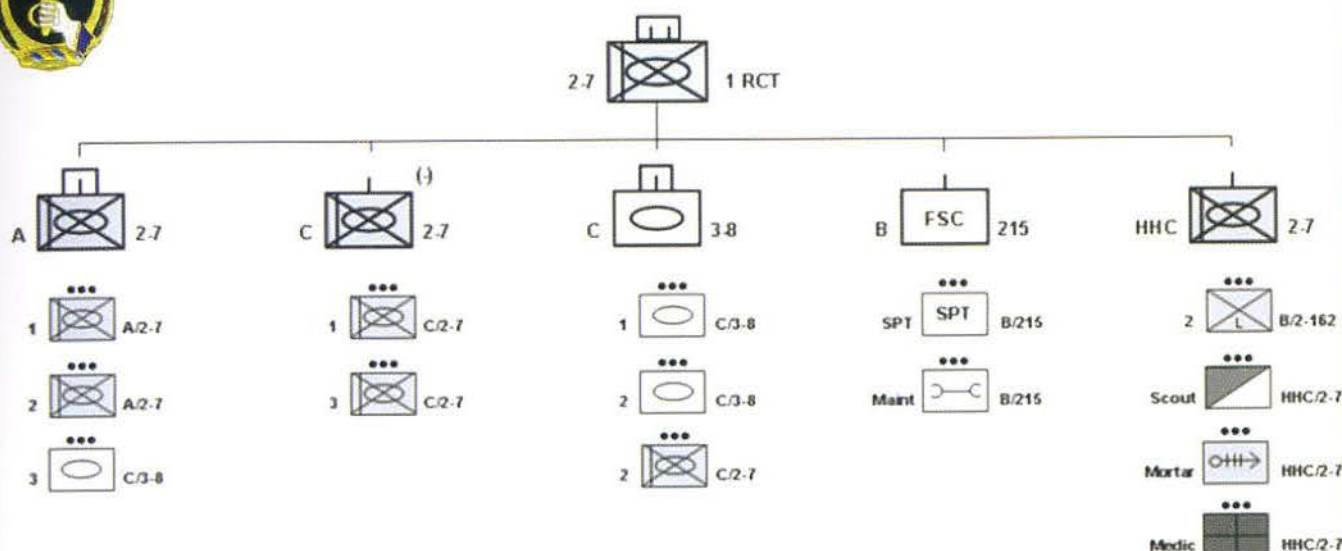
Procedures) in inhabited centres, Fallujah also confirmed the great usefulness of certain materials and equipment that the units had at their disposal. In the first place, the D-9 armoured bulldozers, originally made in Israel, employed for removing obstacles and demolishing buildings. As for the armament, together with the use of bangalore torpedoes and C-4 plastic bombs (also used in satchel charges), one should emphasize the importance of MICLICs (Mine Clearing Line Charges) to open corridors through minefields and inside the city, to clear the streets of various kinds of IEDs. Finally, there was ample use of antitank weapons against fortified positions: each platoon fired an average of 12 rockets a day with the AT-4 light antitank gun, which could eliminate the enemy positions with extreme precision, either with the HEAT traditional charge or the new thermobaric charge made of PBXIH-135 explosive.

As simple as it was in its general lines, the joint character of the operation was a factor of friction to be taken into account. The integration of the US

Army units within Marine units displayed the differences between the two Services, as concerned both equipment and operational conception. Even if the armoured and mechanized units of the Army were actually able to integrate in the decision-making process, some rather important incompatibilities came to light during the battle, especially as regarded communications (e.g. tactical radio sets) and the management of the units' density in space. Owing to the type of armament at its disposal, a fully mechanized unit has a capability of space management very different from that of a unit on foot: it gives more importance to speed than to regularity, going straight to its objective, clearing its way with its superior protection and firepower. The marine infantry units, despite their high-level quality, did not have the characteristics provided by the Bradleys and Abrams of the Task Forces 2-7 and 2-2. In more than one occasion, the slowness of progression of the marine units compelled the armoured and mechanized units of the Army to retrace their steps in order to prevent the formation of passages between the sectors,



TASK ORGANIZATION TF 2-7



14/30/12/12

M1A2 SEP/M2A3/UAH/Rifle Squads

Source: M.Matthews, "Operation Al-Fajr: a study in Army and Marine Corps Joint Operations", GWOT Occasional Paper 20, Combat Studies Institute Press, Kansas 2006.

through which the enemy could infiltrate (as it actually happened).

Apart from these difficulties in coordination, the overall logistic support was well balanced according to requirements and this was proved by the medical evacuations and the flow of supplies, which were never lacking for the troops on the front line. The losses were limited if compared to the tragic initial estimates.

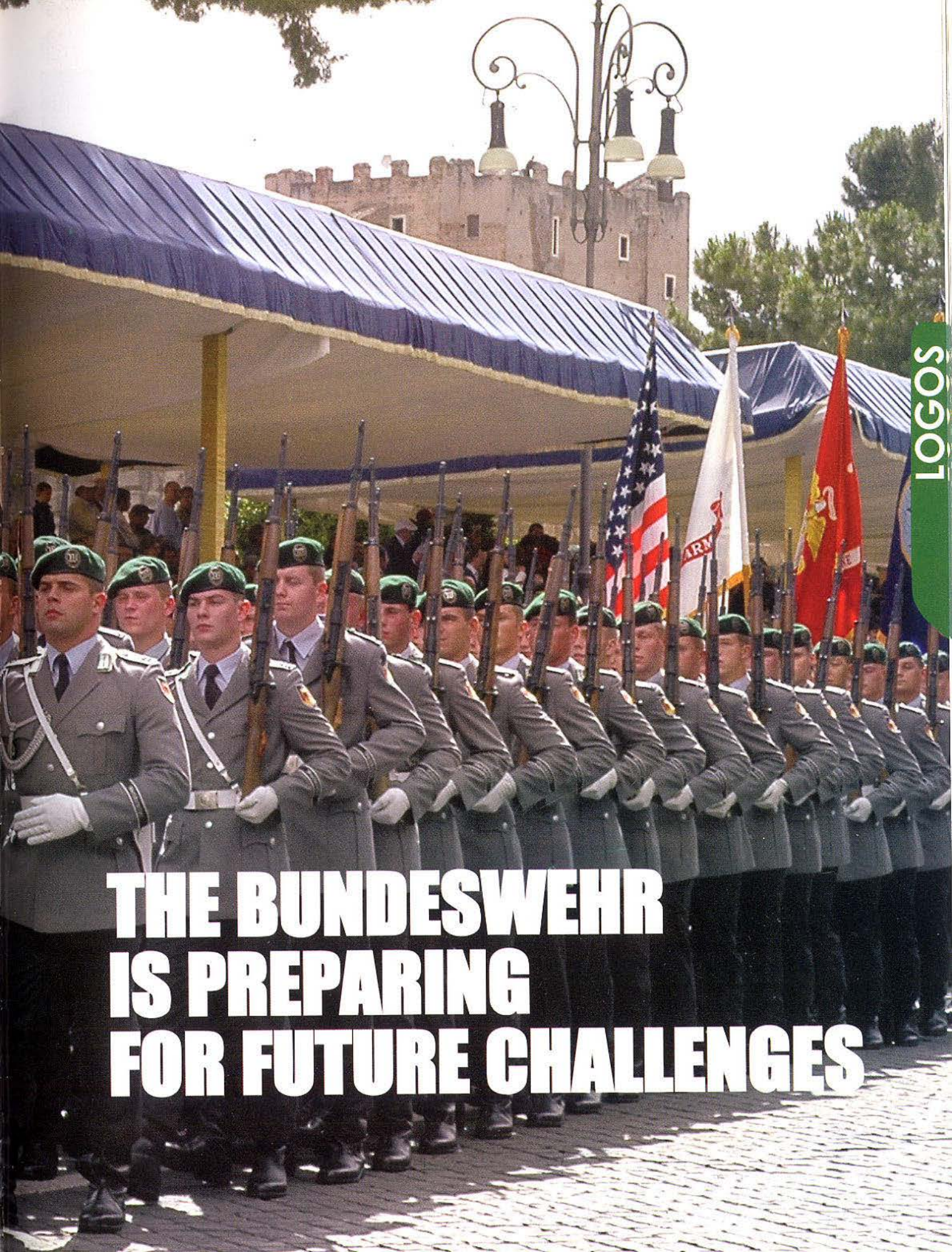
Despite the victory, the desired long-term effects were limited. This confirmed that the pursuit of a decisive battle in a situation of guerrilla warfare can produce positively exploitable effects only for a given period of time. Anyway, the fact that American units remained in the area permitted to carry out, as desired, the elections of January 2005. With the withdrawal of the last units at the end of the month, the fear that more heavy fights could involve the city made the population hostile to the guerrillas' attempts to massively reenter the social fabric of the city. Al-Qaeda failed to establish a sanctuary in the city, but the guerrillas in the area adapted their tactics so as to avoid direct confrontations with the American military might. Ambushes, IED attacks

and raids against strategic resources increased: on June 23, 2005, for example, in a suicide car-bomb attack against a U.S. convoy, six marines died and thirteen were wounded. In September 2006 the 1st Marine Division reported that the Al Anbar province was still infested with guerrillas, with the city of Ramadi as their new headquarters. In any case, on December 2006 the American forces transferred for good the control of the area to the 1st Division of the Iraqi Army, officially keeping only a function of support to the operations.

The new strategy adopted by the Pentagon now seems to prefer to entrust the control of the territory to the Iraqi allies, making the American units available for concentrations of forces in the most critical areas. However, the quest of a further decisive battle seems unlikely. As was well summed up by a Marine Officer "Fallujah was not a defeat, but we cannot afford victories of this kind anymore".

Federico Bernacca
Captain,
186th Paratroop Regiment





**THE BUNDESWEHR
IS PREPARING
FOR FUTURE CHALLENGES**

THE BUNDESWEHR IS PREPARING FOR FUTURE CHALLENGES

Multiethnic conflicts, religious extremism and fanaticism, collapse of entire regions, terrorism, proliferation of nuclear weapons. These are the reasons for concern that prompted the Western Countries to take a new road, in order to adapt their military instruments to the presumable future engagements.

This is what is happening in Germany, where a radical reorganization is under way, according to the strategic concept of "Security and Reconstruction".

In this article, the Chief of Staff of the German Army talks to us about this subject.

Barely two decades ago, the question of what constitutes operational success for the Armed Forces was relatively easy to answer: deciding a war fought by regular forces, winning a largely "symmetrical" armed conflict, and defeating the enemy. Structures, training and equipment of the military instrument were optimised to achieve this goal. Security, for Germany, was routinely equated with deterrence and defence capability to ensure our territorial integrity. This was what the German Army was geared to. The radical changes in security policy after the end of the Cold War changed that equation in an incredible and unforeseeable way.

RISKS AND THREATS

Symmetric threats – kept in check only by the nuclear stalemate between the two superpowers – were progressively replaced by new risks and threats: multiethnic conflicts, religious extremism and fanaticism, the break-up of entire regions, combined with the privatisation of power, cross-border or international terrorism, as well as the weapons proliferation potentially resulting in a covert nuclear armament. New risks and dangers, such as attacks on information systems, that generally and very quickly make themselves felt also at international level, pose a hitherto unknown type of threat. Going hand in hand with this, is a progressive trend towards the privatisation of warfare that has been taking place over the past two decades. While inter-state conflicts and wars cannot be ruled out in the future, the crucial



Title pages.

The German Delegation at the June 2 ceremony in Rome.

Above.

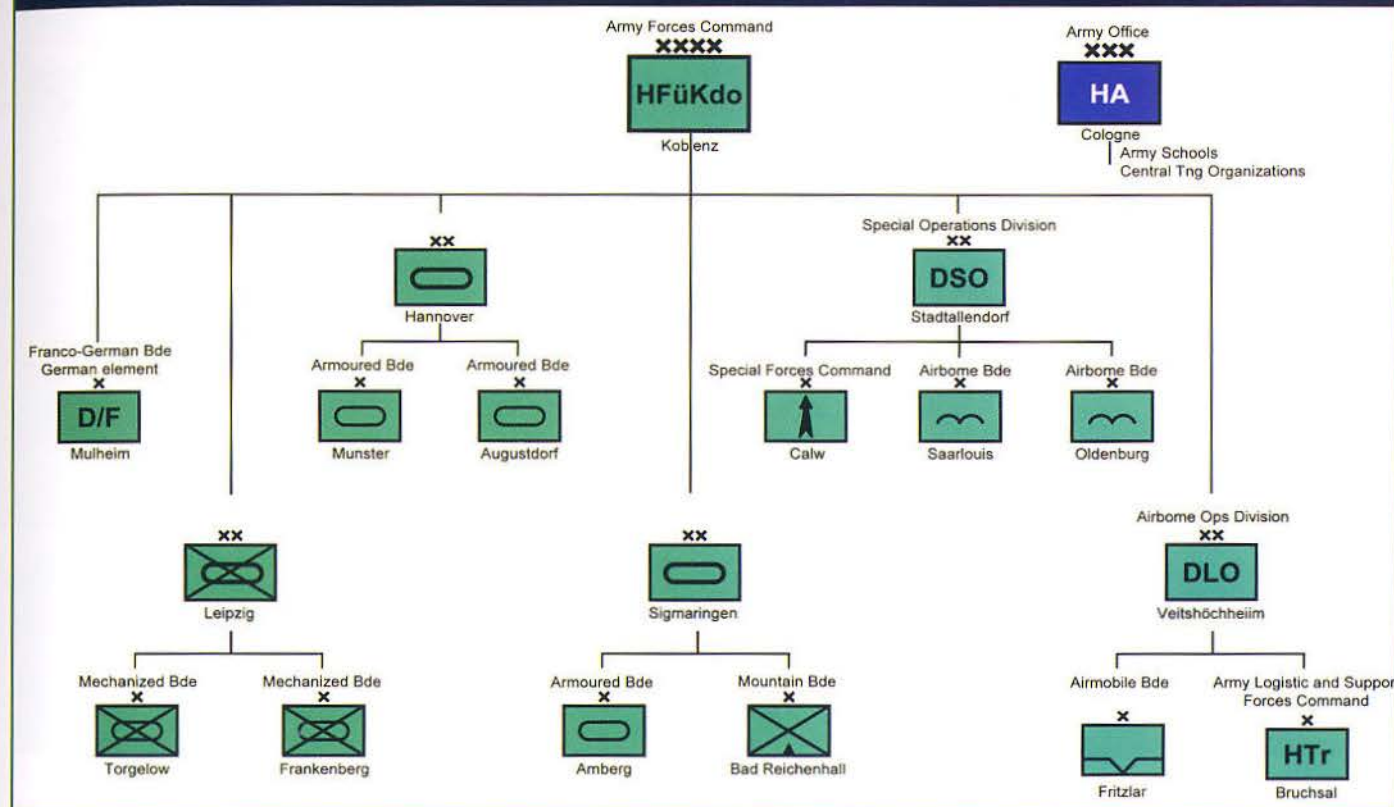
Paratroopers in various uniforms.

“...a clear priority for the Army is to provide the capabilities for “full-spectrum operations” in the context of international conflict and crisis management” In order to prevail, it is fundamental to have the appropriate capabilities ,,

development is the state's slow but steady loss of its monopoly on the use of force.

The Defence Policy Guidelines (1), the Bundeswehr Concept (2) and the Federal Government's White Paper on Germany's Security and Defence Policy (3) all respond to these new challenges to our security in the 21st Century and involve a clear priority for operations in the context of international conflict and crisis management, resulting in the need for the German Army to provide the capabilities for “full-spectrum operations”, from major combat operations through nation building to humanitarian assistance on a world-wide scale. For the German Army, operational success occurs in two settings: in relatively short-term and

The German Army



high-intensity peace enforcement, and in long-term nation building. It is essential to prevail and, ultimately, win in both of them.

FORCES AND CAPABILITIES

This requires military forces that can operate seamlessly across the entire range of missions and tasks. The German Army has a "single set of forces" at its disposal from which to draw force packages, each with a specific capability profile tailored to the individual mission and spectrum of operations and augmented with personnel from the Special Operations Division (4) and the Airmobile Division (5), as necessary.

These are, on the one hand, forces whose capabilities make them particularly suitable for conducting major combat operations in multinational peace enforcement missions and under largely network-enabled conditions, against a more or less militarily organised adversary. These forces are also capable of conducting rescue and evacuation as well as stabilisation operations. They are the first choice when it comes to creating a safe and secure environment. In addition, the German Army has forces available for employment in multinational operations of

longer duration, usually in the low- to medium-intensity spectrum of peace stabilisation activities. They are particularly capable of maintaining a safe and secure environment. The German Army currently contributes this category of troops to the ISAF operation in Northern Afghanistan.

Stabilisation operations may well be of high intensity at the tactical level, as is clearly illustrated by the situation in Southern Afghanistan. That is why the more peacebuilding-oriented forces are also proficient in their soldiering skills, which means these

Female personnel of a Fallschirmjäger unit.



BOXER armoured transport vehicle



companies and battalions are no "lightweights" when it comes to warfighting. At Brigade level, their basic organisation does, however, provide specific capabilities for stabilisation operations (such as additional engineer, signal, logistics and reconnaissance units).

However, such a capabilities-oriented force posture alone is not enough on its own: military capabilities must always be integrated into a national policy of networked security, an overarching policy involving all ministries and agencies dealing with security-related tasks, both at national and international level. From the point of view of the objective to be achieved, operational success for us soldiers means creating and maintaining, as a prerequisite, so to speak, a safe and secure environment in which further political and civilian measures can and must be successfully implemented. Soldiers stand first and foremost for security – and that includes warfighting. As security is being established, military action can be reduced to make room for non-military measures. This requires that each individual soldier also has a wide range of capabilities. Every soldier must first of all be capable of enforcing the mandate he has been given, even in the face of resistance, in other words be capable of fighting. This is a principle that applies throughout the Army. But it is not the only one. All soldiers in the German Army must also be able to protect people and property entrusted to their care, to act as mediators between conflicting parties, and to provide assistance

in emergencies, even when in a geographically, climatically and culturally unfamiliar environment.

The operational and tactical-level equivalent to the strategic goal of "security and reconstruction" is the "protection and effects" approach. It applies, on the one hand, to the population requiring support. It must be protected, and assistance must be provided for the reconstruction of destroyed structures. It is essential to win the hearts and minds of the people. This requires trust, which can only develop through direct contact with the people. It also applies with regard to our own soldiers who are expected to achieve these objectives. The close contact needed always involves increased personal risk. That is why force protection on operations is of vital importance: to ensure mission accomplishment, to retain political freedom of action, and to fulfil our duty of care. Yet protection alone will not suffice. Force protection is inseparably linked with the ability to deliver precision effects. Protection and effects are two sides of the same coin.

PROTECTION

According to the doctrine of the German Army, only an appropriate combination of information and Command-and-Control superiority, precision effects and robust engagement capabilities as well as force protection on operations, tailored to the

Operational effectiveness – Selected systems

LEOPARD 2 A6



PUMA



TIGER

specific situation and threat, will give our effort to accomplish the mission sufficient credibility. Force protection in the German Army is an integral system of active and reactive components, comprising equipment, weaponry and mission-oriented training, as well as operational doctrine and procedures. "Protection" and "effects" are the subject of concrete projects. The German Army is concentrating its efforts in the field of protection on four areas:

Firstly: high-grade individual protection systems that improve the survivability of deployed soldiers. Prime examples of this are the "Future Infantryman" system which is proving its worth in Afghanistan, and – for all non-infantry personnel – the "Soldier on Deployment" system. The introduction of a new generation of personal weapons will also improve individual protection. **Secondly:** base camp and facility protection. Because of the obvious vulnerability of our facilities on operations, this is a matter of considerable importance. In parallel, a defence system against ballistic threats is being developed.

Thirdly: Vehicle protection. To perform Command and Control, reconnaissance, combat, support and transportation tasks on operations, various types of

vehicle platforms are needed, with different levels of protection. No single type of vehicle can meet all these varied requirements. Especially the multirole armoured vehicle "Boxer" provides a level of protection that is unique worldwide for a wheeled vehicle. Its impressive mobility and high loading capacity make it the ideal basic vehicle for the infantry and underscore its suitability for use as a command as well as a transport and medical vehicle. **Fourthly:** identification capability. "Blue-on-blue" incidents or civilian casualties caused by friendly fire on operations pose a risk

that must be actively countered. Given the extended ranges of modern sensors and weapon systems as well as accelerated decision-making and engagement processes, quick and reliable identification of own, friendly, enemy and neutral forces is vitally important.

Force protection in the German Army also includes the consistent use of modern technologies and capabilities, such as robotic systems. They can eventually be employed to perform the so-called "3-D" tasks – the dirty, dull and dangerous ones – and free up personnel for more sophisticated tasks. Robotics thus offers great potential for the future in all capability categories.

“ Force protection is an integral system of active and reactive components, comprising equipment, weaponry, mission-oriented training as well as operational doctrine and procedures ”



General Otto Budde, Chief of Staff of the German Army, enlisted in 1966. After attending several courses, he held the job of Platoon Leader at the 313th and 272nd Fallschirmjägerbataillon.

At the latter unit, besides being Company Commander from 1972 to 1978, he was appointed Head of the Information Office.

In 1978 he attended the Staff Course and in 1980 was designated as Head, Information Office of the 1st Luftlandedivision. In 1982 he attended the General Staff Course. After a period as Chief, Operations Office of the 31st Panzergrenadierbrigade, in 1986 Gen. Budde took command of the 82nd Panzergrenadierbataillon. From 1988 to 1995 he served at the Ministry of Defence.

From 1995 to 2002 he commanded the Franco-German Brigade, the SFOR Central Multinational Brigade and the Special Operations Division.

From 2002 to 2004 he has held the office of Army Deputy Chief of Staff. Since 2004, General Hans-Otto Budde has been holding the position of Chief of Staff of the German Army.

EFFECTS

Especially on operations, force protection must always be considered in conjunction with the ability to deliver effects, since operational success or, ultimately, the degree to which the mission is accomplished, hinges on the capability to bring forces and assets to bear at the right place, at the right time, and for targeted effect. It essentially comes down to being faster, more accurate, having better standoff capabilities and producing better target effects than an adversary, to dictating the course of action and having or retaining the initiative. A prerequisite for effective and robust engagement capabilities is the progressive enhancement of the capability to conduct network-enabled operations – another core element in the transformation of Germany's Armed Forces. With the introduction of a new Command-and-Control information system, the German Army is creating, in a first step, an integrated information network that combines the capabilities of all levels of command and all service branches in one system of systems. Enhanced effective engagement capability is the subject of several concrete programmes of the German Army: With the "Leopard 2 A6", the German Army has one of the world's best main battle tanks at its disposal that is being optimised further, especially for stabilisation operations, by upgrading measures such as additional mine protection or the new multipurpose ammunition. Another example is the air transportable armoured infantry fighting vehicle "Puma", one of the central defence procurement projects of the German Army; thanks to its modular configuration, it meets the highest demands in terms of robustness, mobility and protection. Effective engagement capability is also provided

“...it comes down to being faster and more accurate...dictating the course of action and having or retaining the initiative”

by the "Tiger" multirole support helicopter, with its PARS 3 Long Range main armament. With it, the "Tiger" achieves its full effectiveness in all types of operations when engaging high-value targets or protecting convoys. With the "Tiger" and the NH 90 light transport helicopter, that began to enter service in December 2006, the German Army has succeeded in taking a pioneering and innovative quality leap and a decisive step towards air mechanisation. In the field of combat support, the Guided Multiple Launch Rocket System (GMLRS) for the Medium-range Artillery Rocket System (MARS) will bring about a marked improvement in terms of precision and stand-off capability. The first systems are scheduled to enter service in 2009. Another item on the procurement list is a weapon system permitting stand-off engagement of single and pinpoint targets while largely avoiding collateral damage, which must, of course, be employed in combination with unmanned aerial reconnaissance systems (such as the KZO target acquisition drone).

CONCLUSIONS

The deployment of the German Armed Forces is never an end in itself. Protection and effects are now, and will continue to be, the specific military contribution to the concept of security and reconstruction. Protection and effects is a people-oriented approach. People are both actors and the targets of political and military action. Providing protection and effects for German soldiers deployed on international crisis management operations is therefore of central importance. It is both an ambition and an obligation to give our soldiers optimum protection and effective means to accomplish the mission assigned, and that includes the use of all available means and technologies. Protection and effects must, however, always be in proportion – and may sometimes be in conflict – with mission accomplishment. This is something all soldiers are aware of, and acknowledge as part of their role.

Hans-Otto Budde
Generalleutnant,
Chief of Staff
of the German Army

NOTES

- (1) *Verteidigungspolitische Richtlinien.*
- (2) *Konzeption der Bundeswehr.*
- (3) *Weißbuch der Bundesregierung zur Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik Deutschlands.*
- (4) *Division Spezielle Operationen.*
- (5) *Division Luftbewegliche Operationen.*



International Convoys - Terminalizations
Handling - Fuel Transport
Full Loads - Small Deliveries
Daily Links

Your Destination
Our Mission

Torino
Milano
Verona
Bologna
Firenze
Roma
Napoli
Bari



nizio:13:59:12
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ine: 15:14:12

LOGOS

TECHNOLOGY IN THE DIDACTICS OF LANGUAGES

TECHNOLOGY IN THE DIDACTICS OF LANGUAGES

Excellent results have been achieved in the teaching and learning of languages, thanks to an advanced method commonly known as "Computer Assisted Language Learning". Its application requires knowledge and skill from the teachers as well as ability and competence from the students.

Since classical antiquity, the teacher's word has always been the primary source of knowledge.

The written text goes back to the most ancient times and it represented a fundamental element of teaching, from the first clay and wax tablets to the books written by the amanuenses to the printed text. The 20th century marked the dawn of the first technologies that joined the undisputed binomial «teacher and textbook».

LINGUISTIC LABORATORIES

From the Sixties and Seventies, the use of new technologies in linguistic teaching started to join the use of books.

In those years, the first linguistic laboratories arose. It was generally admitted that the more exercises students did, the sooner they learned the second language; the activities were based on a model stimulus-answer. However, not only did they turn out to be monotonous and frustrating but they lim-

ited the interaction between students and teachers and teachers' attention to the individual student.

Subsequently, television sets were used as teaching tools. With the dawning of satellite systems and video recorders good results were achieved in the education sector.

On the one hand the linguistic laboratories have produced an important change in the didactics of language, on the

other the recent birth of the computer has made technology more attractive.

Today more and more schools use the new method of language learning, known as "Computer Assisted Language Learning"

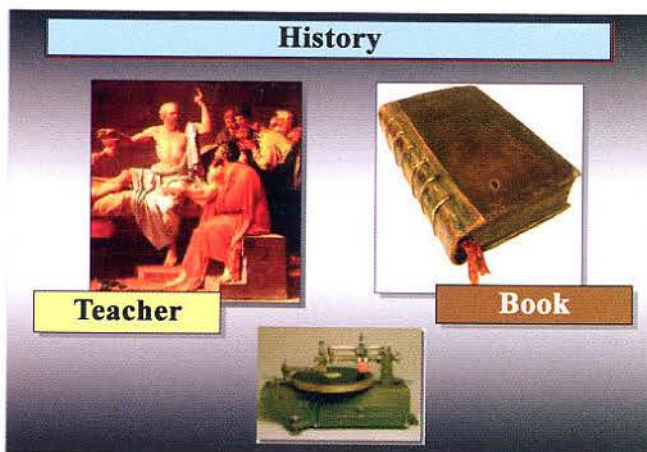
“ The Internet has opened up new horizons for language teaching... ”

COMPUTER ASSISTED LANGUAGE LEARNING

In the Eighties and Nineties computers started to be used as a teaching tool (CBT: Computer Based Training) taking advantage of hypertextual documents. Among the new methods of language learning we have to mention the so-called CALL (Computer Assisted Language Learning).

The particular interaction between users and computers and its non-linearity (that is the possibility to choose a personal course of learning) make computers an attractive instrument for students and this makes them more motivated to learn. In addition, the computer provides users with an immediate feedback that allows them to work at a personal rate.

This technology has also some negative aspects such as the limited effectiveness of grammatical exercises or the inability of the didactic software to adapt



Title pages.

A lesson in a modern classroom for language teaching.

Sixties and Seventies



Stimuli and responses



Boring and demotivating

to users. In general, these kinds of software are more useful for the development of a single linguistic skill.

However, there are more recent programs that provide us with a higher level of interactivity, allowing students to practise the second language. At the same time, with the diffusion of CD and DVD players, the offer of teaching tools has increased (quantitatively and qualitatively).

THE INTERNET IN THE DIDACTICS OF LANGUAGES

Internet has open up new horizons for language teaching.

Currently, texts represent the most immediate resource that users can exploit since the Web provides us with lots of pages about any topic in any language. We can even apply some strategies to the Web pages that are able to improve our linguistic skills.

Hence the expression Web Based Training (WBT).

The material that has been collected can be put into the linguistic program through three different approaches, that is through lessons given or assisted by teachers or chosen by students.

READING AUTHENTIC MATERIAL ON THE WEB

For each level of knowledge, teachers can find Web pages concerning a particular activity accord-

Television



Teaching and learning

ing to the following strategies:

- Pre-reading and prediction: in order to get information from titles, images or a topic;
- Skimming – scanning: to read through a highlighted text quickly and increase or change the information which comes from pre-reading;
- Looking for meaning through context: to infer the meaning of unknown words from the context;
- Careful reading: to read carefully again checking whether there are useful tools that are necessary for a complete understanding;
- Applying what they have read: to stimulate creativity applying the concepts that have been learned to a new situation.

One of the latest software applications, which exploit the hardware potential and the velocity of the Web, is represented by the platform of Learning Management System (LMS) which guarantees the effectiveness of the activities mediated through Internet. In short the platform LMS provides teachers with the following important tools:

System Management Tools: these tools are used by



Language laboratories



Communicative learning

teachers to monitor, check and personalize the environment where the learning process takes place.

Content Management Tools: a series of functions that are used to create didactic material that is useful for the preparation of classes.

Course Management Tools: a series of functions that are available on the Web and can be used by teachers to prepare on-line courses.

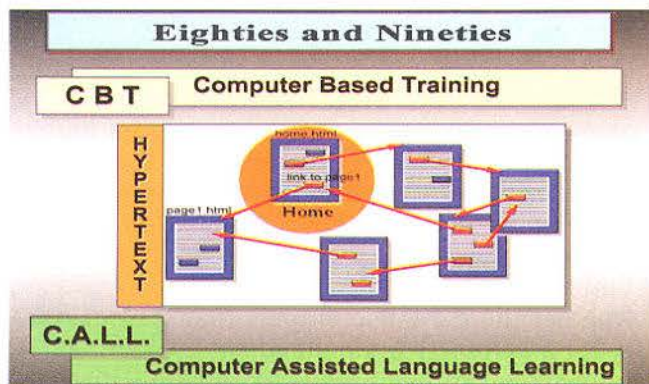
Assessment management Tools: a series of functions that allow teachers to develop and publish on-line tests designed to assess students.

Web Resource Management Tools: a series of functions that are used to publish integrative didactic contents on the portal of on-line courses.

Collaboration Tools: a series of functions that allow the synchronous and asynchronous interaction between students and teachers.

In particular, these tools can perform useful functions for students, giving them the opportunity to:

- Join the course they are interested in through a username and a password;
- Manage a mailbox using the software client that is within the platform;
- Send files;



- Take part in on-line examination sessions to assess one's knowledge;
 - Check constantly the headway that has been made;
 - Look for specific contents in the course;
 - Attend the course using a computer.
- Teachers have the opportunity to:
- Plan the course that must be published;
 - Define and publish tests which consist of multiple choice questions, true-false questions and open questions or with pictures that can be highlighted;
 - Publish tests that can be done by students more than once;
 - Publish tests with a self-correcting function in the phases of self-assessment;
 - Fix a time-limit within which students have to answer the questions;
 - Give different material to different groups of students that attend the same course;
 - Create a series of questions that can be published on-line automatically and with random combinations;
 - Define access tests in the same courses;
 - Define preliminary tests according to specific courses.

In short, the modern platforms of e-learning have instruments and services of communication that can be divided into synchronous parts when teachers and students communicate with each other in real time: the chat (which is the room where it is possible to «chat» virtually in writing); the function of co-browsing (some users can netsurf on the same sites at the same time);

the electronic board; the Webcam and asynchronous elements such as: electronic mails, a forum of discussion, virtual notice boards and secretaries.

THE NEW ERA

The Internet has changed our way of communicating thanks to electronic mails and forums of discussions. We can receive even e-mails that contain news about different topics from virtual associations that are known as newsgroups, on which users can click after a preliminary registration.

The electronic mail, which is used as a learning tool, puts students in touch with teachers and with other students who study the same language (tandem partners).

The forum of discussion, according to lots of language teachers, is useful for students at different levels. They can improve their linguistic skills thanks to a realistic context.

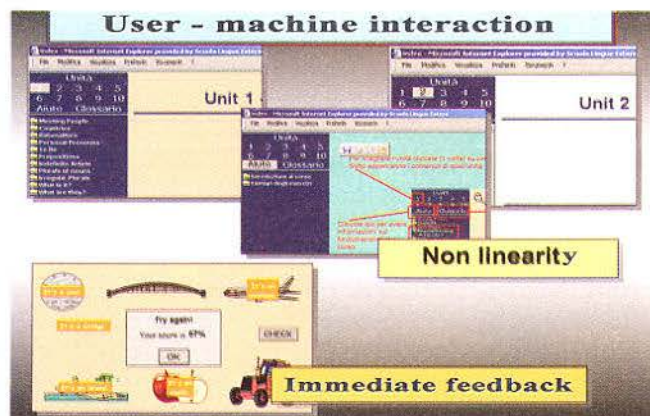
The electronic mail is an asynchronous tool, whereas the chat is a synchronous tool. This means that more students are present in the virtual room at the same time and they communicate with each other in real time.

Through a «chat» (abbreviation of chat room) it is possible to communicate with mother tongue tutors and, in addition, the written work can be improved thanks to an authentic context where people pretend to communicate with each other orally using short messages.

The rooms of the traditional chats allow people to communicate only in writing through phrases that will be read by all users that are present in the room at the time. On the contrary, the voice chats allow people to establish a vocal communication using a microphone and headphones.

Through a webcam it is possible to organize a videoconference. All these functions make the chat an inviting tool for the students.

Obviously, good didactics also requires a proper assessment of the progress that has been achieved. For this reason, the phase of testing is as important as that of didactics.



TESTING

Thanks to Internet, today it is possible to offer a wide range of exercises to assess three linguistic skills. Only the assessment of the forth skill (the oral skill) is still carried out using a traditional telephone. Students can do the exam at home and this can be extremely productive. In addition, technology can also facilitate the work of the personnel thanks to optical character readers that allow them to correct tests without any margins of error.



FUTURE PROSPECTS

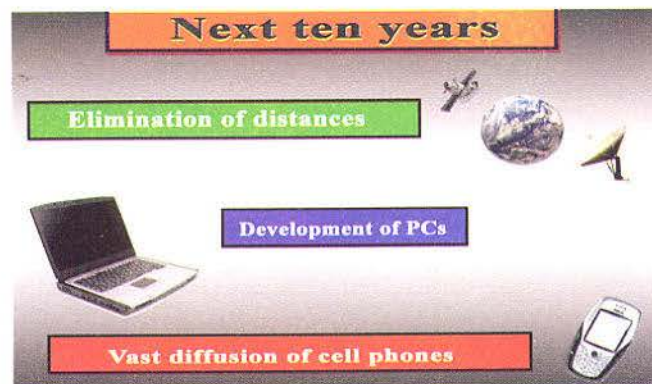
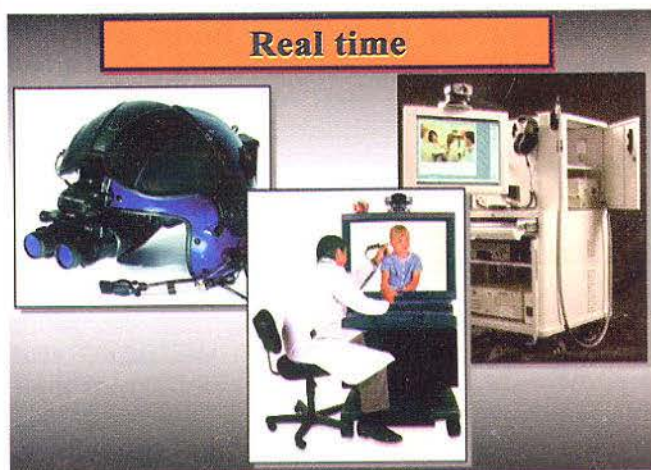
We have to consider two factors carefully.

Firstly, in some sectors it is necessary to refresh one's instruments since modern technologies make fast progress and this requires a careful analysis of their real future potential.

Most probably the most significant effects on the sector of didactics within the next ten years will be produced by cancellation of distance, development and evolution of personal computers and exponential growth of mobile telephony.

Security, efficiency and stability in satellite communications will be useful in the advanced distributed learning, reaching distant theatres of operations.

Today, it is possible to send «on the field» detailed instructions in real time concerning, for example, the correct use of the equipment and, thanks to telemedicine, it is possible to make diagnoses from a distance. At the same time, the ability to transfer a great amount of data from one country to another will lead to an increase in the didactic opportunities that are offered by videoconference, bringing together students and teachers, who are far from each other, in virtual classrooms.



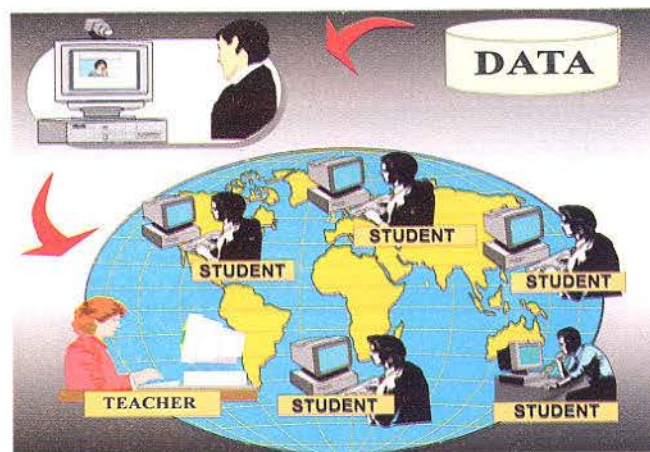
With regard to laptops, wireless technology, together with the growing power of microprocessors will make it possible for us to work in the infinite world of the Web without any cables and independently. Today this is already possible in some sectors thanks to Bluetooth wireless technology.

With this regard, we have to refer to the spreading of mobile telephony, palmtop computers, GPRS telephones and iPods even in some Third World countries. This opens up new horizons in the didactics.

The second factor we should take into consideration concerns our target of reference: students. The members of the rising generation can be defined as «digital natives» because Internet and the

new digital technologies are their second nature. Their enthusiasm for instantaneous messaging applications, videogames and peer-to-peer exchange of files are viewed with suspicion by the old generations and are seen as a waste of time and an *escamotage* to escape the real world of work and school.

Considering how keen they are on the new technologies, it could be interesting to examine the use of the new technologies in the formal and informal language learning.



There is no doubt that mobile telephony and other instruments that allow us to communicate in real time (in particular, the electronic mail) represent useful educational tools. It is important to analyse this new phenomenon that is known as instantaneous messaging and mobile communication.

INSTANT MESSAGING AND MOBILE COMMUNICATION

The so-called pen pals have always been considered as a useful instrument to learn and practise the language. Today this tradition has been replaced by the exchange of e-mails and by tandem partners. The Instant Messages require the use of concise phrases, abbreviations, coded messages, emoticons and other symbols) also because users are used to take part in more sessions IM at the same time.

Since it is a synchronous tool, the IM simulates face-to-face conversation, especially in an informal way.

Currently there are different IM software that support audio exchanges together with the communication in writing. Programs like iChat also support the video, if the interlocutors use digital video cameras.

The so-called SMS (Short Message Service), which are sent through mobile phones, have grown very much in popularity.

Although creating texts by mobile phones is more difficult than writing texts by using a computer, this messaging is already used as a support for language learning.

The BBC World service, for example, uses SMS and radio programmes for English language learning and broadcasts them to francophone West Africa.

The SMS are also used as an instrument for teaching English in China. The European Union has financed an important initiative, which is known as M-learning, that uses mobile phones to establish a contact with young people that have not reached any results with traditional methods.

It is generally admitted that through the use of mobile phones it is easier to persuade young people to dedicate themselves to studying a language during their spare time and in an informal environment. The infrastructure of M-learning is very sophisticated because it includes its learning Management



Foreign personnel attending an Italian lesson at the Foreign Languages School of the Army.

System and tools for oral and written communication. However, it represents an important aspect of future.

It is amazing that today technology allows us to share not only information but also multimedia material such as music, video, images and software.

IPOD AND PEER-TO-PEER RESOURCE SHARING

The iPod is a MP3 player that is made by Apple and has become very popular among people in the last years. This has led to the phenomenon of peer-to-peer resource sharing (P2P). Some language teachers regard the use of P2P as an important instrument for sharing didactic resources, although it is not used on a large scale. An interesting example is given by the function P2P that is within the project LEARN for French teaching (at high schools). It is used as a part of the infrastructure of learning that provides students with an instrument for finding resources and sharing them. A considerable amount of digital music is coded in MP3, whose ubiquity, together with small file dimension and its «transportability» to portable devices, gives people the incentive to study languages.

Lots of websites, which contain resources for language learning, provide us with audio material in MP3 (for example, to learn Pharsi, Italian or French).

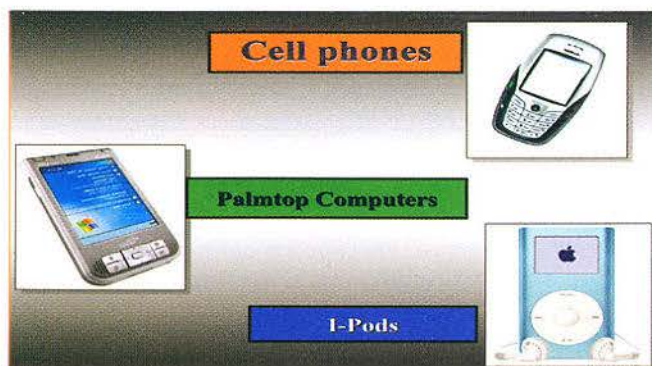
Some projects (like that of Washington University) aim to provide linguistic laboratories with iPod and other MP3 players.

The school district of Grand Island (Nebraska) uses the iPod to improve the English students' pronunciation.

iPod and peer-to-peer resource sharing are linked to another important instrument, i.e. videogames.

LEARNING THROUGH GAMES

Educators and researchers are more and more interested in the phenomenon of game, also because today young people spend most of their time playing videogames. There are several games that have been designed for language learning.





There are lots of affinities between games and language learning in the use of the role-plays, in the improvisation, in the codes and in the so-called «negotiated meaning» (according to the cognitive theory, it refers to the learning objectives that have been defined by teachers and students. Teachers, in this context, act as tutors).

It is useful to take advantage of new technologies to offer more opportunities in the field of didactics.

“The introduction of multi-media technologies in the classroom has changed the working way of many operators, improving their results”

INNOVATIVE ASPECTS

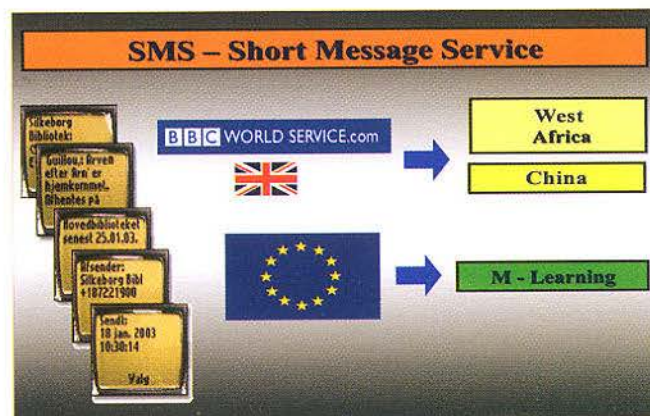
The new aspects that are offered by the new electronic environment can be summarized in the following way:

Space of knowledge: we have already defined Internet as an enormous information storage, whose dimension cannot be compared with that of any other human work. The universe of Internet expands continuously.

Access to knowledge: Internet can be defined as a universe without barriers or space and time limits thanks to new means of communication, friendly interfaces as well as rapid and efficient search engines.

Freedom of netsurfing: this freedom is based on the flexibility in the construction of individual knowledge.

In the future, language teaching and learning will take place where, when and how the people concerned want at a reasonable price.



CONCLUSIONS

The introduction of digital technologies to the classroom has changed the way of working of lots of operators, improving their results. Teachers play a central role in improving the didactic system since they can devise plans of development where the use of interactive technologies has a crucial function. Currently, more and more teachers are able to use new technologies in the didactics. However, being able to use them does not mean being able to teach using them, because it is essential to link the knowledge of technology with that of didactics.

Teachers have to extend their knowledge broadening their experience in digital technology so that they are able to choose and evaluate education programmes that can be followed through computer. At present, the teachers, exactly like their students, have to bring themselves up to date with regard to technological progress.

This means that not only do teachers have to be able to use the software but they also have to have a general knowledge of the hardware.

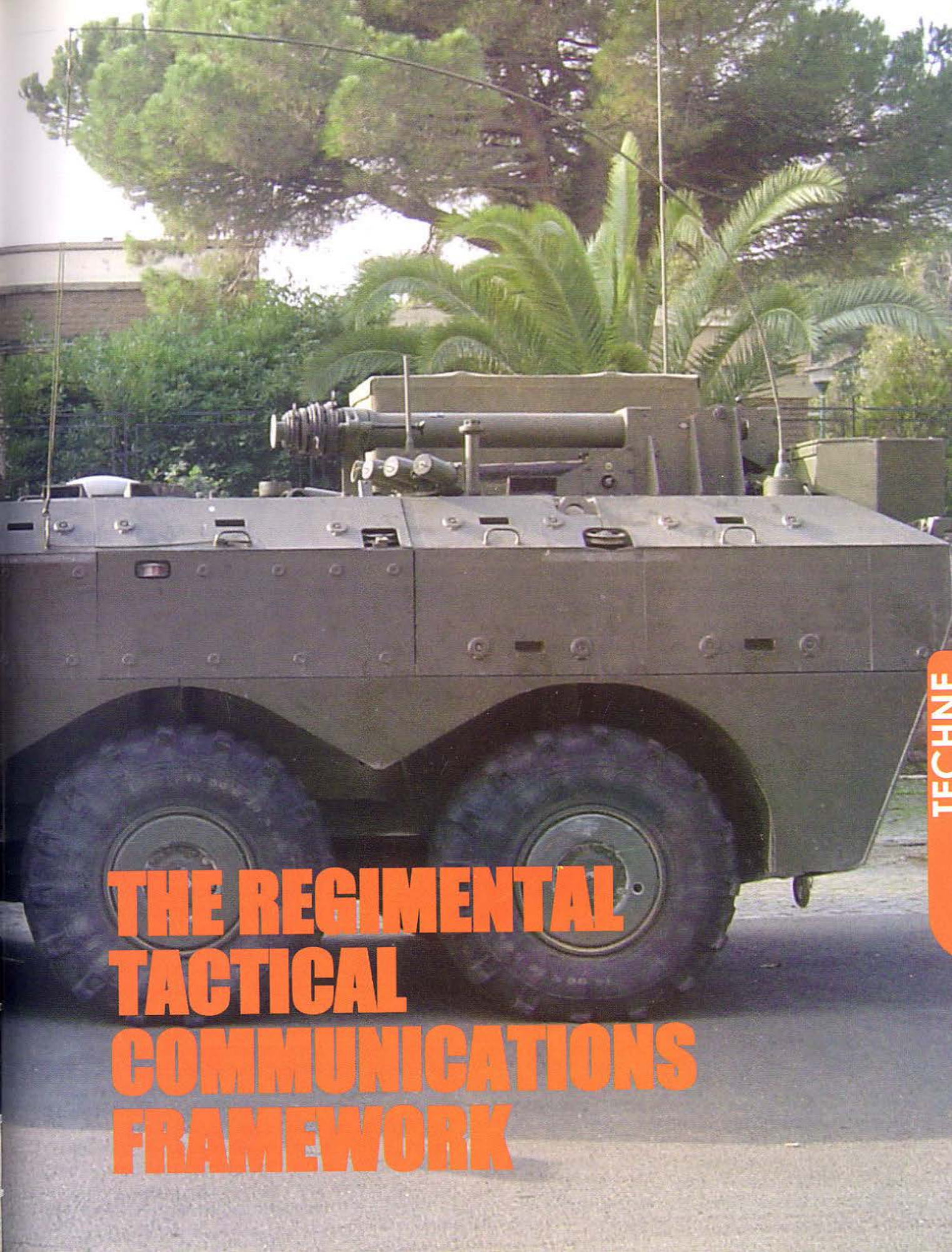
The use of technology in language teaching is influenced by three factors: knowledge of technology and computer skills; the didactic approach of teachers and student skills. The first two factors influence the work that has been done and the results that have been achieved. The third factor requires a good knowledge of the initial situation to establish specific objectives.

Nevertheless, nothing will be able to replace the figure of the mother tongue teacher in class, who interacts with students «face to face», without any technological support.

Augusto Staccioli
Brigadier General,
Commandant,

Foreign Languages School of the Army





TECHNE

THE REGIMENTAL TACTICAL COMMUNICATIONS FRAMEWORK

THE REGIMENTAL TACTICAL COMMUNICATIONS FRAMEWORK

The study of the architecture of a tactical land communications network is the initial prerequisite on which to base modern forces operationally capable and valid for any type of operations.

Knowing beforehand the capabilities of the communications network, its services and their distribution in the manoeuvre space, from the Command of the Contingent down to the single soldier, represents a planning element that is a real force multiplier. This is even more true if the architectural assumption is preceded by a realistic study of the available technology, the training capabilities of the Service and the units' doctrine of employment.

The following study is based on the directions contained in a series of documents, among which the Integrated Land Force 2025 (FIT), NATO Network Enabled Capability (NNEC) – Feasibility Study and hypotheses of subdivision of the "Networking and Information Infrastructure" within the "Integrated Land Force 2025" of the Transmissions and Computer Sciences School. It assembles moreover the experience acquired with the Wireless Operational Test Bed (WOTB) and some NATO and national Working Groups.

This article wishes to illustrate and suggest the possible architecture of the medium-term tactical land communications system and the guidelines for the implementation of the tactical communication system suitable for supplying Triple Play services to the units of the NEC Brigade.

EXPECTED CAPABILITIES

The future battlespaces are going to require communication networks with capabilities that are today inexpressible, even by the most advanced platforms or commercial technologies such as, for example, capabilities of connection of isolated "clusters", of men and means among themselves and with the higher Command and/or the adjoining units. Their employment in the area will be presumably limited in time, but the quantity of information transported on the network will be very high and Triple Play. All this will have to be repeated in a wide-ranging, "patchy" scenario, characterized by high intrinsic dynamism. Another distinctive characteristic will have to be a high connection aptitude in built-up centres, technically and operationally very difficult scenarios. The complexity increases if there is no full control of

the territory that permits to install semi-permanent knots. In the future we envisage a high flexibility and capacity of the communication systems that will permit to effectively support the sensors equipments and the dynamism of UAV and UGV. These indispensable instruments, working separately or together and in non-controlled areas, will permit to survey the territory with a minimum deployment of men.

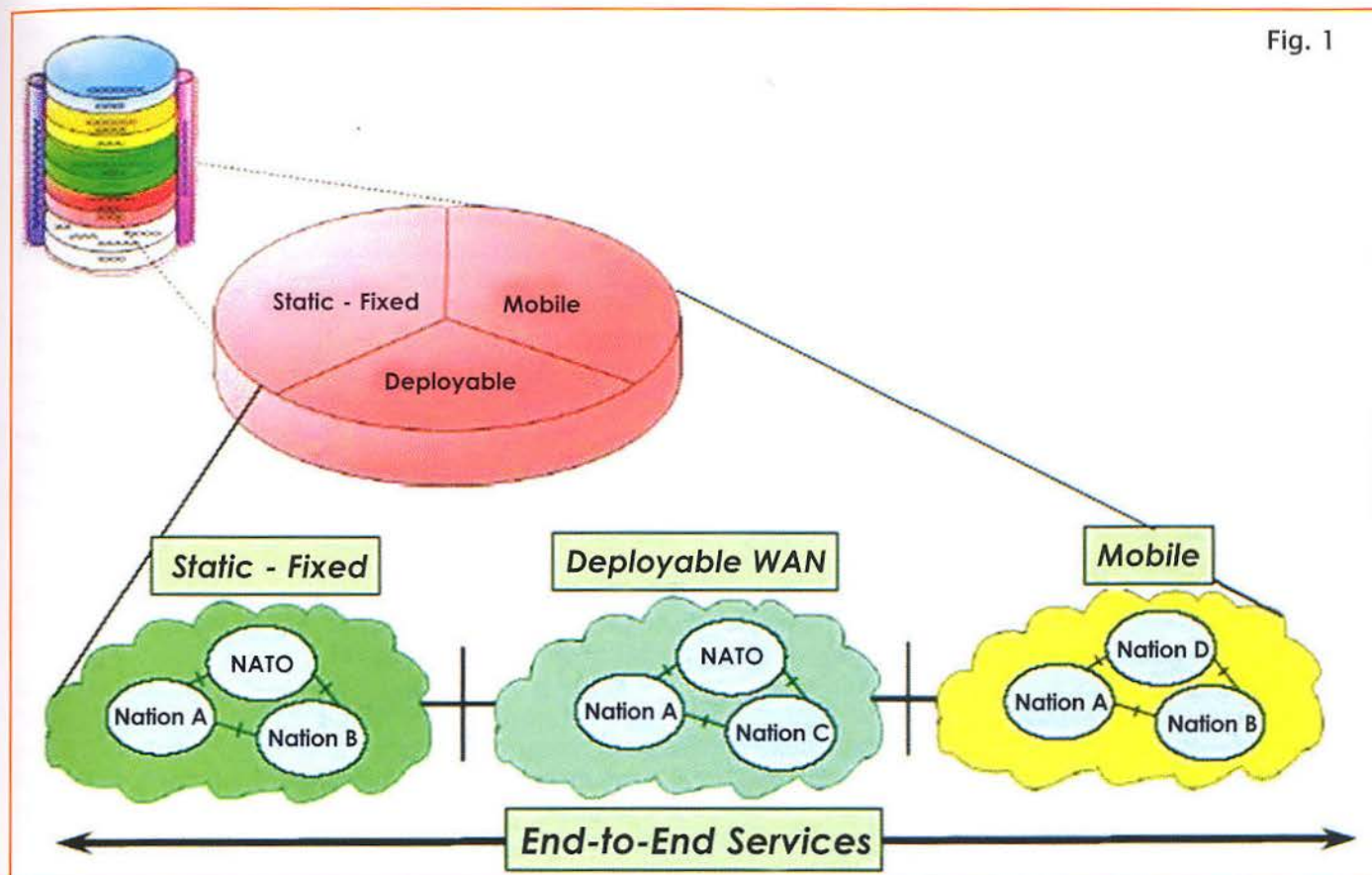
The "lessons learned" have fixed some principles, such as the implementation of communication systems without Nodal Centres or protected "Base Stations" (such as, for example, cell nodes) and a real and effective integration between the air-land communication platforms.

SYSTEMS AND COMMUNICATIONS NETWORKS

The systems and the communications networks employed by the Armed Forces and, in a wider sense, by the Nations of the Atlantic Alliance, employ technologies and equipments of a very different type, but referable to three categories (fig.1), described at any rate by the NNEC Feasibility Study: Static-Fixed (static and fixed do not concern the present document), Deployable WAN and Mobile Network.

The Deployable WAN are networks deployable on the ground, for example satellite systems and radio links. The importance of these communication structures springs from the fact that the conditions of Information Superiority and therefore of Decision Superiority can be achieved only by ensuring an exhaustive exchange of information among the Strategic, Operational and Tactical levels. Such exchange must be guaranteed also between users and applications, wherever located,

Fig. 1



Title pages.
The CP version of the BCV 8x8.

whatever the Service they belong to (end-to-end at national level).

As regards the Mobile Network, we believe crucial to draw the attention to the communication technologies of the tactical networks. The reason of this focusing derive from the fact that it is precisely on the battlefield that reside the technological challenges that are most important for achieving the ambitious objectives stated in NNEC. This is because on the battlefield a multitude of pieces of information will be produced, and distributed by deciders, sensors and actuators. The information will have to reach the processors that will form the "intelligent network" and have the task of processing orders, warnings and situations. Besides, one will have to guarantee, to the troops deployed and to the countless number of sensors and platforms (UAV, UGV, etc.), an efficient and effective connection in order to have the availability of all kinds of information (Information Superiority) and take advantage of the services necessary for perform-

“ Knowing beforehand the capabilities of the communications network ... represents a planning element that is a real force multiplier ”

ing their tasks as best as possible (Decision Superiority). Moreover, one should consider that the operational prerequisites and the relevant assumable technologies are likely to change remarkably according to the scenario, and may reach levels of remarkable complexity.

In the NATO perspective, each Nation, at all levels, will have to integrate with the other national networks and with the NATO infrastructure network in a Federation of Systems (FoS).

This will be possible only if every Nation joins this Federation as an autonomous and coherent system that can communicate with NATO as well as with the other Nations of the Alliance. As a result, at joint level, all the components of each national contingent will have to communicate and interoperate with a perfect integration.

THE TECHNOLOGIES

What follows is a quick examination of the communication technologies considered appropriate. As regards the deployable WANs, following both the trends of the Defence and the NNEC guidelines, the shared-access satellite technologies with

dynamically assigned band and asymmetric connection (different transmission and reception speed) are considered suitable. In this regard there is also a STANAG NATO under way to which to conform in the near future. The satellite will be more and more important for tactical links in the battlespace. In view of this, one should envisage portable land stations to be employed "on call".

We want to mention also the technology that currently has the best future on the market: the Wi-Max, which provides a high performance and was born for civilian infrastructural needs. The assumable operational employment is comparable to the present radio-links component, to which one can add a better connection efficiency, an operational capability also "point - multipoint", differing from the "point - point" radio links, and a reduced cost of the system, which should not be underrated. The ranges are entirely comparable to the radio-link systems. So far, this technology is not ripe for military employment. Besides, if the MANET platforms were to reach suitable traffic capabilities, one could theorize their employment at "Deployable-WAN" level.

As regards "Mobile Networks", the MANET technology is currently going through a remarkable

development, owing to which substantial improvements are expected in a short time. The development of the industry is presently oriented towards the employment in the sector of Homeland Security and Defence. In short, the MANET technology is considered a key technology in the tactical area, in that it is born with high mobility and architectural simplicity; moreover, it needs neither a centralized administration nor the support of a fixed infrastructure. As regards security, it permits a "peer-to-peer" authentication which, in the face of a lesser effectiveness, provides a greater functionality. The MANET is also a guarantee of high operational efficiency, of dynamic configuration and high performance. One should also underline the running simplicity, which is a quality that can be considered peculiar in a system of military communication.

Likewise, at the moment, the Wi-Max technology in its mobile version is not considered suitable, because it does not have the characteristics typical of the MANET networks.

Another focal point of the system is represented by "routing". The "router", within the surmised field communications system, is actually to be considered the real key equipment for a series of considerations, among which the importance of the constant updates (standards, protocols, etc.) and the problems connected with security, which, as is known, decreases naturally as time goes by.

The network management activity will be made noticeably easier by employing the software of the

Below, left.
Disposable-node demonstrator.

Below, right.
MANET-node demonstrator.

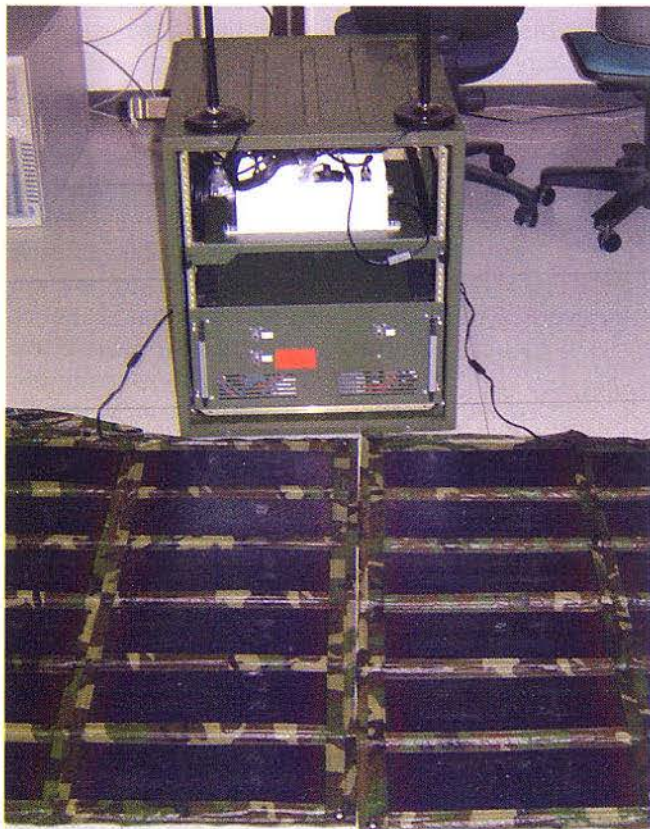
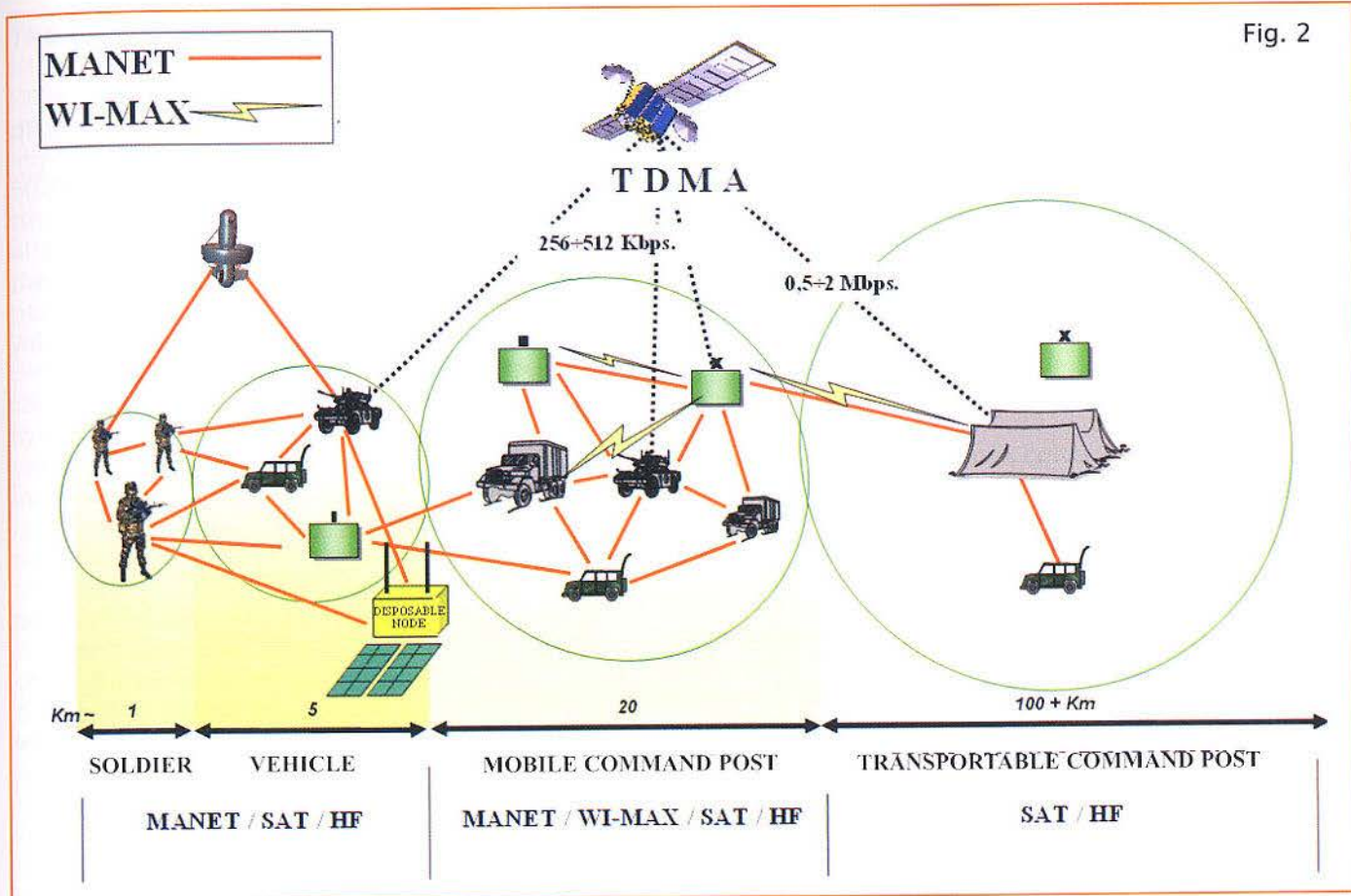


Fig. 2



same firm, that will follow step by step the evolution of the systems. It is better to manage a low-potential hardware and a powerful management software rather than the contrary, considering also the assumed degree of training of the specialists; this can facilitate an efficient employment of the system.

For these reasons, if possible the routers should be the product of a single, world-known firm, specialized in routing. In order to achieve this, the Defence can promote an active synergy between brand and national industry, so as to favour the production of a device that has a civilian "core" complemented by a national and security engineering.

Today there are routers capable of managing also the VoIP service and the Land Mobile Radio over IP (LMRoIP). Within this framework the proposed architecture singles out, as only broadcast means of communication, the HF radio. The functions are related to both voice transport and low-speed transmission of information on SA. As far as phonics is concerned, the radio is connected to an Edge Proxy, i.e. the LMRoIP, whose function is to make any radio kit interoperable with a VoIP telephone network, allowing conversa-

tions by radio through telephones of the IP network. They will have automatically implemented the PTT function ("push to talk" button) in order to be able to operate by the same standards of the local operator. This permits to employ one or more VoIP phones to guide the apparatus, which is in fact connected with the card of a router placed at any point of the network.

Figure 2 shows schematically the suggested employment of these technologies in the battle-

space. Two innovative platforms are evidenced: the "disposable Node" and the "UAV Node". The "disposable Node", i.e. a MANET unit with very advanced characteristics of transportability and survival, easily employable, and deployable in a semi-fixed position. It is fed by solar panels and/or fuel-cell batteries. A demon-

strator of the disposable node has been engineered and tested within the WOTB project with excellent results. Also the "UAV Node" will be able to contain a MANET node carried by a UAV Class I or II aircraft. It will be able to control the flight parameters (route, altitude, etc.) in order to ensure a functioning link between two or more terminals,

"...at joint level, all the components of each national contingent will have to communicate and inter-operate with a perfect integration,"

Table 1

PRESENT TECHNOLOGY	"TCF-2012" TECHNOLOGY	ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES	NOTES
VHF Radio for tactical links up to Bde/Rgt level	MANET Network	- High band availability; - Greater effectiveness in Urban Warfare thanks to <i>mesh</i> characteristics, the employment of "disposable nodes" and illuminators on UAVs, scaling possibility; - Extreme mobility; - Inexpensiveness.	lower radio range due to the employment of higher frequencies.	envisaged by NNEC
HF Radio	HF radio integrated in network with LMRoIP	- high survivability, also thanks to the new digital and ALE technologies; - wide-range in the most varied scenarios; - integration in the VoiP systems with Land Mobile Radio.	low data payload exclusively suitable for SA service.	- envisaged by NNEC; - significant technology improvements are foreseen.
Radio Link	Vi-Max	- possibilities of "point-point and point-multipoint employment; - general efficiency and, specifically, that of radio support; - inexpensiveness, considering that technology and its development are of COTS origin.	none	envisaged by NNEC
Synchronous SICRAL satellite link	Shared access SICRAL satellite link with dynamically assigned band and asymmetric connection.	- possibility of sharing satellite capabilities with several land stations, also in battlefield; - "on the move" employment of vehicle units.	some technologies will be developed soon.	
Phone service on digital multiplation	Voice over IP	single and transparent technology for any communication support; simplicity of interfacing with "Net-Ready" systems through "Edge Proxy".	- Requires centralized management at various levels; - It is sensitive to the quality of the connections.	NNEC expects a long-term implementation.

such as, for example, moving vehicles or personnel. The whole will consist in a transportable launch base and two aircraft that will ensure the continuity of the service.

In order to simplify the concepts described above, table 1 draws a parallel between the technologies employed at present and the proposed ones.

THE ASSETS

There are assumptions that are necessary for adequately appraising the assets proposed in the following pages; first of all, an indispensable clear and effective technological leap in the essence of the tactical communications system, in both its architectural and technological components, while keeping, for the necessary time, the integration with the "legacy" platforms, which, as will be successively described, will be guaranteed by the systems now in line.

Another essential prerequisite is linked to the technical validity of the military communications systems of the next generations, which will be 5-7 years at best, 3-5 years more realistically. This implies the necessity to structure the architecture of the systems with a very advanced modular vision, independent of the producer, so that if, for example, a more modern system becomes available, the old one could be easily replaced. In view of this, one should also define the interoperability standards of the systems. The compliance with the civilian standards and protocols (requirement pointed out by NNEC) will be a further prerequisite that facilitates interoperability at all levels. Another essential precondition concerns a new approach in the acquisition of materials, which have to consider as objectives economic systems with short technical life but which must absolutely meet the manifold and diversified operational requirements of the possible scenarios of employment. One should also keep in mind that it will never be possible to conform these devices to the myriad of norms and regulations currently in force, which will require a suitable adaptation. For example, just consider the red-tape and time necessary for their homologation.

“ It is necessary to structure the architecture of the systems with a very advanced modular vision... ”

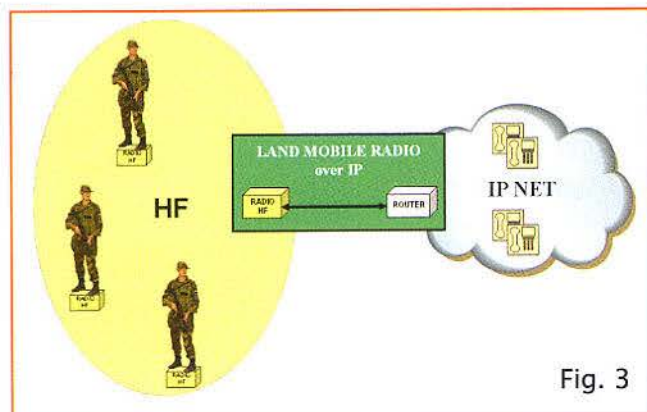


Fig. 3

In view of the above considerations, we deem it necessary to weigh with insight and competence the industry's proposals, in order to avoid acquiring systems and/or "intermediate" gateways not strictly indispensable for the compatibility with the legacy.

THE SOLDIER

As a general rule the word "soldier" defines the Commander of a squad on foot and/or the specific assets that need network communications. The available pieces of equipment considered, alternative among themselves, will be the MANET node and the HF station. The MANET node will be employed in case of favourable orography and when at least a support vehicle is present and can provide the primary services, such as VoIP and Command and Control.

The HF station will be integrated in the network with LMRoIP (fig.3). Anyway, probably in the future the employment of squads on foot without the support of "combat" vehicles will be an unusual activity.

The LMRoIP functionality will be possible on all vehicles and structures where a radio station is operational to maximise its flexibility. The HF link will permit the integration of the vehicle in the IP network, as well as the tactical integration in general. The purpose is to make the voice interoperable with the VoIP telephone network and to ensure the functioning of the "Situation Awareness" (SA) platform. The traditional work of the HF radio link will provide the exchange of information in the worst cases of employment.

THE VEHICLE

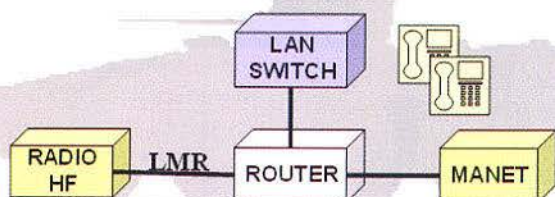
The presence of a vehicle supporting the team, as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, will ensure

Vehicular router.

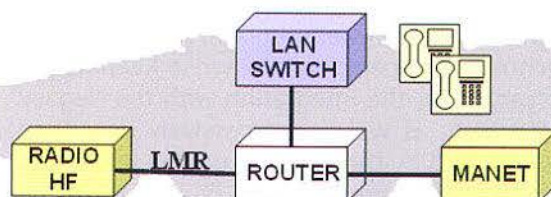


Fig. 4

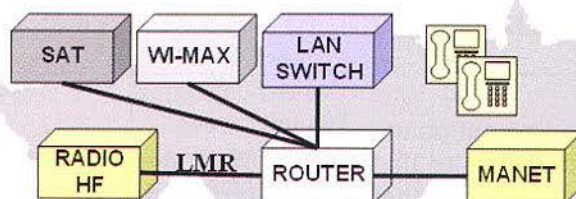
COMBAT



COMMAND



COMMUNICATIONS



the operativeness of the minimal services of the network and, consequently, of the local or general C2 systems down to the minimum operational levels.

The heart of the communication structure of the "combat" vehicle is a system with extensive capability of routing, radio integration and management of the VoIP service. It will have special functions, such as the dynamic and optimised routing of the IP traffic on various systems of communication available at the moment (routing and QoS management).

The router will also have a door for the interconnection of an additional radio station, for example for air-cooperation functions.

Three different vehicular assets have been singled out (fig.4): "Combat", "Command" and "Communications".

The "Combat" vehicle is represented by the vehicle with a turret. The system consists of a router, a switch of the LAN inside the tank for the network terminals (PC, VoIP phones, etc.) a MANET node and a HF radio with LMRoIP.

The "Command" vehicle is represented by the vehicle with no turret. The organizational level considered goes from company to regiment/Brigade.

The system, like the Combat Vehicle, consists of a router, a switch of the internal LAN, a MANET node and the HF radio station with LMRoIP.

The "Communications" vehicle is represented by the vehicle with aerials. Its employment is envisaged at regiment/Brigade level and is going to have special functions, such as representing the location of the specialized personnel responsible for the management of the communications and C2 platforms. Besides, it will provide the services of connection of the Mobile Network with the Deployable WAN, thanks to the satellite and/or the Wi-Max component.

In short, the communications unit will consist of a router, a switch of the internal LAN, a MANET node, the HF radio station with LMRoIP, the satellite terminal and possibly the Wi-Max node.

This innovative asset derives from a series of considerations, the first one being that the Command Post vehicle, if it carries the communications and C2 systems, does not grant a favourable working environment. This was made clear during the technical-operational tests of the Command Post 8x8 BCV carried out at the Transmission and Information Technology School.

Another consideration is the foreseeable high dynamism of the future operations at tactical level, which will have to be supported by a consequent flexibility of the communication framework.

The "Communications" vehicle is characterized by a maximum flexibility, which permits to employ it, for example, as temporary "MANET radio illuminator" node, placed on a prominent point, with the purpose of supplying a cover to a given area. Besides, it can be employed as support of the regiment Headquarters, thanks to the satellite or Wi-Max connections, or launched by the Commander in support of temporarily isolated teams, for example TACs, Check-Points, BOE assets, etc. In this case the connections of the regiment will be made by portable satellite terminals.

THE COMPANY

In view of maximising its effectiveness, the proposed architecture was designed as simple, with high survivability, based on the principle of the employment of "few very redundant elements" and with sufficient autonomy. According to this logic, figure 5 is a schematic illustration of the communication framework at company level. This level provides for the employment of a UAV Node and a quantity to be defined of disposable nodes, in order to guarantee the necessary radio cover for the unit in the area of operation. The Mobile Network will be based on cell communications, thanks to the MANET, and broadcast through HF radio.

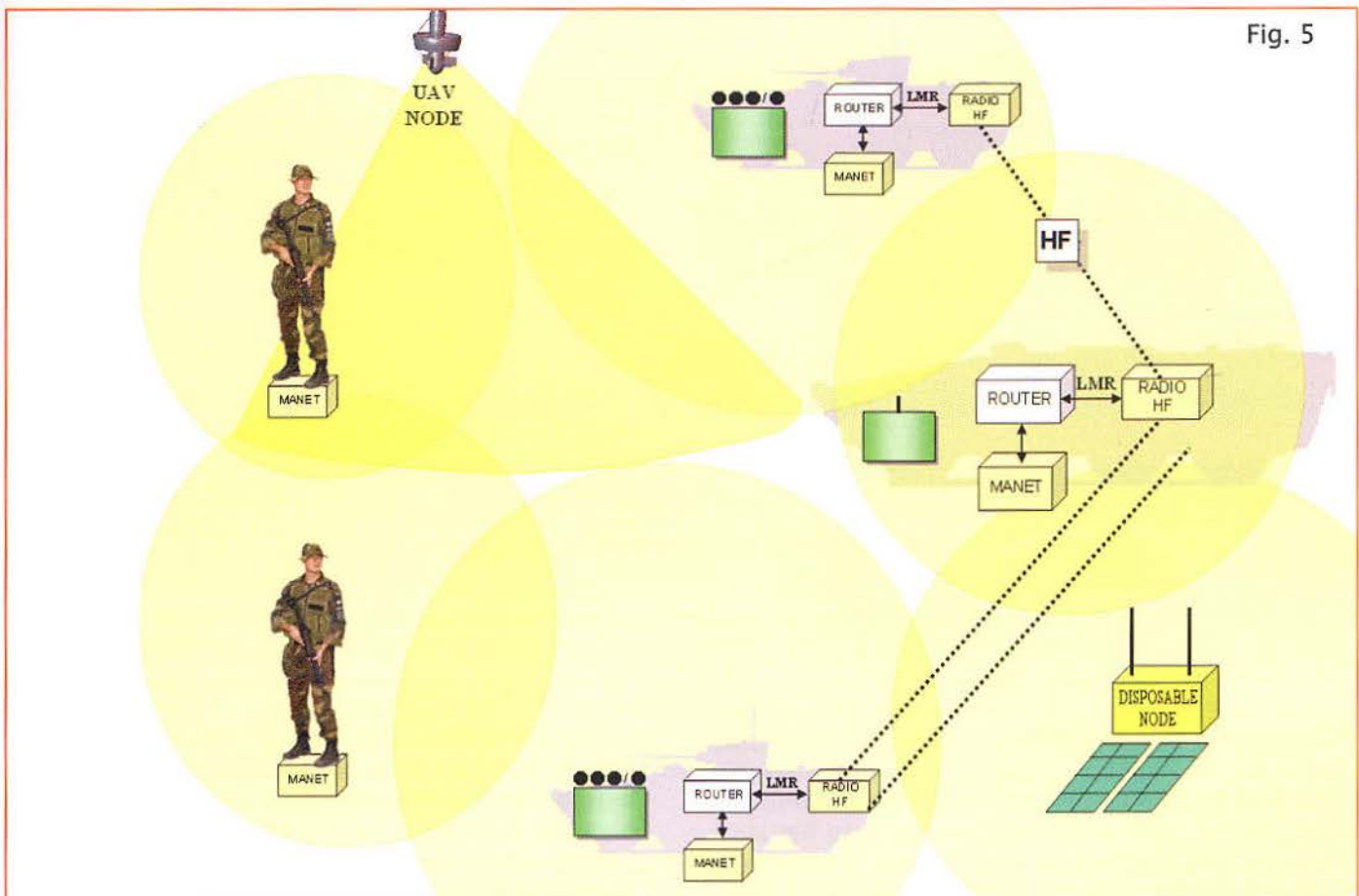


Fig. 5

GLOSSARY

INTEGRATED LAND FORCE 2025

The project "Integrated Land Force 2025":

- intends to offer to the continuous process of transformation of the Army a long-term capacitive prospect, taking into account the need to manage the "transitory aspect" (short and medium term), marked by the resolute coming on of the emerging politico-military initiatives, within both NATO (following the definition of the New Strategic Concept) and, more recently, the concepts and capabilities of the "High Readiness Forces" and "NATO Response Forces (NRF)", as well as within the European Union, in view of the process of construction of a common force of intervention;
- can be readapted according to the more or less rapid evolution of the technologies – especially the ones hard to foresee in the long term – of the strategic environment, as well as the fundamental financial parameter;
- has the necessary flexibility that will permit to conceive "interim" capabilities and weapon systems with anticipatory estimates aimed at obtaining the best cost-effectiveness ratio;
- certainly it does not represent the model to be reached at any cost by 2020, but must be seen as a future prospect that permits both to maintain in a constant balance and in a coherent way the capabilities to be developed, and to offer the military world, as well as the industrial one, a new viewpoint for a prospective orientation of the respective research and study activities;
- will produce a series of Units, called "Integrated Land Brigades" (Brigate Integrate Terrestri-BIT).

This implies that the deep change that the units and structures of the Service will have to undergo, at the various organizational levels, clearly requires the conduct of further and deep studies, as well as a phase of experimentation that will be considered completed only in the long term.

NNEC: NATO NETWORK ENABLED CAPABILITY

The NNEC basic concept is to collect, blend, analyse and distribute information almost in real time to the Execution Deciders. The high-level prerequisites at the basis of the development of NNEC have been:

- the need to expand the networking capabilities "wherever they are needed". This implies the necessity of a "global networking presence";
- the support to limited, modular, multinational Forces such as the NATO Response Forces (NRFs);
- the support to the rotation of the national elements of the NRFs.

The bulk of networking information and communications necessary to implement what is described above is called NII.

NII: NETWORKING AND INFORMATION INFRASTRUCTURE

It is defined "an assembly of systems, consisting of a synergic amalgam of globally interconnected multinational and autonomous architectures, each one including a transfer network and infrastructure components that supply gathering, analysis, storage and management capabilities on demand from entitled users, or as a result of exchanges made by distinct platforms". In short, it is the bulk of networking, communications and information necessary to implement the NNEC.

NII will consist of four main components:

- Communication Component: will avail itself of IPv6. The interface between IP and non-IP networks will be provided by the "Edge Proxies";
- Information and Integration Services (IIS) Component: will be characterized by the employment of "Service Oriented Architectures" (SOA);
- Service Management & Control Services Component: will assure the request of QoS in the management of numerous and independent networks;
- Information Assurance Services Component: will depend on the NII partners' ability to implement the more advanced functions of information protection.

NII is described in Vol. II of the "NNEC Feasibility Study". In particular:

- it defines the technological structure needed to support network-centric operations;
- it outlines a strategy and the related intermediate steps (roadmap) for its implementation;
- it points out the methodologies needed to assess the progress made in the realization of NII.

WOTB: WIRELESS OPERATIONAL TEST-BED

A project of the "Signal and Computer Science School", financed within the "National Plan of Military Research" (PNRM-Piano Nazionale della Ricerca Militare), whose main objectives are:

- research and experimentation of communication technologies applied to military realities;
- evaluation on the employment of COTS systems (Commercial Off the Shelf) in the operations zone;
- development of a test-bed laboratory, effective meeting ground between military and industry;
- creation of a permanent organization for maintaining the communications culture, making it available for activities of research, study and acquisition of materials.

THE BATTALION/REGIMENT

Figure 6 illustrates the set-up of the communication system from company Command to battalion/regiment Command. As for the preceding asset, the Mobile Network will be organized on cell

communications, thanks to the MANET, and broadcast through a HF radio. As we explained before, the "Communications" vehicle is the connecting element between the "Mobile Network" and the "Deployable WAN", since it contains both the satellite component and the Wi-Max.

TRIPLE PLAY

The IP solutions on multiservice or full service networks permit to make available on a single network terminal an increasingly ample bouquet of IP-based services. This is obtained by employing a suitable service platform and a user terminal that makes them accessible, without impacting in any way on the pre-existing transfer structure. These networks have been defined "triple play", especially in the American environment area, and can supply telephony (VoIP), broadband and video access (videocommunication, videobroadcasting and video on demand) access. The architecture of the "triple play" networks tends to make the demands of the internet and multimedia worlds converge, remarkably reducing their costs.

FoS: FEDERATION OF SYSTEMS

It is the assembly of the C4ISTAR systems controlled by the Nations or by NATO. They are characterized by a high level of reliability, interoperability and security.

WI-MAX

It is the acronym for Worldwide Interoperability for Microwave Access. It is a technology derived from the Wi-Fi specifications, and will allow a wireless fast connection to the Internet. It permits to transmit data within a range of about 50 km, at maximum speed of 79 Mbps. The technology that employs radio transmissions on frequencies of 2-11 GHz is the solution for the future MAN (Metropolitan Area Network) Wireless networks, which will permit to connect with mobile devices, such as computers and cell-phones. The main characteristic of this new technology is the quality of the communication, also when there are obstacles that hinder the electromagnetic visibility between nodes.

MANET: MOBILE AD HOC NETWORK

It indicates an adaptive mobile network based on specific routing algorithms that permit to use interconnection technologies, i.e. Wi-Fi, Wi-Max etc. The current realizations utilize mostly the Wi-Fi mobile devices, which, in the MANET, work in a peer-to-peer mode and need no nodes linked to fixed networks. In practice the MANET connects devices that are outside the reciprocal range of transmission utilizing one or more mobile user devices as intermediate repeaters, thus exploiting a "multi-hop" routing. Although operating at level 3 (OSI pile), the algorithms, in selecting the nodes on which to "hop", must take into account the parameters supplied directly by the physical layer and data link, such as the power level of the signal received by the nodes close by, the link's stability or even the charge of the batteries.

At present there are no standards for the MANET networks, but only implementations different and optimised according to the specific ranges of application. Owing to their characteristics, the MANET networks are believed to represent today an ideal solution for communications inside the Battle Space.

VOIP: VOICE OVER IP

It is a technology that permits to make a telephone conversation taking advantage of a LAN, the Internet or another dedicated network that employs the IP protocol, instead of passing through the normal telephone line. The packages routed on the network contain the vocal information, encoded in a digital form, and the encoding occurs only at the moment when it is necessary, i.e. when one of the connected users is speaking.

For NII the voice services must be supplied "end-to-end", as "Secure VoIP" (SvoIP) and "Voice over Secure IP" (VoSIP). NATO has adopted SCIP as protocol of applicative level for the safe management of the exchange of end-to-end information, including the voice service. Through the combined work of the I-ICWG of NATO and of the nations it will be necessary to make sure that SCIP includes all the capabilities for an end-to-end secure voice communication in the NII.

Owing to today's lack of a global structure, with uniform and clear standards and a clear understanding of the security implications, the NNEC FS recommends the implementation of VoIP only on local structures with limited risk possibilities. The preparation of local sites will provide the necessary experience for the subsequent expansion. When, at medium term (2012) the QoS activated by the WANs will be guaranteed, in addition to a global VoIP structure, the VoIP technology will at last be exploited for the reasons that had seen it born. Having reached this point, one expects ripe and developed standards, upgraded and clear for the scalable VoIPs networks and for the necessary reliable and interoperable gateways.

SA: SITUATION AWARENESS

A definition of SA is: "availability of a clear and correct perception of what has happened, of what is happening and what is likely to happen in the immediate future".

EDGE PROXY

NNEC FS defines as "Edge Proxy" the gateway systems that can integrate different technological platforms. For example, in the specific sector of communications, the system makes a non-IP based technology network interoperable; for example, a HF radio is an Edge Proxy.

ROUTER

It is a device capable of routing data, selecting the best path among those available.

QoS: QUALITY OF SERVICE

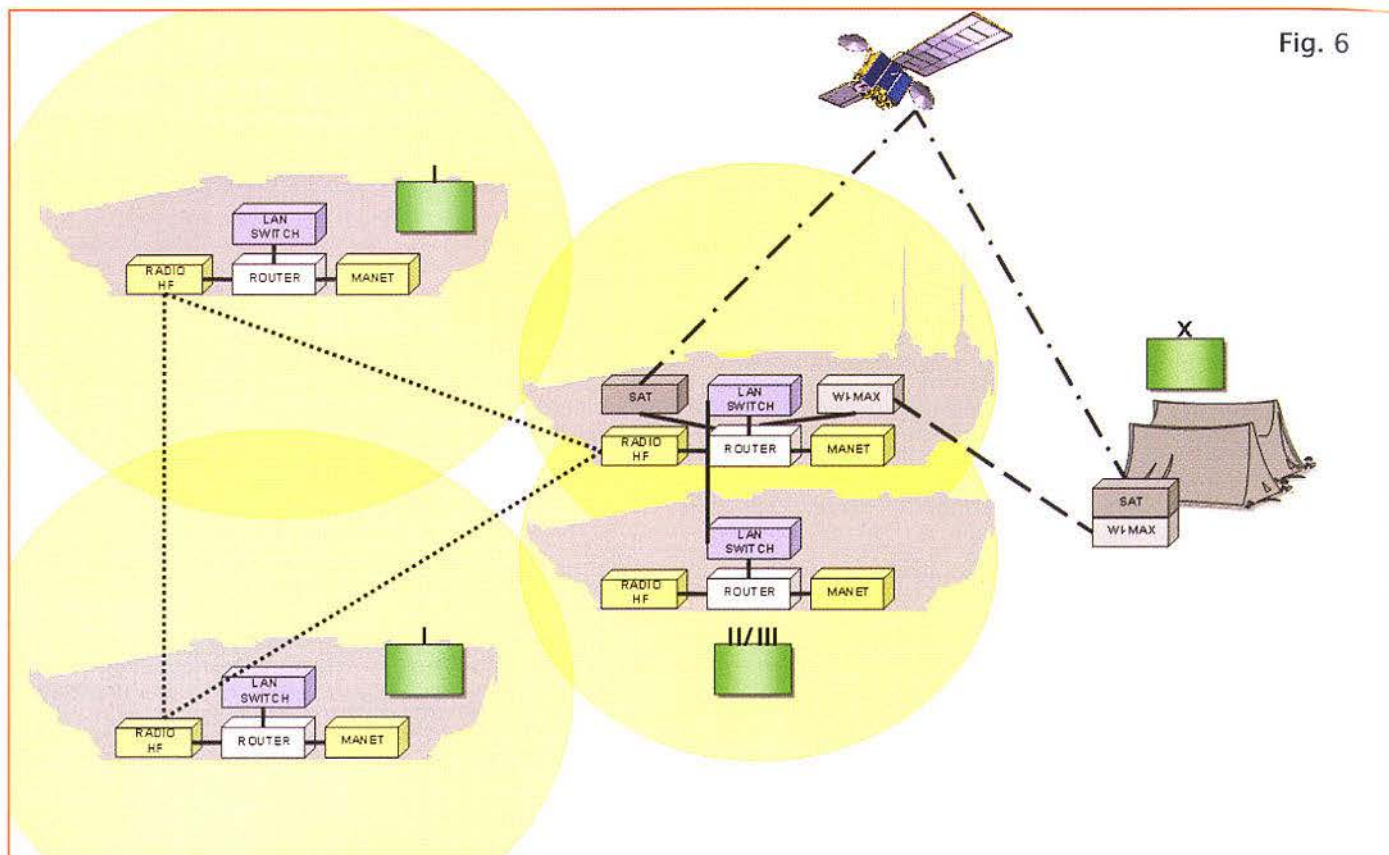
In the field of packet switching networks and in the computer networks, the term "Quality of Service" or, more simply QoS, is used to indicate the probabilities with which a network may meet particular traffic specifications: it is often used in an informal way to refer to the probability that a package may succeed in passing between two points of a network.

INTEROPERABILITY

The interoperability between the "legacy" materials and the Tactical Communication Framework, will be provided by the "Selex Communications" apparatus of the MPS series, currently part of the sheltered PR-6/190. As a matter of fact, this

instrument has excellent "Edge Proxy" characteristics, for it can make interoperable the abovementioned platforms (TCP/IP, VoIP, etc.) with the "legacy" world (EURCOM, TETRATAC, ATM, etc.). This will permit the scalability of the systems while maintaining the interoperability between different technologic platforms.

Fig. 6



Left.
Prototype of transportable Wi-Max node.



It will be possible to introduce the MPS into the network at any level, given its flexibility, but its management will have to be entrusted to Signal specialists.

CONCLUSIONS

We deem it appropriate to conclude the coverage of the subject by underlining the issues that in our opinion are essential for achieving the objective, which is that of providing communication services at Infantry regiment level, from the regiment Headquarters down to the last man. In order to do this, the Service should

play an active role in the selection of the architectures of the network and the technologies to be employed in the communication systems. This will certainly require the creation of an organization consisting of personnel provided with great experience and a deep knowledge of the matter.

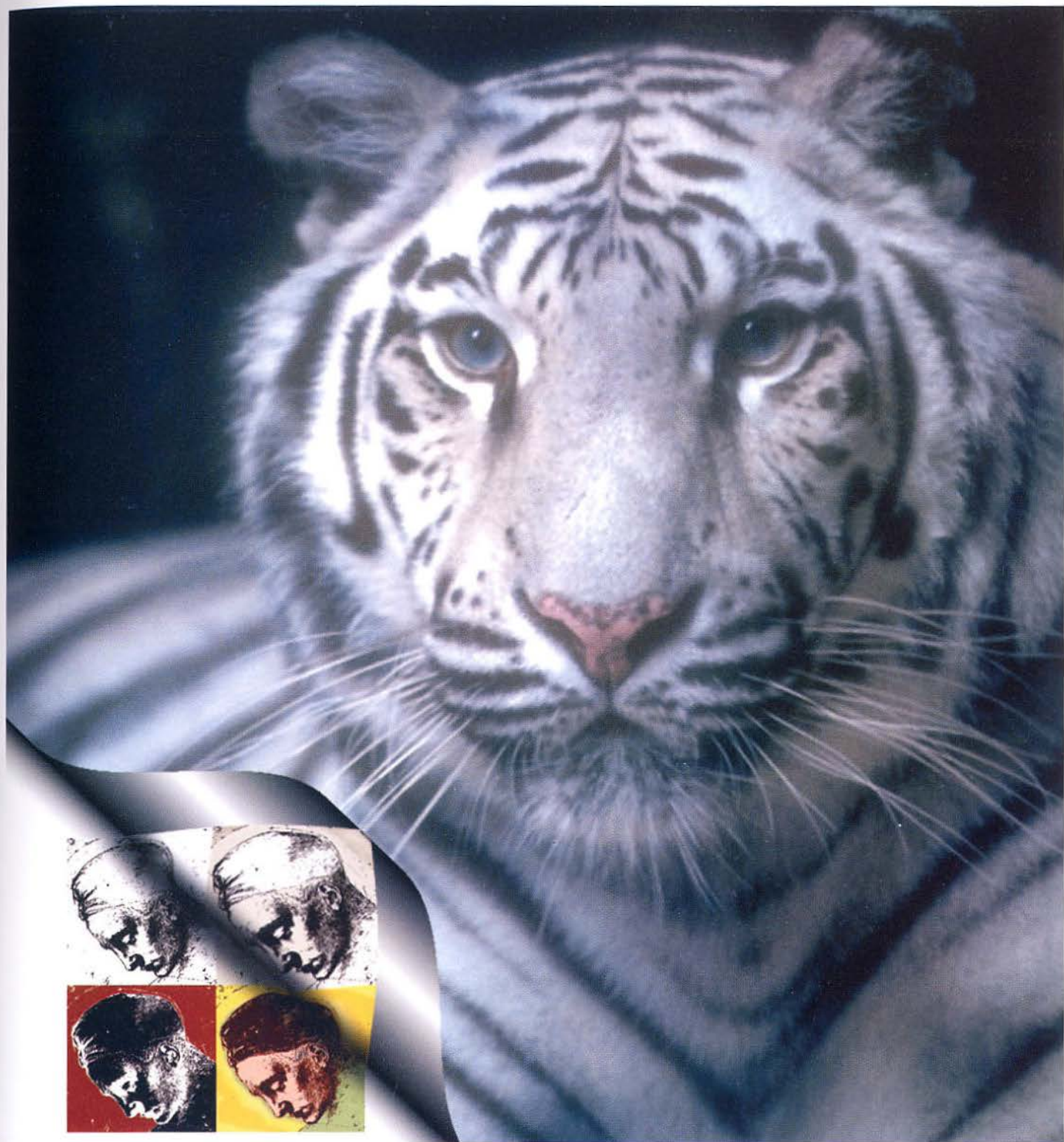
Moreover, it will be suitable to consider the architectures, the technologies employed and the performances wanted as an operational problem, and not as a mere technical problem to be adapted to the needs of the Service, and perhaps delegated to business policies or to the individuals' good will.

All things considered, it is necessary to have the conviction that the Service should give the guidelines in the technical field, which has become part of the operational problem, and it is moreover necessary to make a generational leap in the technologies, avoiding to develop platforms presently in line but which are no more suitable for meeting the communication requirements envisaged by the NATO NEC.

Marco Cappellini

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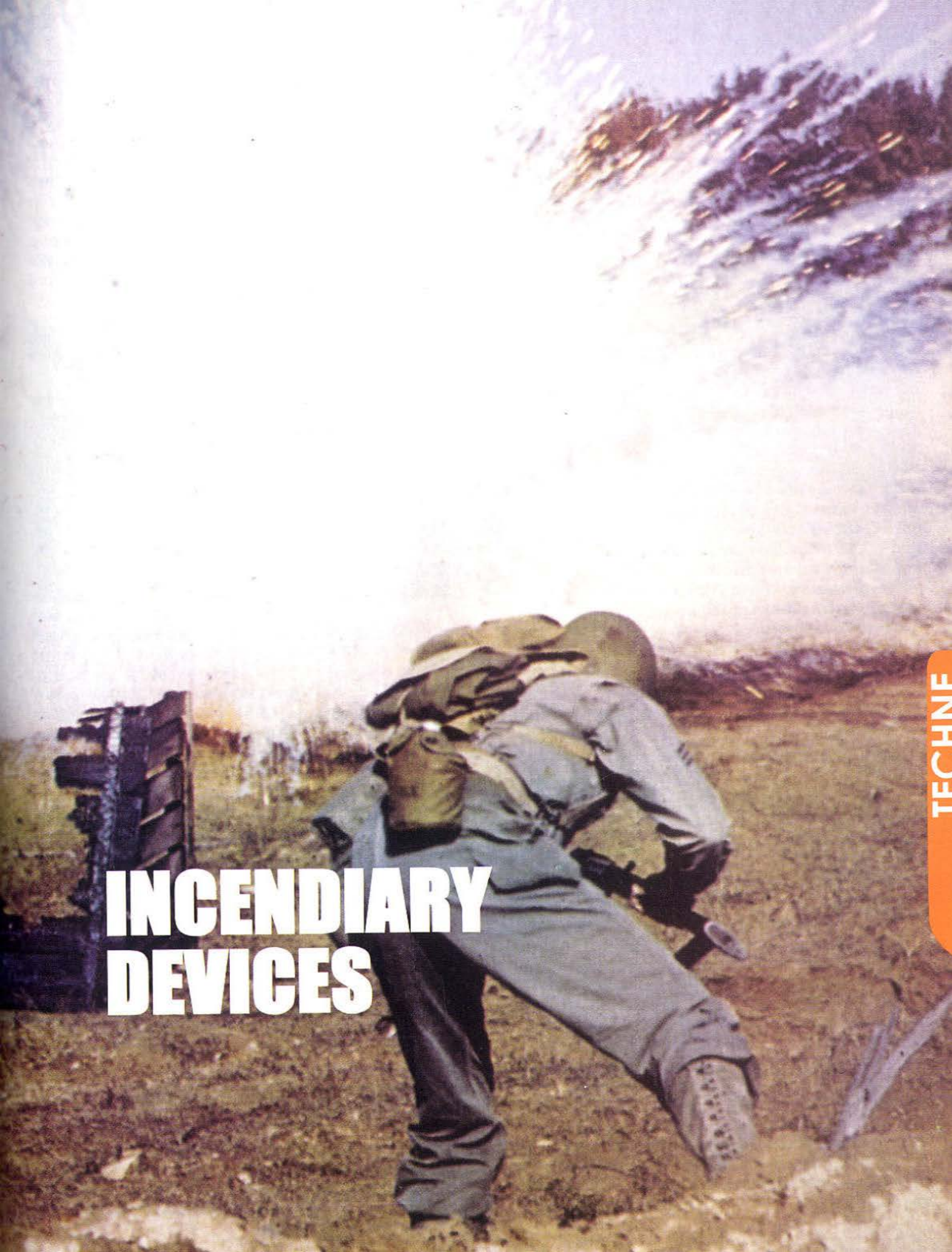
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A full-page photograph of a soldier in a trench during a battle. The soldier is wearing a helmet, a grey uniform, and a large backpack. He is crouching in the trench, looking towards a massive, intense firestorm that fills the upper half of the frame. The fire is bright white and yellow, with dark smoke rising from it. The ground in the trench is muddy and uneven. The overall tone is dramatic and intense.

INCENDIARY DEVICES

TECHNI

INCENDIARY DEVICES

The employment of incendiary substances in conflicts has very ancient roots. The noxious effects that they produce are devastating, while conventions and prohibitions are frequently disregarded, owing to a discordant perception of their legitimacy.

The use of flames and smoke in battle has been recorded since the first millennium B.C., but we can easily imagine that ever since man understood the power of fire he has not hesitated to make use of it in any and all conflicts.

Supporting this claim are the works of reliable authors from ancient times, who provided ample documentation of the use of flames in the past which show that flame throwers, napalm bombs and the general use of incendiary and smoke-producing substances are, to put it briefly, the evolution of the incendiary arrow and the catapult as an important means of attack.

The Chinese and the Assyrians regularly made use of fire in war campaigns by burning oil and sulphur.



World War I: German Stosstruppen attacking with the help of flamethrowers in Verdun.



Title pages.

World War II: US infantry attacking with phosphorus bombs.

Above.

SHMEL grenade launchers (Russia). It uses RPO-A, RPO-Z (flares) and RPO-D grenades.

Greek writers from Thucydides (IV century B.C.) to Plutarch (50 A.D.) referred to the use of smoke and incendiary substances in various battles in Ancient Greece. During the III century B.C., Aeneas Tacitus and Vegetius tell us of the use of incendiary substances with a basis of sulphur, coal and incense, to which oil and naphtha could be added, and which were kept in

"incendiary vessels" to be used for the most part in naval battles. Compounds on the basis of these substances as well as variations were catalogued in the "Liber Ignium" by a Marcus Graecus(XII century). What Crusaders knew as Greek fire (sulphur, tallow, resin, turpentine, saltpetre and antimony) was more commonly called "wildfire."

It is well-known that even Alexander the Great, during the siege of Tyre, was not able to resist the temptation to use the incendiary Greek fire.

Like napalm, Greek fire could not be extinguished with water once it caught hold of walls.

Architect Callinicus of Heliopolis in Syria (VII century A.D.) is attributed with the "optimization" of Greek fire, which he had hurled at those laying siege to Constantinople during the reign of Constantine Pergonato (648-685 A.D.), most likely made of a base of resin, pitch, sulphur, naphtha, saltpetre and lime. Anna Comnena, daughter of the Emperor Alexius of Byzantium, spoke in the Alexiad (1148 A.D.) of the use of long blowpipes through which Byzantines blew flames (Bunsen Burners and/or ante litteram oxyhydrogen flame devices) against Norman assailants during the Durres siege (1108). Since

"Greek fire" was in the past the secret weapon of Byzantine emperors, it is not known why Turks did not use it during the final siege of Constantinople, which put an end to what was left of the vast Roman Empire of the Orient. Arabs, Saracens and other populates continued to use Greek fire and incendiary variations after the fall of Constantinople. The introduction of gun powder, which to incendiary effects added explosive ones, diminished the interest in incendiary weapons and devices (XII-XVI century), widely rediscovered and reassessed most especially in the large-scale conflicts of the XX century. During the XVII century Charles XII of Sweden had smoke-emitting substances used to hide his army from the Russians during the crossing of the Dvina river. A variation of Greek fire was used on the orders of General Patrick Gilmore during the American Civil War (1860). The First World War was a sort of trial run for the new "weapons systems", which were the result of large-scale scientific and technological development in the most diverse fields, not the least of which the chemical one. In fact, in this conflict smoke-inducing and incendiary substances were used by all the armies involved as weapons in various battle settings (land, naval and air), with noteworthy results. "Chemical concealment" played a very important role in the First World War: from the crossing of the Piave by Austrian forces, made possible by massive use of smoke-screens, to the British use of smoke bombs on 24 August 1916 during the attack on the Hindenburg trenches and the German use of incendiary devices and flame throwers against the French in Malencourt.

During the Second World War as well, flamethrowers and smoke-dischargers were frequently used by those in battle, beginning with the use of flamethrowers by the Germans in Poland and Belgium, forcing the United States to boost development of this type of war systems.

Then there was the use of sulphur incendiary munitions in the bombing of Dresden by the Allied forces in the last few months of the Second World War.

The use of flamethrowers was also seen in 1943 in Guadalcanal and, later, in Iwo Jima by the Marine Corps, with the aim of first hitting the target and then burning it.

The use of incendiary devices, smoke-screens and the like experienced a lull after the Second

“ Among the substances with a high incendiary and smoke-discharging potential employable in war, the most well-known are white phosphorus (WP), thermite (TH) and magnesium (MG) ”



World War II: Italian infantrymen using a flamethrower in combat.

World War, following the spread of radar and other modern equipment allowing for the localization of targets and positions no longer able to be concealed with the substances discussed herein.

However, flares as munitions with WP are still considered useful for the purposes provided for by the laws regulating the use of these substances.

INCENDIARY MUNITIONS, FLARES AND SMOKE-DISCHARGERS

Among the substances with a high incendiary and smoke-discharging potential employable in war, the most well-known are white phosphorus (WP), thermite (TH) and magnesium (MG). Of them white phosphorus (WP) is the most frequently used, especially for the charging of illuminating tracers with a delayed fall for the creation of smoke screens to conceal troop movements.

In addition, WP-based munitions are used alongside munitions with TH and MG by planes and helicopters when taking off and landing, as well as when flying at a low altitude. In fact, in order to protect military aircraft from attack in



World War II: A formation of Soviet T 34s attacking German positions after having got past a smoke screen.

the situations just described, the aircraft launch flares using WP, Mg and TH to deviate the trajectory of any infrared or heat-sensing land-to-air missiles, which head toward sources with a higher light or thermal intensity. In a similar way, armoured tanks use smoke-producing and thermal munitions for chemical concealment and to protect themselves from land-to-land missiles. Some information on phosphorus would seem to be in order at this point.

Chemically speaking, phosphorus (WP) is a non-metallic element of the nitrogen group (N) with the atomic number 15. On coming into contact with air it burns at temperatures as high as 2,500°C, giving off intense smoke with a yellow flame. Phosphorus exists in three different allotropes: common or white phosphorus, red phosphorus and black phosphorus. The first, when pure, oxidizes on contact with air, rapidly turning yellow and emitting a toxic smoke with a garlic-like odour. At a temperature of 35–40 degrees it ignites spontaneously and therefore must be kept in water, in which it is insoluble.

WP can be heated with a mixture of Ca phosphates in the presence of sand (silica) and carbon, causing the vapours to condense. If WP is heated to temperatures of between 250 and 300°C without the presence of air it becomes red phosphorus. The latter is not toxic but can ignite with friction. At 200°C and in high pressure WP turns black (black phosphorus) with a chemical structure similar to graphite. As men-

tioned, white phosphorus is used mostly for charging illuminating and smoke-producing munitions, as well as the signalling of targets



World War II: A US Marine armed with a flamethrower.

for infrared weapons, since some international conventions prohibit the use of compounds containing this element in munitions for other purposes.

NON-MILITARY USES OF PHOSPHORUS

Phosphorus (P) is an element that is widely present in nature and can frequently be found in rocks as phosphate, though seldom in its natural state. The presence of phosphorus in animals and plants is extremely important, since it is once of the essential constituents of many lipoprotein molecules as well as skeletons. Phosphorus is present in nucleic acids, in ADP and in ATP (adenosine phosphates and adenosine 5'triphosphate) for cell respiration and energy production.

In plants it is a fundamental element in chlorophyll photosynthesis. It was isolated for the first time by the German chemist Henning Brand in 1669, to whom it appeared as a white material burning and luminescent in the dark. Hence the word phosphorescent.

Phosphorus is widely used at the industrial level, with a great deal of products containing this important element supplied by the chemical industry.

In more everyday terms we find phosphorus as a basic element of fertilizers, food additives, tooth-pastes and pesticides.

Phosphorus is also used in steel and phosphor bronze production.

Phosphates are also used in a particular type of glass which is a component of sodium lamps.

Calcium phosphate is part of the production process of Chinese porcelain, while trisodium phosphate is used in stain removers, water-softening products and anti-corrosive compounds. The use of phosphorus can also be found in the production of some drugs (metamphetamines).

LAWS AND CONVENTIONS

The first significant attempt to regulate the use of incendiary weapons and munitions goes back to 18 October 1907, when Article 23 of the "Annex to the Hague Convention IV Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land" expressly prohibited the use of "arms, projectiles or material of a nature to cause superfluous injury."

In support of this concept was the First Additional Protocol (1977) by the Geneva Convention, when on 2 August 1949 the term "unnecessary suffering" was added ("It is prohibited to employ weapons and projectiles... of a nature to cause superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering.").

Underscoring the issues related to incendiary weapons was the "Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons" (CCWC) which, in its Protocol III (1980) banned their use against civilians and military units living among the latter. However, Protocol III specifically excluded weapons in which the incendiary effect is secondary, as in the case of smoke-producing grenades, a requirement which clearly excluded WP from the provisions of the protocol in question.

As for the "Paris Convention for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons" (CWC), it does not specifically prohibit the use of WP, so long as it is not intentionally used against human beings through its toxic properties. In line with this

"Today the proper use of the incendiary and smoke-and fog-discharging munitions is entrusted to the seriousness and sensitivity of those forced to make use of them, in the spirit and according to the rules set down in the international conventions and bans,"



World War II: Soviet infantry, protected by a smoke screen, attacking a German position in Stalingrad.

particular wording, WP could be considered under the general definition of chemical substance under Article II of the CWC but did not specifically appear on the list of "toxic" chemical substances attached to the CWC. In conclusion, it is clear that issues linked to incendiary

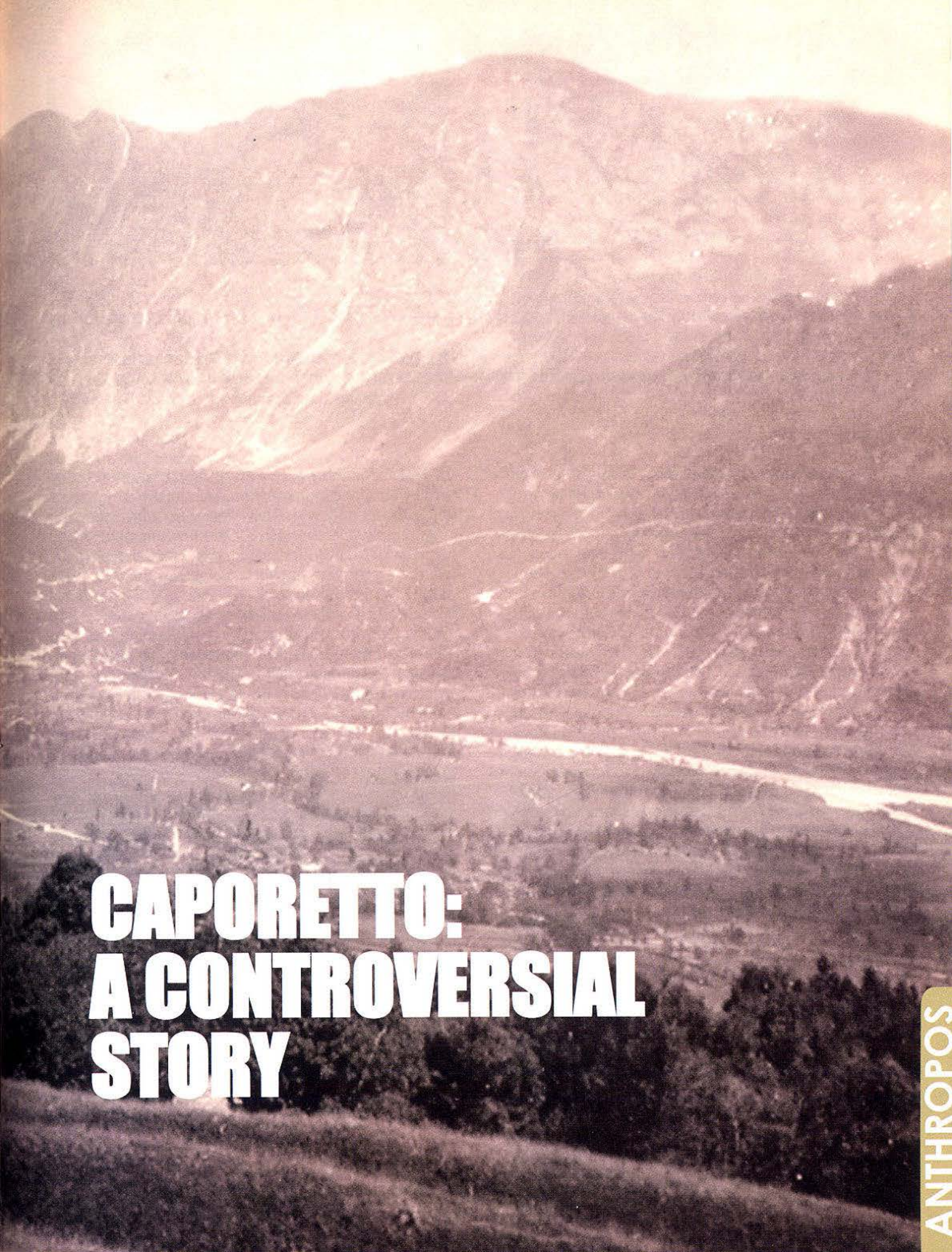
and smoke-producing munitions have raised the interest of many States in relation to the harmful effects connected with their indiscriminate use, resulting in limits being imposed to their employment in battle reinforced in conventions, protocols, reports, policy guidance texts and field manuals. A proper use of these munitions is also entrusted to the seriousness and sensitivity of those forced to make use of them, in the spirit and according to the

rules set down in the conventions and bans, since on this matter the perception of legitimate use is unlikely to be regulated satisfactorily by any law.

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CAPORETTO: A CONTROVERSIAL STORY



CAPORETTO: A CONTROVERSIAL STORY

A documentary reconstruction that highlights the many-sided aspects of a defeat often misrepresented by disinformation or propaganda.

The "raw material" is provided by the book "October 1917, from the Isonzo to the Piave" by Gioacchino Volpe. A work of great impact which, still today, raises impassioned, and sometimes discordant, reactions.

In 1930 the study by Gioacchino Volpe, "October 1917, from the Isonzo to the Piave" – which dealt with the origins and the consequences of the defeat of Caporetto – was sent to press. It was a volume for the assembling of which the author, who had been a direct witness to the repercussions of that war event as Officer of the Propaganda Service of the VIII Army, had entered into a close correspondence with military historian Piero Pieri, with Paolo Boselli, with Novello Pappafava, as well as with General Cadorna, Commander in Chief of the Royal Army at the moment of the defeat. But the work was chiefly the result of his participation in the researches carried out by the Historiographic Office of Industrial Mobilisation, founded in April 1917 by Giovanni Borelli, a liberal politician who wished to formulate an objective analysis of the life of the military and civilian Italians involved in the First World War. An analysis that was meant to remove the political biases of different nature that the social impact of the conflict was causing. These prejudices survived also during the Fascist regime. "October 1917", read in advance

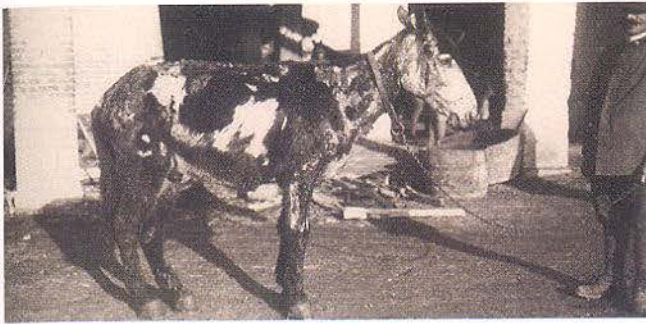
by Mussolini, did not win his approval, was excluded from the publications for the decennial of the victory and printed only two years after that anniversary.

Assuredly "October 1917", the final element of the triptych of "a civil, internal history of the Italian people during the war", at which Volpe was going to work until 1941, had little to do with the mythology of the First World Conflict, that the Fascist apostolate had fabricated with the publication of tendentious studies, interested memorials, works of pure propaganda, and through systematic disinformation. Neither had that book anything to do with the indiscriminating and tendentious apology of "Cadornism" that had been promoted by Ugo Ojetti, a famous journalist. Certainly, once the war was over, Volpe would become a militant of the "Cadorna party", a variegated association which included the national-liberal groups assembled around Giovanni Amendola's "Il Mondo" and Albertini's "Corriere della Sera", elements of extremist Fascism, but also exponents of the opposition to the regime, such as Gaetano Salvemini and Nello Rosselli. But when in the autumn of 1924 Mussolini, overcoming his former mistrust of the General, symbol of a "King's war" that was ill-suited to the Fascist mythology of "people's war", was about to appoint Cadorna Marshal of Italy, in order to formally decree his full rehabilitation, the historian applauded that feat especially for its political character. In a letter to Mussolini of 13 October, Volpe maintained that "an act of your government, before the Chamber opens again, which would precede any other initiative and divest the factions of any occasion to raise com-



Title pages.
The dale of Caporetto.

Left.
The course of the Isonzo river near Caporetto.



The effects of mustard gas on a mule.

plaints and any reason of disturbance to the friends, I believe would be quite welcomed by public opinion".

Therefore Volpe's "Cadornism" was a "prudent and patriotic" one, which could also be found in the volume of 1930. Rather similar to the basic theses and conclusions of Marc Bloch's book on France's "strange defeat" in June 1940, "October 1917" certainly did not omit the analysis of the military event, with firm critical words for the sclerosis of the High Commands, the lack of intelligence, the uselessness of the draconian punishment of the deserters, but focused especially on the investigation of the Italian "internal front", on the inadequacy of a Country that had not managed to

"Volpe excluded the hypothesis of a "military strike" as the cause of the defeat. A hypothesis that was instead put forward by Cadorna, by some intellectuals, and by politicians"

light up also when coming in contact with the pernicious example of the Russian revolution. In view of this, Volpe nevertheless excluded the hypothesis of a "military strike" as the cause of the defeat. A hypothesis put forward by Cadorna himself, by some intellectuals (Ardengo Soffici), and by politicians like Leonida Bissolati, who "applied to the military masses the criteria deduced from his experience and from his vocabulary of socialist organizer, taking no account of the wearing down of the troops on the front, considered, unlike the other Armies engaged in the conflict (excluding perhaps the Russian Army), simple "combat units", for which there was space neither for propaganda nor for a minimum consideration for the physical and psychological needs that such a long war, different from the past ones, imposed to take into consideration". According to Volpe, the defeat of Tolmino, Plezzo, Monte Nero, rather than in the "excess or in the dissenting and anti-state quality of the workers' politicisation" that had supposedly infected the Army, had to be found in the Italian people's "lack of political awareness" and "distance from the State". An age-old distance that had affected the bonds of subordination, the duty of obedience, the ties of belonging to a "still ill-known Homeland".

On its publication, Volpe's work produced passionate as well as discordant reactions. Next to the enthusiastic opinion on the book expressed by Aldo Valori on the "Corriere della Sera", there was that of Piero Pieri, who referred to the political impediments that had delayed its appearance, and who intended to write a review on Luigi Russo's magazine "Nuova Italia" as soon as possible. A review that would certainly be more informed, less amateurish and above all more balanced than the note written by Adolfo Omodeo on the same magazine. Equally positive was the judgement of Novello Pappafava (an intellectual grown in the circles of the modernist nationalism of "La Voce" and subsequently near the experiences of Gobetti's "Rivoluzione Liberale") who praised the book's ability to bring that catastrophe back to its dimension of "military action" against "all the very



*Above and right.
Refugees leave the sites of the battle.*

become a Nation and that, in that juncture, paid for its traditional lacerations and its most recent division between an interventionist party - incohesive within and a minority in the streets and in the countryside, as it was in Parliament - and a neutralist party (socialist, catholic, and a liberal supporter of Giolitti), with pacifist and even latently defeatist sentiments, ready to





Retreating units of the Italian 2nd Army crossing the Priula bridge.

cowardly Pilates that have rushed to offload their technical responsibilities onto the shoulders of the political and moral character of the Italians". On the contrary, Piero Boselli's reply was very critical; he had been Prime Minister of the War Cabinet and had handed in his resignation precisely after the defeat of Caporetto. On March 1, 1930, Boselli sent to Volpe a circumstantial analysis of the volume and made clear his dissent about the observations concerning the Government's incapacity to strengthen the moral fibre of the Country, starting from the spring-summer of 1917. Boselli's objections dwelt especially upon Volpe's passage that criticized the work of his Ministry during the weeks immediately following the military disaster. The Ministry "could not hold out any longer, corroded by internal quarrels, the Supreme Command's lack of confidence, its uncertainty of directions and its patriotism which led it to agree with the interventionists demanding a policy of war, and its liberalism that made it agree with whomever cried out louder the rights of Parliament and the parties". Boselli answered the accusations in detail, in a long paragraph of his letter that insisted on the integrally parliamentary character of the management of the conflict in progress, without apparently understanding the new features of the war, which by then needed a stronger concentration of political sovereignty.

"Here the word not only exceeds, but certainly does not represent the thought. One can judge it a lack of repression, but that there was agreement with whomever "cried louder" was never said, because too different is the truth. You had no time to see my speeches in Parliament and in the Country. Certainly

there was no shout that went without a forceful reproof. Never were we indulgent or pliant towards the assertions, the wishes and the pretensions of the enemies of our Country. 'Was there no warlike spirit' as you say? But millions were counted; all the instruments of war were created, in a hurry, generously. The Country was aroused to the point that its sentiment was greatly renewed. What would have been the use of a Dictator, a non-Warrior? And Italy in 1917 was constituted in freedom. And the force was in the field. The "Caporetto" attributed to the internal condition of the Country was one of the alibis that Cadorna used to invent in his egoistic pride. Caporetto was a military mistake, both technically and morally. What was foreseeable was not foreseen. The morale of the

Army, Leaders and soldiers, was upset, confused, tired, unsuited to the field. In short, the Ministry that I presided over avoided the internal conflicts that occurred inside other Countries. Look at what the Country after Caporetto was. If we had exacerbated the angry contentions up to a civil war, would the Italy that won have survived?"

Precisely the difference of these opinions showed how in Volpe's

reconstruction there had been no place for the "legend" of Italy in war, neither "black" nor "golden", but rather an often pitiless analysis, that intended to find the light and shade of the national identity, in a moment of acute moral and material crisis (besides, common to allies and adversaries, in the various oper-

“ Raffaele Cadorna motivated the defeat to the scarce martial upbringing of the Italian youth, who were educated in a nation where only some regions could pride themselves on a sound and widespread military tradition ”



The "Bersaglieri" were decimated by the employment of gas.

ation theatres and in every belligerent State, all equally exhausted by the massive effusion of blood and resources), where the weakness of the Country reverberated on the Government's and consequently on the Army's, becoming more acute in the psychological separation between soldiers and civilians. Therefore it was not a regime-inspired work, in its guidelines and for the originality of its historiographical tone, which made rather unconceivable Omodeo's dogged and harsh criticism that appeared in July 1930. In those pages, Omodeo spoke of the advanced "decline of the author", of a project of a "full, total history, that does not overlook anything; "circonvizualistic" as his colleague Filippo Tommaso Marinetti would say", but which actually limited itself to offer the reader "a bunch of historical factors that do not interlock and generate a chaotic confusion and continuous contradictions", of "confusion of politics and history", of "journalistic impressionism". However, the real point of contention, Volpe's historiographic "bad action", according to Omodeo, was his harsh judgement against those "bourgeois officers" who in 1917 had not been able to fill the void that the slaughter of the trench war had created among the "Officers of the first wave: the regular career Officers, and the more numerous reserve Officers, the pick, coming from the interventionist parties, morally committed to fight well and, if necessary, to die well". To replace them the Army had had to admit in its ranks "many Officers commissioned against their will, because of their school degrees; many Officers dragged out of their offices; many very young Officers, boys actually, "manufactured" in one month on the school desks, rushed up to the front during the weeks, or days or hours, that preceded the offensives, with no experience of war and men, with no prestige among the soldiers, without determination in the face of danger".

Many soldiers and cultured men that had participated in the conflict shared Volpe's judgement. General Luigi Capello, Commander of the II Army, spoke about the "improvisation of such a large mass of new

Officers", which necessarily compromised "their quality", and added: "They were young men that brought to the Army the gifts and shortcomings of the class in which they were recruited, i.e. daring, brilliance and intelligence, but also scarce military spirit and a limited enthusiasm for war. The length of the war, the weight of the sacrifices and a pacifist propaganda freely diffused in the Country, certainly influenced the mind of these young men, for not all of them had a high sense of duty, while there were some who could have done with pleasure without the honour and responsibility of the rank that was conferred to them". This opinion was confirmed by then Cavalry Captain Raffaele Cadorna, who attributed it to the scarce martial education of the Italian youth, who were untrained for command responsibilities, in a nation where only some regions could pride themselves on a sound and widespread military tradition. Also the Commission of inquiry on Caporetto, despite being called to give its opinion only on the responsibilities of the Supreme Commands, attributed the disaster of October 1917 to the fragility of the reserve cadres, at least as an accessory cause, and "acknowledging as very sound the principle that whoever has achieved high educational qualifications should serve the Country in arms and therefore should and could one day occupy a high position in civilian life", declared that it would have been better to send those young men to the fighting units on the front as privates, commissioning later only those who really wanted to become Officers, and deserved it for their valour and enthusiasm."

The opinions of some intellectuals were, if possible, even harsher. Angelo Gatti went as far as calling "Aspirants" and "Second Lieutenants" a "real curse of the Army, people "most refractory to any spirit of moral remaking", coming from "that petty bourgeoisie that has no ideal but material comfort". Ardengo Soffici censured the "anational" character of that middle class, above all of its lower fringe groups, which, even when mobilized, still shared the faults of their original environment. "Too devoid of real culture, too



The Count of Torino and General Robilant at Caporetto.

egoist bourgeois, too little inspired by real convictions and civil and national conscience". Also Giovanni Amendola, in his letter of August 1, 1917 to Bissolati, maintained that the most recent recruitments of Officers very often consisted of elements "rather uncultured and scarcely prepared from the moral and professional viewpoint". And Volpe, after some fifteen years, commented upon this judgement, speaking of "those sons of the middle class, given to tranquil jobs", who in that very bitter autumn of war had been unequal to their task and had shown themselves definitely inferior in comparison with the young men from the middle class of the other Nations engaged in the conflict (France, but Germany and England above all), were "there was a more accurate preparation or, at least, a greater military tradition, a more intense and widespread sports life, spirit of some particular classes, the habit of marshalling and commanding men, typical of semi-feudal Countries, or Countries that have large properties or a vigorous industrial life, or a vast colonial dominions. Finally Omodeo, in a letter of September 1916 to his wife, again wrote about "those 'improvised second lieutenants' who remained,

despite their unquestionable proofs of abnegation and courage" the weak side of our war".

These words clashed with the judgements contained in "Moments of War Life" written by Omodeo, that Croce's "La Critica" had been publishing since 1929, which, on the contrary, modulated a nostalgic praise of the Italy that was still happily far from the "mechanic civilization of today" and, in comparison with that Italy, commended the "fighting peasant", "more simple-hearted, nearer to the ancient patriarchal habits", "carved out of the old rural rock of some little village in Sicily, in Calabria or in the Alps, who came into contact with the sons of other regions, and with the 'gentleman' and the 'honourable man' who have become Officers". The different models of the Country engaged in the war storm, proposed by Omodeo and Volpe, reflected two opposed and irreconcilable hypotheses of Nation. One linked to the old nineteenth-century model of liberal Italy, the Italy of the notables tied to

Right.
A mace and a gas mask used by the Austro-Hungarian troops.



Below.
Women building an entrenchment near Treviso.





Italian infantrymen on the attack.

the lower classes by bonds of patronage and moral hegemony. The other, whose aim was to modernize its social structures, create new intellectual, professional and technical executive cadres that could establish an organic relation of direction and command with the masses of the Country. The masses that, precisely on the occasion of the conflict, were to be induced to turn from the ancient, catholic and Counter-Reformation rabble of "Vanquished of the Risorgimento" (as Malaparte depicted them in his book "La Rivolta dei Maledetti" of 1921, explaining the defeat of Caporetto) into that of full citizens, engaged in the new dimension of war as a "totalitarian activity".

Volpe was to reflect again on this irking issue in the mid-sixties, with a view to revising but above all completing the volume of 1930, which in any case was going to have a reprint *ne varietur* in 1966, with a changed title. The work of revision, although incomplete, piled up in a series of notes of considerable amplitude, concerning primarily the Italian situation in the international context, investigated starting not only from the changes in the force ratio between 1917 and 1918, but also from the consequences that that change brought in the internal status quo of the Nations involved in the war and, above all, the parallel diplomatic and propaganda war that started to crack the bloc of the powers of the Entente. Commenting upon an article appeared on the "Corriere della Sera" of April 1921, regarding the attention that American public opinion paid to our military engagement, Volpe noted: "As regards the war propaganda abroad:

America is ignored, and America ignores. This explains the attention given to Croats and Serbians and the absence of Americans on the Italian front, as well as the monopolization by the French and the English. Meanwhile, France conspires with Austria; France and England refuse us the guns. Scarce harmony". While, for what concerned the breakdown of the Czarist system and Washington's intervention as factors of the sudden acceleration of democratic dynamics in Europe, in its internal and international implications, Volpe concluded: "Russian revolution and American intervention: in both cases, it is democracy entering the war...The Russian revolution facilitates the American intervention. America could not back the Czar. On the contrary, revolutionary Russia resolved to reach a democratic peace, just like Wilson". This was an issue analysed more in depth in another note that highlighted the effects of the general crisis of 1917 on the future European set up and Italy's position in the new diplomatic scenario. A position that now had cer-

tainly become less strong, after the failure of the many geopolitical preconditions that had led to the signing of the Pact of London.

"Russian collapse. We try to attract the Slavs to us. Greater demands from us. Instead comes America, which replaces Russia and ignores the Pact of

London. Russian collapse. Important repercussions in general and increased honour and risk for us. The protector and guardian of the Slavs disappears. Italy finds itself more directly in front of them. On the one hand our nationalist exigencies, which would have been opposed by Russia, are stimulated; on the other the idea of making Italy guardian of the Nations oppressed by Austria, the centre of their movement.

"Many acknowledge and deplore the waste of magnificent soldiers made in the first period in banal endeavours, in useless breakthroughs..."

Summer 1917, the Government and the High Command promote our Slavophile campaign. July, Pact of Corfu and a few days later the "Corriere" starts the campaign for the accord. Greater Italian effort, our idea of more rights that derive from it, and need to change the Pact of London, adding Fiume. On the contrary, since the Russian collapse is followed by the American intervention, there is the substitution of someone that had signed that pact with someone that had not signed and was adverse to the Pact. Therefore, devaluation of the accord. Hence the revisionist campaign that wanted, if not demolish, at least reform the pact".

It was a most penetrating analysis that subsequently included also the situation of the internal front, where Volpe employed his research done in the Historical Archive of Mobilisation, brusquely interrupt-



ed in 1923, for a political veto due to the historian's wish to investigate, in an unbiased manner, the proletarian unrests, the socialist movements, the neutralist and defeatist propaganda and also the work conditions of the manpower engaged in the war effort, for which Volpe spoke of violent "exploitation", owing to which the workman was reduced to a "simple work tool, lacking any type of care", adding that the "sense of exploitation was sharpened by the huge gains of the employers, much larger than the increased wages of the workers". That extraordinary increment of industrial profits was not the only cause of the widespread social disintegration that preceded and followed the military disaster of 1917. The transition from the military Caporetto to the "civilian" one had been brought about by the growing rhetoric of the "peasant-soldier", which was indirectly functional to



Left.
General Cadorna and Marshal Joffre.

Above.
Alarm for a gas attack in an Italian trench.

the "expansion of that somewhat Bolshevik spirit that started to spread in 1917", subsequently blended with the socialist propaganda that produced the unrest for better wages and against the war, in Turin, the "vanguard" of which was formed by women and young workers, who harboured "a lesser sense of responsibility and greater hopes of impunity, a weaker resistance to other people's suggestions; more serious disturbance produced by the new life conditions in which the factory, and in most cases the city environment, has put them". Volpe acquired other cues for perfecting "October 1917" from his experience with the Propaganda Service. The indications regarded the psychological situation of the troops on the fire line the day after the breakthrough, also for what concerned the crisis of the relations, the lack of communication between soldiers and subaltern Officers, and between the latter and the respective Commands. In fact, this is what was stated by a handwritten note, presumably drafted on the eve of the battle of the Piave, which was going to mark the counterattack of our armies.

Visit to the "Vicenza" Brigade. Impression of scarce contact of the Brigade Commands with the Officers of regiments and battalions; *idem* of the regiment Headquarters with the Officers of the battalions. In a "Bersaglieri" regiment (16th) there were Officers of a machinegunners field who, after three months, did not know the Officers of the regiment Headquarters, which was one kilometre away. Only once a week, or twice a month, the Colonel gathers all the Officers around him. The various battalions communicate more by means of written paper than by contacts



Italian troops entrenched along the Piave.

between men. Impressions on the soldiers: They are mostly young men of '99. Therefore, because of their age and non-experience of war, they are generally in good spirits and cheerful. The seniors are less serene, and confess that they are tired. Find rations insufficient. With regard to Caporetto, they talk about traitors (they were in Carnia). Otherwise those positions would not have been lost...But then they implicitly admit that the "traitors" are many. They would like to find them and give them their due. But, to tell the truth, they know that guilt is rather widespread. It is common say, also here, that during the chaotic retreat no Officer was with his men. If one of them remained, it was no more as an Officer but as one of the many fugitives. Some, a few field Officers among them, and a General, have apparently put on the uniform of privates. Lowering of the soldiers' level, from the beginning of the war until now. All acknowledge and deplore the waste of magnificent soldiers made in the first period in banal endeavours, useless breakthroughs, impossible penetrations through barbed wire or climbing mountains. One has the impression that the Commands gave orders without much concern about their practicability. They had scarce knowledge of men and positions. They talked and communicated at a distance. They worked on the telephones. Also the level of the Officers has dropped. The medical Officer of the 278th Regiment, a Captain, tells me that he often feels humiliation and indignation before Officers that ask a medical examination and want to be sick at all costs, and become gloomy when he finds them in good health. Besides, it is easy to understand: a Country like Italy does not have such a wealth of educated classes and such a reserve of moral energies so as to supply for three years a selected Corps of Officers...Confirmed that draft-dodging is a great cause of discontent. The Officers talk about it all the time, referring to the soldiers. But mentioning it with such insistence shows that the Officers resent it at least as much as the soldiers..."

It was a portrait that had no regard for anyone, not apologetic at all, which stigmatised the inadequacies of the military Commands, but also the traditional

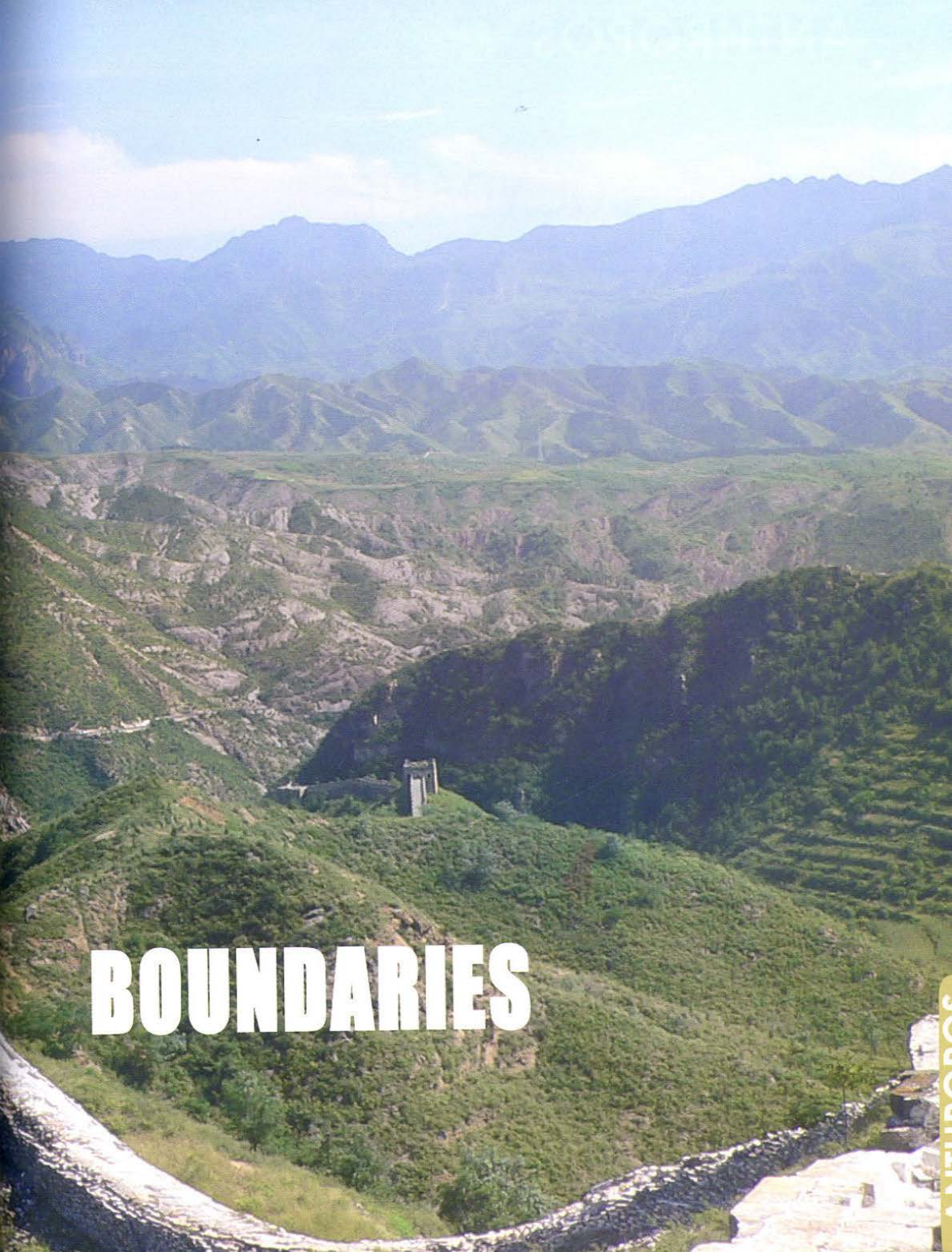


moral sluggishness of the Italian society, which from civilian life was spilling into the war effort without interruption. It was nevertheless a portrayal that did not lead Volpe to conform to the positions of the defeatist historiography, which in the second post-war period seemed to deliberately want to undermine the constitutive principles of the national cohesion and identity, belittling the significance and the extent of the two events, symbols of their historical memory, represented precisely by the Risorgimento and the First World War. Actually Volpe would never forget how big and how strong was the recovery on the military and internal front after the rout of Caporetto. Actually he insisted on the fact that the name of that little village should not remain as symbol of the Italian people's inadequacy in facing and overcoming the test of the arms.

"Caporetto, with so many recriminations, reproaches, historical examinations; with so much searching high and low, and crying out on the roofs; Caporetto, which already during the very first hours had assumed, through our words, before the entire world, the proportions and the character of an irreparable and almost shameful disaster, grew, became wider and wider, lingered in the general history of war events as a single deed, almost the Italian deed par excellence, as the Italian war. Other routs, no lesser than ours, with not much different collective demonstrations, occurred in other theatres of the Entente. Better still: in June came the great resistance and our victorious counteroffensive on the Piave, with military, political and moral effects of enormous and general importance; and finally, at the end of October, came the victorious offensive across the Piave and beyond the mountains, which swept away the enemy Army and hastened also the surrender of Germany. And nevertheless, Caporetto, created in part also by ourselves, as was the case fifty years before with Custoza and Lissa, and twenty years earlier with Aduwa; Caporetto has remained, and remains. Every now and again, we Italians see it thrown between our feet from those who have an interest in stopping us on our way".

Eugenio di Rienzo
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BOUNDARIES



BOUNDARIES

«They die and revive, move, vanish and reappear unexpectedly. They mark the experience, the language, one's dwelling space, the body with its health and its diseases, the psyche with its splitting and readjustments, politics with its often absurd cartography, the ego with the plurality of its fragments and their laborious reassembling, society with its divisions, economy with its invasions and retreats, thought with its order maps» (Claudio Magris).

The need to circumscribe space where we move goes back to the most ancient times. Right from the start people felt the need to fix borders that reduced the natural tendency to expand and to impose their rule on other communities.

The concept of border is not linked with the birth of civilization. It goes back to the occurrence of the first species on earth. In fact, the need to draw borders within which they could build their world, which only later would be governed by legal rules and collective decisions, is closely linked with instinctual and primordial factors. It is no coincidence that even animals are used to mark out their territory and are ready to attack anyone who dares to invade it. Early men looked like animals and acted like them. The law of the strongest prevailed, in reference to which the English philosopher Hobbes used the expression *Homo homini lupus* and defined human nature as egoistic, explaining that human actions are determined only by the instinct of self-preservation. In absence of civilization, individuals acted to satisfy their instincts and tend to defend their territory. However, with the evolution of society the psychological explanation has not been able to give us an exhaustive theoretical framework. Other important social, political and cultural factors must be taken into consideration.

Down the centuries the concept of border has changed. The gesture of drawing borders is full of meaning and symbolic elements. We can talk about natural, national, social, cultural and sym-

bolic borders. Borders assume the shape of marks that are not only mere geographical division. The territorial border reflects deep psychological dynamics and plays a fundamental role in maintaining the social system.

METAPHOR, MYTHOLOGY, DISTINCTION

“Down the centuries the concept of border has changed”

Boundless space and limits, borders and the crossing of borders are only apparently opposite concepts. In the course of time they have combined with each other and, in some cases, they have merged

together.

The indefiniteness and, at times, the invisibility of borders highlight their ambiguous features. Anyone could cross a border and break the law, trespass on a place, invade the economic, political and social space of the others and be seen as a threat because borders are established in order to stress differences and those who cross them threaten to undermine the distinction between «us» and «them». The crossing of a border is a crucial moment. It is a turning point. It is the metaphor of a change. It means challenging the unknown. Among the mythological personages Ulysses sets a perfect example: crossing the limit that was represented by the Pillars of Hercules (this is the ancient name of Mount Abila and Mount Calpe which Hercules separated to link the Mediterranean Sea with the Atlantic Ocean), challenging God's will to quench the thirst for knowledge (and this action would cost him the Hell in the imaginary Dantean journey) has lots of meanings. It was a daring deed which led him to explore the unknown and to conquer new places. It is a dar-



Hadrian's Wall.

ing and great achievement of an unknown territory where the limit is crossed. That «insane flight» beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which represented the borders of the world and are the line that Dante draws between the world of the living and the world without people, is the symbol of the thirst of knowledge that does not want to accept limits.

It is the fascinating and disputed theme of the «non-border». In antiquity not having boundaries meant being against nature (*hybris*), that is to say beyond the limits, because in nature nothing grows and develops without any limits. The one who lived without any limits experienced social isolation. The myth of the Pillars of Hercules is not «Greek, it is Arab but Dante used it referring to the Greeks» and, as the writer Giuseppe Pontiggia has pointed out, «the Islamists banned people from crossing the Strait of Gibraltar, for commercial reasons. Dante referred to this ban to represent the limit of knowledge. He did not give to it a theological meaning, it is not the symbol of a religious ban. Individuals want to go beyond all limits and to know, but they cannot cross the final limit, *the*

end of the dark mountain, which is the death. Dante revised a Greek myth and contextualized it according to the Christian view. In the Greek world Ulysses' attitude would have been seen as totally negative: the Greeks defined the human defiant attitude toward God as *hybris*. This word links pride and violence and condemns the individual to ruin and death. On the contrary, the Christianity does not condemn people who look for the unknown». In fact, Ulysses is in the eighth trench, among the fraudulent advisors: *you were not created to live as brutes but to follow virtue and knowledge*, Ulysses said to his fellows falling into error and sin because he exhorted his men to deeds that go beyond human knowledge. According to Dante only observing divine law and recognizing human limits can lead individuals to virtue and real knowledge.

The concept of «limit» has its origins in antiquity. It derives from the Latin «*limes*» (line of border) and in Roman times it referred to a group of barriers (even natural barriers such as rivers and mountains), among which there were roads, that were defended by soldiers; it was not stable fortification because it was moved according to logistical-military needs and it was re-built every time. The works of fortification of

limes started with the Flavian dynasty and ended with that of the Antonines. Under the reign of Domitian, the *limes* consisted of roads that were garrisoned by troops and towers that were made of wood – which would be replaced by towers made of stone – and had to spot the enemy and watch the area; during the 4th century the *limes* was strengthened further through military fields. Antoninus Pius' Wall, which was built in 142 AD between the rivers Forth and Clyde to defend the territory against the Scottish invasions, is famous. Hadrian's Wall, which was ordered to be built by the Emperor himself in defence of the Roman Britannias, is even more famous. It was situated in North England and consisted of castles, towers and moats. With the passing of time the Latin word *limes* has taken on a more comprehensive meaning that coincides with the idea of «border» which separated places that belong to different geographical realities, as Pliny described accurately.

The Romans did not regard the *limes* as an impassable frontier, because it was reconstituted every time after a conquest as a consequence of the expansion of the Empire.

In the Roman and Greek world the crossing of borders took on a ritual and sacred meaning in a mixture of religious and political elements.

The crossing of rivers, in particular, is a symbol of this ritual because it links the allegoric value of water with the sense of uncertainty which enshrouds the moment of the crossing of the border: the river establishes two different «fields», contrasting danger and safety, and it is correlated with borders because both of them are moments of passage and differentiation of space. A good example is set by the Spartan diabateria, which were the sacrifices that they made when they crossed a precise line of distinction such as a river.

The most famous rite of passage in history is represented by the crossing of the Rubicon by Caesar, which in Roman era marked the border between Italy, which was considered as an integral part of Rome, and the province of the Cisalpine Gaul. This event dates back to 49 B.C. when Julius Caesar, who was armed, entered Rome: it was a real act of rebellion against the Roman law that prohibited people who were armed from crossing the Italian borders. This episode is described in the work «Borders in the classical world»: «during the night between 10th and 11th January of 49 B.C., after he had been declared *hostis publicus* from a *senatusconsultum*, Caesar, with his army, crossed a small river

near Ravenna, the Rubicon, which marked the border between the province of Cisalpine Gaul and the *ager populi Romani*: it was the start of the civil war which would lead to the decay of the Republican institutions and speed up that process of centralization of power that had been started by Scylla thirty years before». According to Suetonius' account, Caesar hesitated before performing this act, which has a metaphorical meaning, maybe just because he was aware of the sacred significance of the border and then he uttered the famous phrase *alea iacta est* (the die is cast) as if he wanted to seal the solemnity of that passage. It is no coincidence that people have tried to provide Caesar's gesture with divine justification to legitimise a political and military action which marked a moment of change and of latent insecurity.

The *raya de Tordesillas*, which is the border that divided the spheres of influence of Spain and Portugal, has great symbolic significance for its geo-political implications. It originated from a Treaty that was signed by the two coun-

“Borders play an important role in creating identities through the establishment of elements of distinction”

tries in the small Castilian town on the 7th June 1494. In 1493 Pope Alexander VI (who belonged to the Borgia family), with the bull «Inter cetera» determined that all the lands that were exposed and were situated west of this

imaginary line would become Spanish territory. This decision dissatisfied Portugal, which, after intense diplomatic work, was able to reach an agreement: the treaty of Tordesillas moved the line 270 leagues further west. The issuing of the bull and the signing of the treaty provided the establishment of the border with moral justification. In particular, the Papal source provided the division of the new lands with religious justification reducing the arbitrary meaning of the gesture. This event had profound effects on the world geographical order and lots of consequences at a cultural level with the establishment of the Spanish and Portuguese supremacy and the Christianization of those areas.

THE BORDER AS A CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY

In every social system fixing, more or less arbitrarily, a border plays a key role in maintaining the same system. Even if it involves a process of exclusion and a situation of inequality from which instability and conflicts could spring, the border is essential for the construction and strengthening of identity. The distinc-



The Pyrenees are the natural border between France and Spain.

tion between «us» and what is seen as «other» is at the bottom of the process of identification with the community of reference. This also produces destabilizing effects and brings about social conflicts. Every border leads to a situation of instability because it causes inequalities and provokes crises of identity, but at the same time it provides the social system with stability and reproducibility. In the work «Sociologie», the German sociologist George Simmel highlighted the inevitability of the birth of borders: «in the majority of human relationships the concepts of boundary is important in some ways. In any situation two elements turn their attention to the same object, the possibility of their coexistence depends on the fact that a line of limitation, which is within the object, divides the two spheres - whether this line represents, as legal limit, the end of the contrast, or it constitutes, as limit of power, the beginning». Even when the limit is drawn physically on a territory has great social importance for its effects on human life in common. Simmel underlines the sociological origin of space: «the

boundary is not a spatial fact with sociological effects, but rather a social fact that evolves in a spatial way».

The borders between national States set a good example of social functionality of the conflict. They cause a situation of inequality because they lead to a redistribution of wealth and public resources, but at the same time they limit conflicts, objectifying the source of inequality, and, consequently, they make social coexistence possible.

A historical event of the 17th century highlights the important role played by borders in creating identities through the establishment of elements of distinction.

In 1659, the Prime Ministers of France and Spain signed the «Treaty of the Pyrenees», which determined the end of the hostilities between the two countries and established the handover of Roussillon to France. The division of Cerdanya was much more complicated. In fact, this region was historically united with Roussillon but it was situated closer to Spain. The border was established in the middle of the region where the village of Llívia became an exclave of Spain in the French territory. The political border was not cause of national conflicts. With this regard, Sahlins wrote: «the national identity is a constant

and social process of "friends" and "enemies", a logical extension of the process of maintaining of boundaries between «us» and «them» within more local communities. National identities, which are built on this structure of opposition, do not depend on the existence of linguistic and cultural differences but on the subjective experience of difference. In this sense, national identities, like ethnic and local identities, are contingent and relational: they are defined by the borders that are drawn to distinguish the collective self from its implicit negation, that is the other».

Differently from the Pyrenean border, the border between the US and Mexico divides two States but does not make any distinctions. It is seen as a world apart, a sort of limbo whose inhabitants are not able to identify themselves with a definitive national model and to give significance to this division. Those people who live there feel less close to their countrymen than to people who live beyond the line. The fact is that the border does not consist of a single country: it is a group of cities that are situated close to each other along vast stretches of wild land.

THE BORDER AND THE MODERN STATE

The modern State established itself in Europe between the 15th and 17th centuries. Its establishment was determined by a gradual centralization of power and territorial unification. Therefore, it is the opposite of the feudal State where the national territory was divided into areas that eluded the control of the central power.

The «linear» state border arose from the modern State as a consequence of the end of political universalism that characterized the medieval institutions: Papacy and Empire. In fact, the idea of the border is closely linked with the idea of political control which can be exerted only over a limited territory. In addition, especially in a relational system that is based on the match-politik, the concept of border is linked with the principle of sovereignty (which descends from the Head of the apparatus to the apparatus itself). As a consequence of the birth of the modern State is the establishment of the principle of State as entity that *superiorem non recognoscens*.

The division of the Pyrenean region can be considered an example of definition of state borders. The State fixes borders on its territory, draws a line of separation and establishes itself as unique source of legitimation. But it is not the process that Gian Primo Cella has focused on in its work «Drawing borders». He has

stressed that the process of establishment of a State, through the demarcation between linear borders, was complex and indefinite and the establishment of the French State was determined by different «models» of relation between state initiative, geographical features, pre-existing conditions of division and internal and external limits that had developed over the centuries. Initially, the state French border seemed to be an apparent line rather than a real line. It established itself concretely only with the Revolution of 1789.

Borders are very important for the establishment of the modern State. It was a slow and gradual process that goes back to 1075 when



Rivers are often used as borders between two States.

Gregory VII issued the *Dictatus Papae* which put a stop to the overlap between political and religious authority. Hence the need for a temporal justification of drawing borders. The absolute political power replaced the religious power and became the unique source of legitimation.

Politics became the «place» where borders were drawn and where the destiny of the populations were shaped. Political leaders made decisions, changing geographical maps and the world political order. They became undisputed arbiters of the world history and were able to upset the dynamics of collective identities. The redefinition of the borders of a State can lead to dramatic events such as in Yugoslavia and in the Soviet Union. The African territory, which was divided into spheres of influence by the colonizing countries, regardless of the pre-existing

cultural identities, constitutes a further example. In Europe there have been the cases of the Basques and of the Catalans spanning two States and also of the Moldavians and the Kurds spanning two continents.

The arbitrary decisions that are linked with specific economic and political interests have often determined the fragmentation of identities or the forced inclusion of different cultural components within the same territory. The establishment of a State does not happen only on a territorial base, that is to say through the definition of a particular spatial context that is legitimised by a political authority, but it needs a collective process of identification with an abstract identity that is delimited by imaginary lines that are drawn in the minds of people who take part in this process. However, a State cannot be defined as a real «State» if it is not founded on a territorial base that is delimited by well-defined borders. The Jewish case sets a good example: a nation that is in endless search of a territory and its historical identity. As A. D. Smith has highlighted: «a nation without land is a contradiction in terms. The ethnic communities can be separated from their historical territories, like the case of the communities of the Diaspora of Armenians, Jews and Greeks. But the establishment of a nation requires a special place where people can live, that is a land that must "be felt as one's own". It requires a historical land, that is a homeland or an ancestral land. Only an ancestral homeland can provide the citizens of a nation with physical and emotional safety».

BORDER AND FRONTIER

The meaning of «border» and «frontier» has always created problems maybe because the two terms are often considered incorrectly as synonyms and are used improperly. Anthropologists regard the border as a limit, something that must not be crossed, and the frontier as a zone where diversities confront each other. The border is seen as a rigid line, the frontier is fluctuant. The former is linked with instinct, the latter reminds us of something irrational. The Italian term of «frontier» contains the noun «front»; the frontier is «in front of», that is in front of something or someone. This «front» is mobile and changes continually. As a consequence, the frontier is an artificial construction and does not assume the shape of a line (like the border). It is

a stretch of territory whose width depends on different factors. On the contrary, the border delimits a close space, defines a stable line and gives us a sense of security. The border separates two spaces, two individuals and two ideologies more markedly than the frontier. Claudio Magris has written: «the frontier is double and ambiguous; on the one hand it is a bridge to meet the others; on the other hand it is a barrier to reject them.[...] every border is linked with insecurity and with the need for security». The term «border» was used for the first time in the 19th century when Victor Amadeus II sent a dispatch to its ambassador, the count of Vernon, about the establishment of the border with the cession of Nice and Savoy to France.

«Border», «boundary» (which dates back to the 17th century) and «frontier» are English terms. This distinction has turned out to be fundamental for American history. Whereas in Europe the establishment of the absolute State involved fixing definite lines that delimited the political territory of a country and, for this reason, we talk about «borders», the history of the US and China is linked with the term of «frontier».

Historian Turner has highlighted this difference saying that the European frontier «is a fortified line of border which runs through densely populated lands» whereas the American frontier «is situated just on the edge of the territories that are open for expansion and conquest». The events that are linked with the «frontier» have influenced American personality and identity deeply. Individualism, personal initiative, pragmatism, which are typical of the Americans spring from the contact with the hostile and unfamiliar environment of the frontier.

The Great Wall of China marked the border of the Chinese agricultural space and established the time of the Empire that was different from the indistinct time of the wild nomads. The impressive building is seen by the theoreticians as a limit of demarcation that was fixed according to the expansion area of the empire, as «a frontier that must not be crossed in order not to fall into nomadism and uncertainty».

Lattimore, in his work «The frontier. Populaces and imperialism on the frontier between China and Russia», has stressed that the construction of rigid frontiers depends on a factor that he defines «sphere of activity». Because of their mistrust towards their sphere of activity, the Chinese government leaders built walls that could limit their imperialist ambitions and defend their country from external attacks.

“...a State cannot be defined as such if it is not founded on a territorial base delimited by well-defined borders”



The barrier between Israel and Palestine.

However, this explanation refers to a particular historical moment. In fact, subsequently China went through a period of economic, political and social development which enabled it to build an Imperial State.

It is important to distinguish between the two concepts of «border» and «frontier» in order not to create situations of uncertainty since in some languages they are used as synonyms. The problem is that the history of one term has always been linked with the history of the other. For example, in the Roman history there are two concepts of *limes*: the first concept, which was predominant under Augustus and Tiberius, indicates the military street at right angles to the border and acts as offensive cover; the second concept, which was predominant under Hadrian, represents the road along the fortified frontier and acts as defensive cover; these two meanings coexist with each other under Domitian and Trajan.

With the birth of the modern States the concept of frontier was replaced by that of border.

Today, we talk about «frontier», but the concept of «border» is always current.

THE BERLIN WALL

On the one hand, the Wall between Israel and Palestine will become the symbolic border of the 21st century; on the other there is no doubt that the Berlin Wall has been the emblematic barrier of the 20th century, as place of violence and contraposition. As Cella has underlined: «the Wall in the Holy Land is a source of distinction through exclusion, whereas the Berlin Wall was a source of distinction through inclusion because it was not aimed at preventing the insiders from leaving but it tried to impose stricter rules on the passage from one part to another». An example can be given by the different way of living in the areas adjoining the Wall; in East Berlin there were

deserted places with antipersonnel and antitank barriers; in West Berlin the Wall was used even as an internal wall of typical inns «the so-called Kneipen). Angelo Bolaffi gives us a perfect description: «it is difficult to imagine the nightmare and surreal atmosphere that loomed over the two Berlins: the rigid and ridiculous apparatus of control of East Germany struck irrational terror into people and was able to reach its objective: transforming every citizen into a frightened subject that did not know one's rights».

The Berlin Wall is the metaphor of the last century: it was the symbol of uncertainty and arbitrary power, distinction and the absence of dialogue; it was the barrier to East but it was also the deep rift that divided a city. Borneman has stressed the essence of the border: «like all borders, this barrier divides, contains, reduces and limits. It created monsters, heroes, traitors, desires, love and hatred. The territorial limits of the State were powerful but they were not the only border limits that the State created. The boundaries of the State aroused envy in those who could cross the border and fear in those who had already crossed it».

BORDERS IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION

The distinction from the others is vital for the strengthening of identities. In a study on liminal places in the post-modern city, Colombo and Navarini have written: «the identity is built on two interlinked phenomena that emerge during the establishment of borders: individuation and distinction». This could seem like a contradiction in the light of the process of globalization that has marked the end of last century and the beginning of the new millennium. The prevailing view is that globalization leads people to cross barriers and limits that, at different levels, constitute the world society. However, this phenomenon must be analysed in detail. Simmel emphasized that borders support the process of transformation of social space into physical space. Globalization has influenced this transformation powerfully. In the work «History and critique of public opinion», Habermas stressed that «even social borders, which have formed the elementary coordinates of space and historical time in the world of life, become fluid». But he added that we cannot take «the abolition of borders that are socially defined» for granted. The need for spatial boundaries arises, it is stronger than ever and is linked with the forms of modernity. A good example is given by the use of mobile phones. A frequent question is: «where are

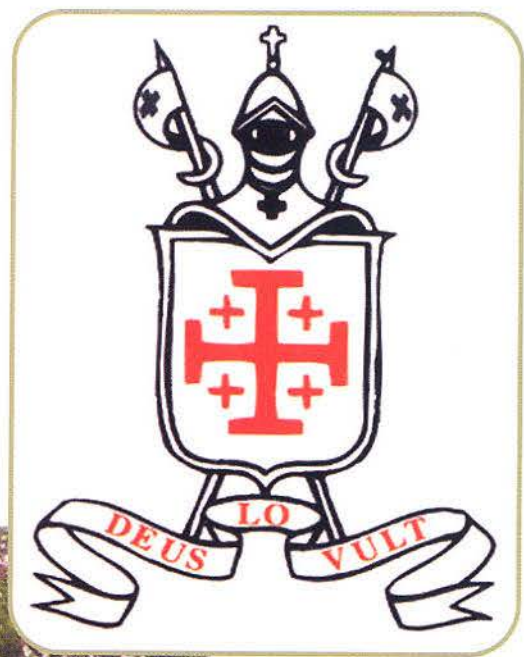


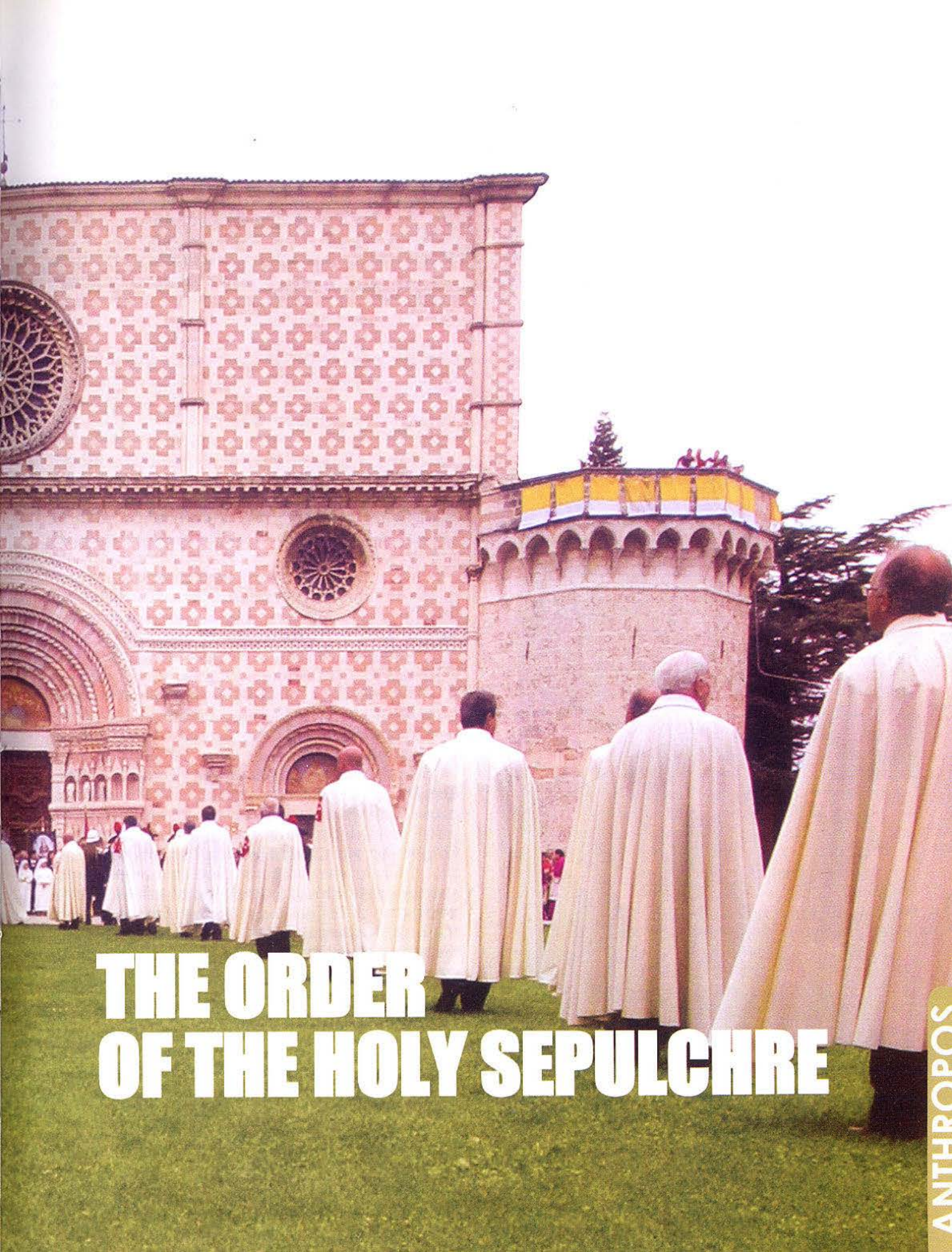
The Berlin Wall.

you?». This highlights the strong need to place the person to whom we are speaking in a specific physical space and to establish limits in the territory of post-modern society, which is potentially infinite. Therefore, globalization has not caused an abolition of borders. On the contrary, in some cases, it has brought about an increase in borders: the massive flow of standardized messages and homogeneous cultural models has led people to look for new forms of identity and has heightened their sense of identity. The term «glocal» was coined by social science in order to underline the existence of two conflicting tendencies: on the one hand the tendency to reduce cultural and social differences between populations, on the other hand the need to rediscover one's roots.

The dominant role of the media in society has heightened the differences between populations and communities. It is no coincidence that the terrorists of the new millennium take advantage of the media to establish their identity. This is an extreme but appropriate example of a new culture of borders that reflects the growing need for identification with one's ethnic, religious or cultural community. Today, the search for meanings and identities turns out to be essential to live through this uninterrupted flow of unchanging impulses that have been produced by globalization. So, borders are back and assume different nuances and new outlines and maybe today they are more definite than in the past.

Sara Gregg
Journalist and Sociologist





THE ORDER OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

THE ORDER OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

It does not confer honours, but commits dames and knights to an onerous charitable and spiritual activity in favour of the Christian community in the Holy Land.

Any writing or comment about the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem cannot be limited to mere research or historical curiosity; on the contrary, it constitutes an instrument to deepen the knowledge of a «reality» which

works for the Christian communities in the Holy Land.

The Order of the Holy Sepulchre has its roots in the Holy Land with about one thousand years of history and it pursues its objectives there.

It is necessary to refer to the religious, social and political context of Europe in the first years of the second millennium whose distinctive features were devotion for the Holy Sepulchre, chivalry spirit and desire to go on pilgrimages to the Holy Places.

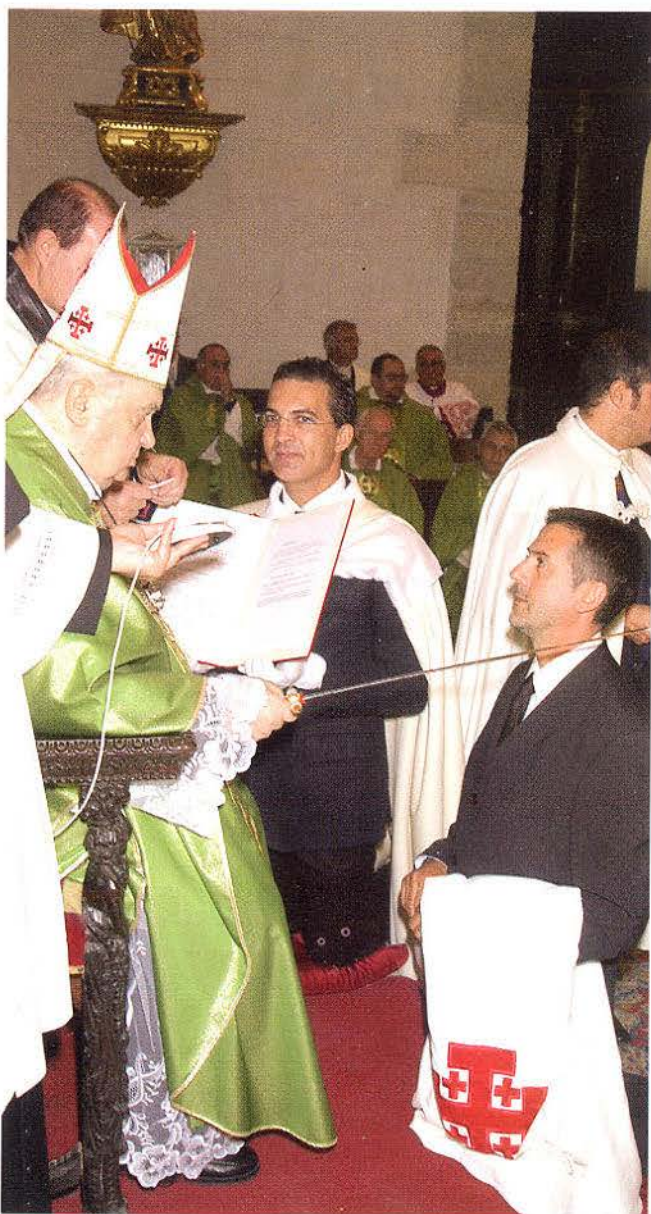
Chivalry, especially medieval chivalry, from which the modern chivalry orders derive, operated in almost all Christian European countries from the VIII to the XV century and was protagonist of epic deeds in the Crusades.

Then this institution had its own tradition and rules. Whereas in feudalism an oath of loyalty bound vassals to their ruler, in chivalry, knights had to swear allegiance to supreme principles of justice and honour.

During the XI century the Church made knights Christ's fighters (*miles Christi*) and made the initiation ceremony sacred.

The monks played a key role in drawing the knights to the Christian faith. Thanks to them, the Church was able to penetrate deep into society establishing a new code of ethics; in the same way, the pilgrimages to the Holy Land and, then, the Crusades contributed to the development of the doctrine of «fair war» and «holy war», which is a war that is made to defend the Christianity, faith and civilization.

Since the first Crusade, the formation of religious, and military associations of knights



Left.

Cardinal Carlo Furno, Great Master of the Order, imposing the "touch of the sword" on a new Knight.

Title pages.

A ceremony of the Order at the Basilica of Collemaggio in Aquila. On the top left-hand corner: the emblem with the Jerusalem Cross and the motto "Deus lo vult".

which could protect the Holy Places seemed to be useful. In this context, these associations felt the need to maintain their principles, through systems and statutes, according to the rules of monastic orders. Their members had to lead a rigorous life in convents and commendams, to pray, to abstain from food, at times to make a vow of chastity, poverty and obedience.

It was a cohesive and organized group of warrior monks, united by religious vows and by their ability to use arms.

Also the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre originated from this context.

There have been different and extravagant theses about when it was founded. According to an extensive and unreliable literature it has vague monastic-military origins.

According to a well-researched thesis, it is linked with the ecclesiastics of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem; they form a religious order, which was subject to the authority of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who led a life of prayer and used the offerings made by the believers to help the pilgrims who visited the Holy Sepulchre.

Then, celibate or married people, the so-called «fraters laici» joined this group of churchmen. We cannot rule out the possibility that the «fraters laici» were responsible for the armed defence of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as for the protection of the pilgrims.

With the end of the Crusades and the definitive abandonment of the Holy Land, the members of this Association went back to their countries of origin but they kept the link with the Holy Sepulchre alive, performing good deeds.

During the long period of the abolition of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the Franciscan Guardian in the Holy Land, who was the only representative of the Catholic Church in those places, continued to nominate many Christians who went to the Holy Sepulchre as knights.

In 1847, after the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem was re-established, the Blessed Pius IX restored the Order, giving it the task of maintaining the activities of the Patriarchate and putting the Patriarch in charge of the association.

In 1888, Pope Leo XIII instituted the category of Dames. In 1907 Saint Pius X assumed the title of Great Master of the Order to prove the high regard he had for the Order. Pius XI gave the regency of the Order back to the Latin Patriarch

of Jerusalem, as if he wanted to make the millenary bond that links this association to the Holy Land more evident.

In 1949 the Holy See transferred the governance of the Order from Jerusalem to Rome and appointed the Great Master as Cardinal, giving the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem the title and the prerogatives of Great Prior.

The See of the Great Magistery was established in Rome (in the convent located in the Church of St. Onofrio, on the Janiculum) and became the centre of intense activities.

With the reestablishment of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, as mentioned above, the Order was entrusted with the task of supporting the local Christian communities.

The Statute was often modified but continued to pursue charitable objectives. These objectives are mentioned in the second Article of the Statute: «the Order of the Holy Sepulchre is aimed at strengthening the practice of Christian life in the believers, showing loyalty to the Supreme Pontiff, according to the teachings of the Church, and following the principles of

charity; at supporting and helping the cultural, charitable, religious and social institutions of the Catholic Church in the Holy Land, especially those of and in the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, with which the Order maintains traditional links; at spreading the faith across those lands, stimulating interest among Catholics

around the world, who are united in the charity by the symbol of the Order, and among all Christian Brothers; and at protecting the Church's rights in the Holy Land».

A Cardinal Great Master is in charge of the coordination of all initiatives and he is assisted by a Great Magistery, that has an international composition.

For its nature and its religious and charitable objectives, the Order of the Holy Sepulchre is not involved in any political movement or activity. Its members cannot take part in activities of bodies, organizations and associations whose nature, objectives and programmes are a contrast with the doctrine and the teachings of the Catholic Church, or belong to chivalry Orders not recognized by the Holy See or granted by sovereign States.

The new Knights and Dames are chosen among Catholics of irreproachable conduct, who have performed good deeds in the Holy Land.

“ The Order of the Holy Sepulchre has its roots in the Holy Land with about one thousand years of history, and there it pursues its spiritual and charitable objectives ”



Detail of the Jerusalem cross on the Knights' cloak.

During the training (which lasts for at least a year) each candidate can deepen the knowledge of one's activity, has to accept any conditions, delivering an extensive documentation issued by the institutional and ecclesiastical authorities, and has to sign a solemn promise on the Altar the day before the Investiture ceremony.

Those who attend this event today are profoundly impressed and have the feeling that the time has stopped at the Middle Ages. The Investiture ceremonies, which usually take place in an abbey or a cathedral, go through a ritual that, down the centuries, has been subject to few changes. Besides the ritual actions (the touch of the sword, the ideal delivery of spurs and sword, the clothing of the cloak) it is important to understand the real meaning of the different liturgical moments. According to the ritual, which is regularly approved by the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, every day before the investiture ceremony there is a meeting of prayer, called «arms and prayer vigil». For example, during this meeting the future Knights have the opportunity to listen to and reflect on a text of the Ephesians, where Apostle Paul refers to the arms necessary for the spiritual «fight» (... the shield of faith... the helmet of salvation... the sword of the Spirit, that is to say the Word of God...); or they have the opportunity to listen to a passage from the second letter to the Corinthians, in which St. Paul urges the

ecclesiastical communities, which he had founded, to succour the Church of Jerusalem.

This text helps us to understand the commitment the candidates take on through the investiture. Belonging to the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, in fact, does not mean receiving an honour. On the contrary, it is the start of a demanding path that people pursue with positive and constant charitable actions in favour of the Christian populations in the Holy Land.

During the religious ceremonies of the Order, the Knights and Dames of the Holy Sepulchre wear a cloak (white for the Knights and black for the Dames), trimmed, below the left shoulder, with the Jerusalem Cross; the clergymen wear the white mozetta trimmed with the Hierosolymitan Cross.

The Jerusalem Cross, also known as Cross of Goffredo di Buglione, has at the end of each arm a crosspiece, is red and has four small crosses in the four corners of the arms. For this reason, it was also called five-pointed Cross; and reminds us of the five sores of Christ, whereas the red colour is a sacred sign of the blood spilt on the Calvary. The Jerusalem Cross, which is red enamelled and surmounted by the military trophy (a ribbon, for the Dames), is the emblem of the members of the Order. The ribbon around the neck is made of black moiré silk.

The territorial structure of this «lay association of believers», which is under the protection of the Holy See, is made up of 52 lieutenancies (one or more for each State) and each of them is coordinated by a Lieutenant (lay) and led spiritually by a Great Prior (a clergyman). Italy is divided into five lieutenancies: Northern Italy, Central Italy and Sardinia, Tyrrhenian Southern Italy, Adriatic Southern Italy

and Sicily. In each lieutenancy, Sections (which roughly correspond to the territory of a region) can be instituted and divided into Delegations (more or less equivalent to a Province).

The spiritual life of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre is under the Virgin Mary's protection, who is invoked with the title of Queen of Palestine (Heavenly Patroness). Her Day is celebrated, with a particular solemnity, on the last Sunday of October. In addition, the figures of the Saints who belonged to the Order are important points of reference: Saint Pius X (who was the Great Master of the Order), the Blessed Cardinals Joseph Benedict Dusmet, Andrea Ferrari, Ildefonso Schuster and Bartolo Longo (the founder of the Sanctuary of Pompeii).

“The new Knights and Dames are chosen among Catholics of irreproachable conduct, who have performed good deeds in the Holy Land”

INTERVIEW WITH THE LIEUTENANT FOR CENTRAL ITALY AND SARDINIA

We meet H.E. Alberto Coñsoli Palermo Navarra, who is in charge of the Lieutenantcy for Central Italy and Sardinia, one of the largest organizations of the Order, to better understand how the statutory objectives of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre are fulfilled in each territorial structure. Abruzzi, Latium, Marches, Molise, Sardinia, Tuscany and Umbria are under his responsibility. He also governs more than 2300 people, among whom there are Knights (lay and ecclesiastic) and Dames.



We know that in the last years, according to what has been established by the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, each Lieutenantcy has started to maintain schools. Could you explain to us the spirit of this new orientation and, in particular, in what contexts does your Lieutenantcy operate?

As Pope John Paul II said some years ago on the occasion of the World Peace Day: "to reach peace it is necessary to bring up people to live in peace". Taking this exhortation into account, the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre have started to maintain and enlarge schools. Since 2004, our Lieutenantcy has paid the tuition fees of 1000 Christian students, among 1900 youth who attend the school of Madaba, Jordan. Since 2006, in addition, it has been financing the works of modernization of the Communitary School Centre of Jenin, in Samaria and this

year it has started to finance the Centre of Aboud, in the Palestinian territories north-west of Jerusalem.

The bond that links the Order with the Holy Land is evident. In your office there are several pictures depicting groups of Knights and Dames in the most famous sanctuaries of those places. Considering the situation of tension we are currently living through, we think that these pictures have been put there to recall the pilgrimages of the past, perhaps with a little melancholy. Is that right?

It is not. The pictures depicting pilgrims in the Holy Land are very recent. Some of them, for example, date back to last March.

There are no situations of particular danger for the pilgrims. My personal knowledge of the Holy Land is based on more than 20 journeys. Every time is as if it were the first time: an intense emotion that only people who have visited those places can feel.

The Lieutenantcy that I have the honour to coordinate has been many times in the Holy Land. Since 2004 I have had the privilege to organize 15 pilgrimages, making it possible for almost a thousand pilgrims (Knights, Dames and their families) to visit and pray in that Land.

There are also several pictures of the Pope. Some of them show religious ceremonies with Knights and Dames, papal audiences and meetings. What catches our attention is a picture depicting you, wearing the insignia of Gentleman to His Holiness, paying homage to Benedict XVI. Could you tell us something on the bond between the Order of the Holy Sepulchre and the Holy See?

Although the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, which the Supreme Pontiffs have enriched with privileges for its historical, legal and spiritual bonds, is not an Order of the Vatican, but is under the protection of the Holy See and enjoys the legal status of canon law and, by a rescript of February 1, 1996 by John Paul II, also the Vatican legal status.

The Pope appoints the Cardinal Great Master, whereas the Secretariat of State to His Holiness impresses its visum and seal on the diplomas of the new Knights and Dames.

Decorations, ranks of chivalry and privileges are subject to the same rules governing the concession of papal Orders. In view of the high prestige of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, the admission is subject to a rigid selection and training of the candidates. As regards the military, exactly as envisaged for the papal chivalry Orders, only Officers with at least the rank of Captain can be admitted. Obviously they must also have the prerequisites envisaged by the Statute (confirmed Catholic faith, blameless behaviour and involvement in the catholic deeds in the Holy Land).

With regard to the picture that shows me wearing the insignia of Gentleman to His Holiness as I'm paying homage to Benedict XVI, let me express the great joy I felt at being part of the papal family and at having the privilege of serving the Pope, especially on the occasion of special audiences and official and solemn moments.

The objectives of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre have turned out to be fundamental in the last decades, even as instruments to stem the strong tendency, shown by the Christian populations, to emigrate from the Holy Land.

Some data recently collected by the Bethlehem University paint a dismal picture of the situation. Since 1948, no less than 230,000 Christians have left the Holy Land. The Christian population of the Holy Land, which numbers today 14,000 people, has decreased, between 1840 and 2002, from 25% to 2%. In the same period, the number of Jews has increased (from 4000 to 400,000) and the population of Muslims has grown from 4600 to 143,000).

About 24,000 Knights and Dames spread around the world, and 68 Parishes of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem finance about 45 schools, attended by more than 19,000 young people of all races and religions.

The Order of the Holy Sepulchre does not have its own estate; the economic resources used to finance this relief work come only from the donations of its lay and ecclesiastic members).

In the last years, each Lieutenancy has started

to maintain one or more schools.

Knights and Dames act as «peace operators», in order to reach the objective of peace, which in the Holy Land seems to be still very far.

The Christian, Jewish and Muslim little children and boys who sit next to each other at school, fraternize with each other, and have the opportunity to grow together and be free from prejudice and old grudges, perhaps tomorrow, at last, could be able, together, to build the peace in their land.

The youth who attend the schools financed by the Order and whose tuition fees are entirely paid by its members, are about 10,000. With this help, the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre aim at pro-

viding them with adequate education that can allow them to integrate in the social and political context of the Holy Land, which does not give ample opportunities to the Christian minorities, unless they hold cultural and professional positions of distinction.

Even though it is not a statutory obligation, the pilgrimage to the Holy Land represents an important moment in the life of a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre. As well as making the worship

“The objectives of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre have turned out to be fundamental in the last decades, also as instruments to stem the strong tendency shown by the Christian populations to emigrate from the Holy Land”



Collection of medals with different decorations, emblems and distinctions of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre.



A group of Knights and Dames after the investiture ceremony in the Abbey of Montecassino.

of the Holy Places possible, it always involves the visit to one or more schools and Parishes. Thus, meeting the local Christian communities and listening to their accounts, the pilgrims can become aware of the real dimension of their problems and worries and, above all, of their great need for peace.

Lately the whole world has been paying attention, as never before, to the tragic events in the Middle East, which have also involved the Holy Land in a most alarming way.

A spiral of violence has spread across those tormented regions and has had more and more serious consequences, especially because the death toll has been heavy, with thousands of civilian victims, among which a great number of children.

Benedict XVI, with his heart full of affliction, has addressed all who are responsible for these violent actions *in order that in the name of God each side lays down its arms*, and the international leaders and institutions urging them to *spare no effort to start to build, through a dia-*

logue, a lasting and stable life in common for all the populations of the Middle East. Addressing all men of goodwill, the Pope asked them to continue to provide the destitute with humanitarian aid and to pray to God for peace.

His appeals have been answered: the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre have intensified their activity in favour of the Christian populations in the Holy Land, establishing themselves once more as staunch supporters of the statutory commitment of the Order and updating their old motto: *Deus lo vult*, God wants it.

Giulio Salomone
Great Officer
of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre
of Jerusalem,
Councillor of the Lieutenancy for Central Italy
and Sardinia





WOMEN IN UNIFORM

WOMEN IN UNIFORM

The women's integration within the Italian Armed Forces has represented a change of mentality, which numbers Italy among the most advanced nations. It is a component highly motivated and loyal to the Institutions, wishing to demonstrate its capabilities with commitment and dedication.

Considering the time in which Francesca Scanagatta lived (1776–1865), it is certainly difficult to think that she was a soldier.

She is regarded as a unique figure of the Italian nineteenth century. Since one of her brothers had fallen ill, she replaced him and did six years' military service in the Austro-Hungarian army cross-dressing and fighting against Napoleon. She was even decorated and promoted to a higher rank on merit. They say that her father went to his daughter's Commander of Regiment and, since he did not know German and the Commander did not speak Italian, they spoke in Latin: the girl's father used expressions in the feminine, but the Commander interpreted the use of a wrong gender as a consequence of the man's ignorance. So this misunderstanding lasted for a long time.

Her military career ended in 1800, when she was unmasked and discharged, but she obtained a pension. Finally, she could get married and brought four children into the world. In 1865 the first military woman of Italian history died.

FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE YEAR TWO THOUSAND

During the period 1944–1948 some women were enlisted as auxiliary volunteers, entrusted with the task of assistance and commanded by male Officers. Since then nothing happened until 2000, which was the first year of recruitment of female personnel into the various Services. Some female professional roles are worth mentioning. We should refer to their recruitment into the Armed Forces (Army, Navy and Air Force), the military Police Forces ("Carabinieri", "Guardia di Finanza"), civil Police Forces (State Police, Corps of Forest Rangers), the administrations (National Corps of the Fire

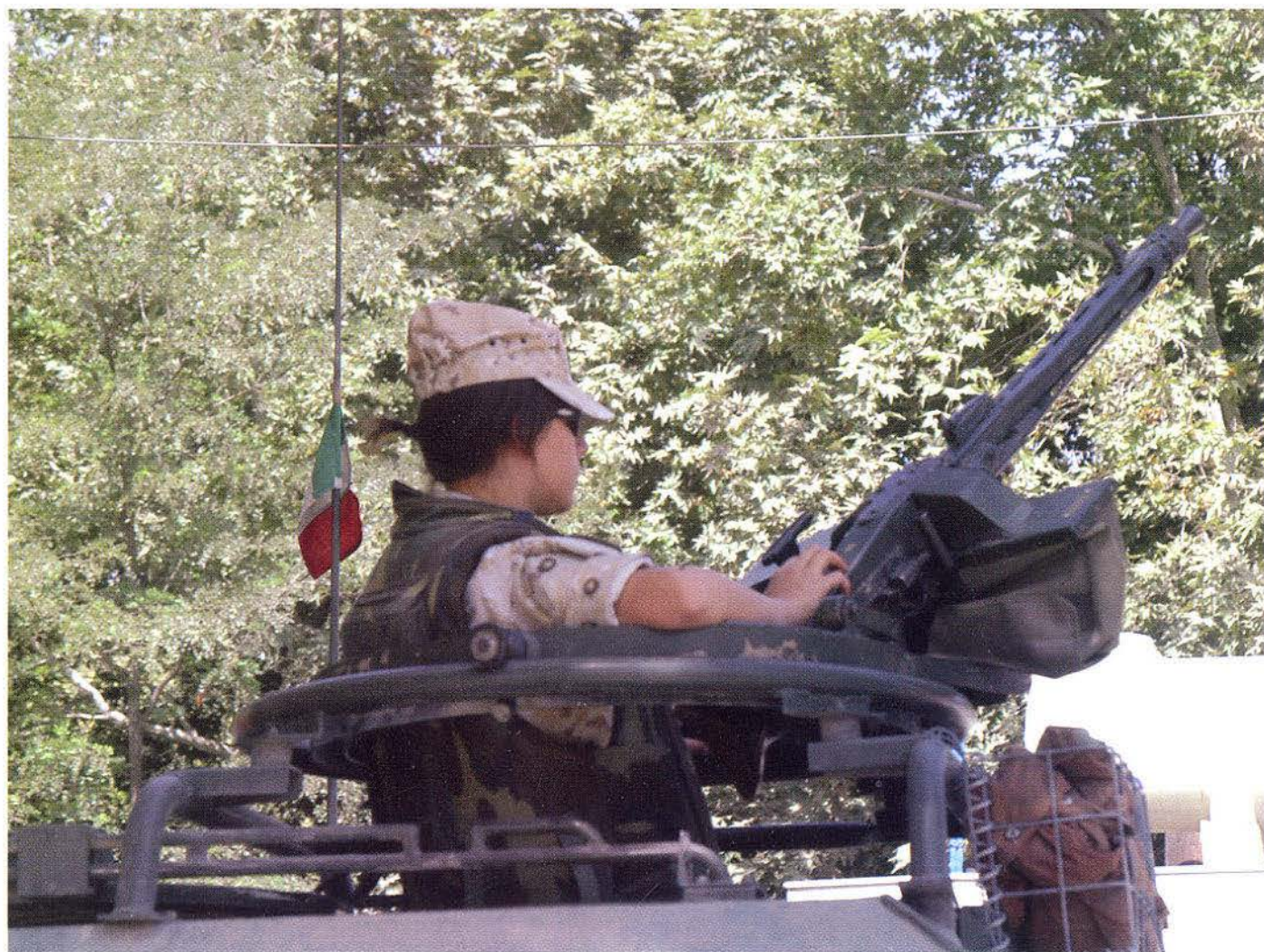


Francesca Scanagatta.

Brigade) and the local Police, just to mention a few. This has led to a new role for women, the adoption of new regulations concerning their legal status and, above all, a new conception of women in the working world.

THE REFERENCE NORMS AND THE TOOLS FOR MONITORING THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN

The rules in the delicate (and, in a way, new)



sector of the female military world are based on two cornerstones:

- «Regulations concerning recruitment of volunteers, legal status and advancement of the female military personnel in the Armed Forces and in the "Guardia di Finanza", in pursuance of article 1, paragraph 2 of the law of 20 October 1999, no. 380»;
- Rules about equal male-female opportunities, Decree of the Italian Government of 11 April 2006 no. 198 articles 32, 33, 34 «Protection against discrimination within the Armed Forces, special Corps and military careers».

The year 2007 has marked the beginning of the recruitment of women into new working sectors. This is one of the main strategic objectives of «2007, which is the European Year of Equal Opportunities for Men and Women»: the goal is to develop and foster a culture of equal opportunities in the working

“The admission of female personnel to the Armed Forces is still regarded as a conquest in a man's society”

Above.

The control of the territory is carried out without distinctions between male and female personnel.

Title pages.

An artillery unit marching on parade in Via dei Fori Imperiali, Rome.

world and to emphasize the female difference into the organizations, a difference which must be seen as a factor of innovation and development. The normative instruments that will result from a careful analysis of this situation will be food for thought, especially with regard to the phenomenon of the so-called «reverse discrimination», that is to say discrimination against the male component.

The Armed Forces have dealt with the problems concerning the recruitment of women with numerous publications. Today, in the so-called *in itinere* phase we can evaluate the first results of this



Air Force pilots.

new profession that has been open to women and their actual professional integration.

The monitoring of gender equality is one of the most effective tools to stimulate the full integration between women and men: on the one hand this new instrument can detect strong and weak points with regard to the attitudes people take; on the other hand, after the phase of integration of the female personnel has been passed, after six years, it monitors the organizations and the tasks that people have been set, as well as career advancement.

It can evaluate key concepts such as «horizontal segregation» (that can be defined as the marginalization from sectors typically staffed by men and the considerable incorporation into those sectors where there is a strong female presence) and «vertical segregation» (limitations on career advancement), which has never happened in the military field because the female personnel can reach only the lowest ranks since they are incorporated for a brief period.

In the subjects concerning women in the world of work some concepts, such as «equal dignity» and «equal opportunities», raise the crucial issue relating to the «reverse discrimination» against male personnel. Consequently, the monitoring of gender is a useful instrument for checking the situation in order that there are

not any discrepancies and problems about equal opportunities.

THE DEFENCE CHIEF OF STAFF ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Present Situation

The admission of female personnel to the Armed Forces is still regarded as a conquest in a man's society. The institutional organisms and different elements of civil and military society have paid attention to this problem. This change has happened together with the new «professional configuration» of the Armed Forces, after the end of military conscription.

In this context we should mention the work the Defence Chief of Staff Advisory Committee and the Commanding General of the Corps of the «Guardia di Finanza» have done – which was established through the interdepartmental measure of 19 June 2000, under clause 1, paragraph 3 of the Law of 20 October 1999, no. 380.

This work is aimed at facilitating the integration of the female personnel into the military world according to the requirements and the

total balance of the «Defence System». It is an effective technical instrument for helping the political-military Summit, which provides us with useful guidelines for the full development of the activity. Women-soldiers represent a historic turning point. Before the adoption of the measure mentioned above there was a long debate which changed the same perception of the «soldier» in the Italian society, touching political-institutional and cultural sectors and those relating to information and public opinion. Since the recruitment of women lots of monitoring visits have been made to the education authorities of the Armed Forces. Before the Committee starts work there is an important activity of study and consultation, according to what the institutive decree provides for.

Mentioning some important activities, it is necessary to stress that:

with regard to the integration of the military female personnel, the General Staff of Defence issued a directive on the military Ethics in December 2002, which highlighted the values of the military culture and established a set of rules for behaviour that the personnel must follow while carrying out their duties. This has laid a sound ethical and behavioural foundation for harmonious professional relationships between men and women. In regard to this, it is possible to notice that the proper enforcement of the regulations concerning equality of opportunities guarantees the correct performance of institutional duties.

In 2006 the gradual improvement of infrastructure brought about a gradual increase in the maximum percentages of female personnel that can be recruited and led to a total opening to any roles and categories. It is important to underline that female selection has tighter controls than that for men in regard to endurance tests and medical examinations.

The recruitment of the female personnel has highlighted a strong interest from small towns in joining the military world. Of course the direct knowledge of military life has caused an increase in the number of the applications that now represent 10% of the total, in harmony with the percentage of recruitment in other European countries.

As far as the career advancement is concerned, it is possible to notice that:

- for example, with regard to the Army there has been full integration with the women of countries whose culture is very different from ours, such as Iraq and Afghanistan;
- with regard to the «Carabinieri», the criteria of employment, which are based on the personal skills of the individuals (and, consequently,



Also in the «Bersaglieri» the female component is highly valued.

on the better use of the distinctive features that characterize the female nature), and the institutional duties of the «Carabinieri» have made women feel like an integral part of the Institution and an element close to the civil world. In the «Carabinieri» any «excess» has been avoided (an internal directive is being issued and it is aimed at avoiding inappropriate forms of «help», any discrimination from the hierarchical chain and the unjustified employment of women in situations of representation);

- the female personnel of the «Guardia di Finanza» is fully integrated in every sector of service. The only exceptions are the antiter-



A woman Ensign.

rorist section and the rapid intervention unit, because they are likely to be involved in situations more suitable for men.

Critical Elements

In the five meetings with the representatives of the Armed Forces, "Carabinieri" and "Guardia di Finanza", the infrastructural problem arose. The objective was to stop discrimination with regard to quarters. The infrastructural problem has influenced the assignment of female personnel to units, because this problem is linked with the pre-existing logistic situation as well as with operational factors.

The Regulations of Military Discipline provide for duties which emphasize the difference between soldiers and civilians and represent a

key factor because of the importance of their function and because of military and ethical values. They are seen by people who have embarked on a military career as a firm foundation for their affection for the institution. In fact, the normative and disciplinary framework, because of its «neutrality», provides satisfactory answers and guarantees substantially the «equality» that must lay a strong foundation for all the regulations.

Soldiers have to show an exemplary and perfect behaviour both in terms of style and in terms of interpersonal relationships to safeguard the prestige and the honour of the Armed Forces. This highlights the institutional interest in guaranteeing equal rights. In particular, the relationships between soldiers are subject to the rank they have and to their duties and this even influences behaviour according to strict ethical rules. In this process, the role of the responsible Authorities who, according to the position they occupy, have to facilitate the cohesion between all military personnel is extremely important, because they are responsible for professionalism, motives and educational and disciplinary harmonization.

In addition, the innate behaviour must be known and understood and the deviant behaviour must be prevented and prosecuted. These concepts are worth deepening.

Innate behaviour. With the recruitment of female personnel the Armed Forces had to face up to a «new reality» and had to realize that innate differences between women and men can exist with regard to the approach to the same problems and with regard to the handling and the expression of emotions. Consequently, it is necessary to consider these potential differences because they could have a significant influence on interpersonal relationships and, at times, on formal relations.

Particularly, men tend not to show emotions, whereas women tend to express their emotions to share them with other people, sometimes through confrontation.

In regard to this, it is important to stress that these two behavioural typologies are both functional, according to the context in which they are set. In fact, expressing one's emotions is a positive attitude because it allows people to think over situations in order to achieve good results. However, it turns out to be negative in operational contexts that require quickness of reactions and strong emo-

“ The Authorities must facilitate the cohesion of military personnel, because they are responsible for their professionalism, motivation, educational and disciplinary harmonization ”



tional resistance. In short, the Commanders and/or the responsible Authorities will have to pay special attention to this aspect and they have to realize that we cannot consider a behavioural typology as right and the other as wrong, but we can find a more or less adequate answer according to the context in which we act.

Critical behaviour. Critical behaviour includes all the actions that are neither admitted nor admissible from a moral, ethical and deontological point of view. What we mean by «moral» is the intuitive perception of what is correct and fair, whereas the adjective «ethical» refers to the public and private conduct in the human relationships and «deontological» refers to all duties that this profession involves.

This kind of behaviour has a negative influence on the correct employment and development of human resources, as well as being harmful to human dignity. Consequently, it undermines the spirit of solidarity and cohesion that makes the Unity efficient. It includes discriminatory and persecutory acts against an individual or a group, which spring from the ignorance and arrogance of people who want to

In the missions abroad, the female personnel have always shown to be up to their tasks.

use physical and psychological violence making their authoritarian behaviour deviant. This refers to that behaviour the military personnel can display, which goes beyond the usual working relationships, adopting an authoritarian attitude that can be classified as «harassment».

There are various types of «harassment»:

- **Mobbing:** it is a form of psychological pressure that is exerted by colleagues and superiors. These attacks can be also implicit and indirect and limited to silent isolation. This persecutory attitude can degenerate into the complete destruction of human dignity (insults, constant criticism, unjustified threats, isolation and boycott). These actions can lead to harmful consequences, such as psychological problems and psychosomatic disorders that can cause psychological disability. From this point of view we can consider the effects of bullying as a professional disease or an accident at work. In addition, not only this

phenomenon has effects on the individual but it influences the entire working environment. In the military world this attitude can assume «vertical» (when a superior exerts power over his inferiors) or «horizontal» (between colleagues) forms, taking advantage of human weaknesses because of jealousy of their tasks.

- *Sexual harassment*: in the EU there are various definitions of «harassment»:
- *harassment*: when people exhibit undesirable behaviour that is linked with the sex in order to rob someone of their dignity creating an atmosphere of intimidation, hostility and humiliation.
- *Sexual harassment*: when people exhibit undesirable behaviour that is linked with the sex through verbal and nonverbal forms of communication in order to rob someone of their dignity creating an atmosphere of intimidation, hostility and humiliation.

Harassment is not regarded as a «simple undesirable act» but as sexual discrimination and for this reason is punishable by law.

The distinguishing feature of harassment is not the ethical and technical-legal assessment of the mere act but the undesirability and inadmissibility.

Some attitudes, which are linked with the sensitivity and the reaction of the person concerned, can be considered as sexual harassment:

- Behaviour that is based on gender and includes the attitude of people who denigrate, mock, intimidate and insult, especially with allusions to the person's gender.
- Non verbal behaviour based on sex, which consists in showing photos or pictures, pornographic objects or pieces of writing, in adopting attitudes and performing actions which allude to sex.
- Verbal behaviour based on sex, which includes undesirable pressure, sexual advances and obscene and ambiguous phrases.
- Physical behaviour based on sex. It includes all undesired and unjustified physical contacts such as pats, caresses, pinches and rubbing against other people's bodies. It is essential to pay attention to the subjective aspect that is the personal assessment of an attitude or an action which is done by the person concerned.

It is acceptable to make distinctions only with regard to categories, ranks, roles and military specialities. Any gender distinctions could arouse resentment among people of the opposite sex who would take on other tasks and this could undermine the cohesion and the spirit of



the corps, which are key values in the military structure.



Similar forms of resentment could be caused by other attitudes, even though they could seem

An "Alpini" unit employed in the multinational contingent in Afghanistan.

harmless: for example the achievement of the minimum standards of operational efficiency that have been established in regard to that particular Unit. It is important to stress that there is a physiological difference between the sexes in order not to have negative effects on the health and morale of the employees. It is certain that women have physical ascendancy and skills different from men's. However, these aspects can be balanced by strong values and determination.

We cannot omit to look at the issue concerning personnel mobility with specific reference to married couples that are both soldiers. In case they serve in the same Unit or place there must not exist mutual hierarchical dependence. The awareness of gender diversity is important but the absence of prejudice is essential as well in order to exploit all human resources effectively. In regard to this, any initiatives aimed at developing a process of integration that allows female personnel to assume the institutional duties naturally and to become aware of one's military status is important. There must be mutual equity in order not to create phenomena of «reverse discrimination» against male personnel who serve in the army and in order that men can face this evolution in the best way and consider it as legitimate and not as a problem that must be handled or an obstacle that must overcome and removed

Normative Instruments and Prospects

As well as the regulations of the ordinary codes, the normative framework of reference includes the Regulations of Military Discipline, the Military Penal Peace Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure.

The Regulations of Military Discipline includes special regulations (Title III «Military Duties» – Title V «Rules of Behaviour of the Military») which establish the principles all military personnel have to adhere to. They have to show exemplary behaviour treating superiors, colleagues and inferiors with utmost respect and following principles of transparency, objectivity and loyalty. In addition, the Title VI «Disciplinary Sanctions» provides for special disciplinary sanctions that must be imposed against those soldiers who do not carry out their duties. The more harmful the action that is performed against an individual is, the more severe the sanction will be, considering that the responsibility could not be assignable to a single individual.

The role of the Authority responsible for the functionality of the Unit/Command/Organization is extremely important to make the working environment peaceful, through an effective and constant action of command and an effective action of monitoring of one's employees' behaviour. Safeguarding people's dignity and improving their skills means strengthening the principles of solidarity and aware participation that allow soldiers to carry out the institutional duties of the Armed Forces.

CONCLUSIONS

Integration and cohesion are the main objectives that must be reached if we want to make male and female personnel highly efficient.

Female personnel should act as «tutors» because they can understand and handle complex situation better. The problem is the lack of female personnel at all levels of the hierarchical ladder, especially in the different Units. Behaviour must be assessed both on a horizontal level and on a vertical level according to



A radio operator in Afghanistan.



Women play a key role in the distribution of humanitarian aid.

principles of equality taking professional skills into consideration regardless of gender. Maintaining the same regulations of military discipline and integrating it with directives *ad hoc* constitute a clear and good indication. Today we cannot run the risk of training wastage because of budget at an organizational level: for this reason it is important to pay attention to the skills of the resources. And it must be admitted that women has shown remarkable skills in the Theatre of operations especially with regard to «maternal thinking» with the local population facilitating rescue operations.

Another problem concerns the combat area and in this regard we must talk about possibilities and not about segregation. This point raises the issue about physical skills in some contexts. It is important to assess potential and physical skills of female personnel which reach inferior standards to those of men. The problem is that in some operations the same standards should be reached if we want to talk about full equality, with regard to operational efficiency and to safety (which is a vital

“... men must be aware that the integration of women is complementary to their presence and is an integral part of the Institution”

prerequisite) of all personnel.

Technically, in this period of adaptation, the objective is to reach a critical foreboding mass of substantial change. The next step will be cultural integration, through a combined process of assimilation into the military culture maintaining the surplus value, i.e. the difference of gender.

The most critical aspect is that of the full integration of female personnel. Sometimes it is possible to notice a distinct lack of one's status and of the role that is occupied within the military hierarchical structure and in the military world. This attitude is reflected in lots of professional aspects, such as interpersonal relationships, professional efficiency and the image of women in the military world. Sometimes the lack of awareness of one's role, of specific tasks, of the exact dimension of the importance of one's figure and of the limitations beyond which soldiers cannot go is the result of two deviant factors:



Above.
A patrol of Italian Blue Helmets in Lebanon.

Below
A girls' school in Afghanistan.

Poor initial indoctrination and lack of professional retraining, especially with regard to the socio-psychological aspects of the military world;

«Reverse discrimination» that causes some women to take advantage of the situation preventing the equality from being achieved and undermining the figure of the female soldier.



The added value that the female element could bring to the military world depends on a particular form of literacy and of consciousness raising in both sexes. On the one hand, women must become aware of occupying an important role that can improve the Institution; on the other hand, men must become aware that the integration of women is complementary to their presence and is an integral part of the Institution.

In addition, on the one hand it is necessary that men should consider this integration as a factor of improvement even of their status; on the other hand it is vital that women should perfectly understand the differences *in minus* (physical skills) from men and try to compensate for them by other elements such as determination, willingness, conscientiousness and devotion to fundamental principal of the military Institution (esprit de corps, respect for traditions, organizational skills, loyalty to institutions and fairness). The goal is to eradicate any prejudices in order that everyone can prove one's worth on the job, whatever it may be.

Mara Sampietro
*First Lieutenant,
Medical Corps (Psych),
General Affairs Division,
Army General Staff*

SOMMARIO VARIE LINGUE



Religione e politica, di Giuseppe Romeo (pag. 2).

Nell'esperienza politica dell'Occidente e, più recentemente, dell'Oriente islamico si è avvertita in questi ultimi anni la necessità di individuare valori di convergenza tra culture diverse per poterle ricondurre all'interno di un quadro comune di democratica partecipazione alla vita della società globalizzata.

Una necessità favorita dal sovrapporsi delle dinamiche politiche e religiose in un momento nel quale la spiritualità sembra dissolversi facendo coincidere aspetti e valori di fede con ideali politici.

Prospettive geostrategiche per il XXI secolo, di Marco Centritto (pag. 10).

Le relazioni determinate dal processo di globalizzazione, l'evoluzione delle reti di trasporto e il prevedibile impoverimento delle risorse energetiche determinano una sempre più marcata connotazione continentale del problema della sicurezza.

Egitto: un futuro da deciptare, di Daniele Cellamare (pag. 24).

Pur non essendo membro della NATO, rappresenta un affidabile alleato e un importante riferimento strategico. I quattro Presidenti, succedutisi dopo la caduta della Monarchia, provengono dalle Forze Armate, così come tutta la classe dirigente al governo del Paese. Un regime monolitico sul quale, però, soffia sempre più forte il vento dell'Islam.

Vita e sicurezza del Mediterraneo, di Giordana Canti (pag. 40).

In un contesto caratterizzato dalla globalizzazione, si avverte la necessità di una strategia per influenzare i futuri assetti del Mediterraneo onde prevenire i rischi della degenerazione politica e sociale di un'area di antichissima civiltà. L'Italia si adopera da sempre affinché resti saldamente legata a un destino comune di sviluppo e libertà.

Fallujah, di Bernacca Federico (pag. 48).

All'alba dell'8 novembre 2004, 15 000 soldati americani ed iracheni si lanciano all'attacco della città di Fallujah, Iraq. Inizia l'operazione «Phantom Fury/Al-Fajr (Dawn)», il più duro combattimento nei centri abitati per i Marines americani dai tempi della battaglia di Huế in Sud Vietnam nel 1968.

Un'approfondita ricostruzione della battaglia destinata ad essere annoverata tra i classici del combattimento nei centri abitati, come Stalingrado, Ortona, Huế e Grozny.

La Bundeswehr si prepara alle sfide future, di Hans-Otto Budde (pag. 62).

Conflitti multi-etnici, estremismi e fanatismi di natura religiosa, collasso d'interi regioni, terrorismo, proliferazione delle armi nucleari. Sono questi i motivi di preoccupazione che hanno indotto i Paesi occidentali a intraprendere una nuova strada per adeguare i propri strumenti militari ai presumibili impegni futuri.

E ciò che sta avvenendo in Germania, dove è in corso una radicale ristrutturazione in aderenza al concetto strategico «Sicurezza e Ricostruzione».

Ce ne parla in questo articolo il Capo di Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito tedesco.

La tecnologia nella didattica delle lingue, di Augusto Staccioli (pag. 70).

Risultati di ottimo livello si sono raggiunti nell'insegnamento e nell'apprendimento delle lingue grazie all'uso di una metodologia d'avanguardia comunemente nota come *Computer Assisted Language Learning*. La sua applicazione richiede conoscenze e capacità per i docenti e abilità e competenza per gli allievi.

Il Tactical Communications Framework Reggimentale, di Marco Cappellini (pag. 78).

Lo studio dell'architettura di una rete di comunicazioni tattica terrestre rappresenta il presupposto iniziale su cui basare forze moderne dotate di capacità operative valide per qualsiasi tipologia di operazioni.

Conoscere a priori le possibilità della rete di comunicazioni, i servizi su di essa disponibili e come gli stessi vengano distribuiti nello spazio della manovra, dal Comando di Contingente fino al singolo militare, rappresenta un elemento di pianificazione tale da configurarsi in un decisivo moltiplicatore di forza. Questo, tanto più, se l'ipotesi architetture è preceduta da uno studio realistico delle tecnologie disponibili, delle capacità addestrative della Forza Armata e della dottrina d'impiego dei reparti.

Le armi incendiarie, di Ulderico Petresca e Rossella Prisco (pag. 92).

L'uso delle sostanze incendiarie nei conflitti ha radici antichissime. Gli effetti nocivi che queste producono sono devastanti, mentre convenzioni e divieti sono frequentemente elusi per la discorde percezione della loro legittimità.

Caporetto: una storia controversa, di Eugenio Di Rienzo (pag. 98).

Una ricostruzione documentale che mette in luce molteplici aspetti di una disfatta spesso falsata dalla disinformazione o dalla propaganda.

Ce ne fornisce la «materia prima» «Ottobre 1917, dall'Isonzo al Piave» di Gioacchino Volpe, un'opera di grande impatto che, ancora oggi, solleva reazioni appassionate e, a volte, discordi.

Confini, di Sara Gregg (pag. 108).

«Essi muoiono e risorgono, si spostano, si cancellano e riappaiono inaspettati. Segnano l'esperienza, il linguaggio, lo spazio dell'abitare, il corpo con la sua salute e le sue malattie, la psiche con le sue scissioni e i suoi riassetamenti, la politica con la sua spesso assurda cartografia, l'io con la pluralità dei suoi frammenti e le loro faticose ricomposizioni, la società con le sue divisioni, l'economia con le sue invasioni e le sue ritirate, il pensiero con le sue mappe dell'ordine» (Claudio Magris).

L'Ordine del Santo Sepolcro, di Giulio Salomone (pag. 118).

Non conferisce onorificenze, ma impegna dame e cavalieri in un'onerosa attività caritativa e spirituale in favore della comunità cristiana in Terra Santa.

Donne in uniforme, di Mara Sampietro (pag. 126).

L'integrazione delle donne nelle Forze Armate italiane ha rappresentato un cambio di mentalità che inserisce l'Italia nel novero delle nazioni più avanzate. Una componente altamente motivata e fedele alle istituzioni, che desidera dimostrare le proprie capacità con impegno e dedizione.



SOMMARIO VARIE LINGUE



Religion and Politics, by Giuseppe Romeo (p. 2).

In the political experience of the West and, more recently, of the Islamic East, during the last years there has been a felt need to single out the values of convergence between the two different cultures, in order to include them within a common framework of democratic participation in the life of a globalized society.

The overlapping of political and religious dynamics, at a time when spirituality seems to dissolve, prompts the need to make the religious aspects and values coincide with political ideals.

Geostrategic Prospects for the 21st Century, by Marco Centritto (p. 10).

The relations brought about by the globalization process, the evolution of the transport nets and the expected impoverishment of the energy resources are causing a more and more marked continental connotation of the security problems.

Egypt: A Future to be Deciphered, by Daniele Cellamare (p. 24).

Although not a member of NATO, Egypt is a reliable ally and an important strategic reference. The four Presidents that succeeded each other after the fall of the Monarchy come from the Armed Forces, as does the whole ruling class of the Country. It is a monolithic regime, but the wind of Islam is blowing harder and harder.

Life and Security of the Mediterranean, by Giordana Canti (p. 40).

In a background characterized by globalization, one perceives the need of a strategy that could influence the future order of the Mediterranean, so as to avert the risks of political and social degeneration in an ancient and highly civilized region. Italy has always been working in order to keep this area firmly bound to a common destiny of development and freedom.

Fallujah, by Federico Bernacca (p. 48).

On November 8, 2004, at dawn, 15,000 American and Iraqi soldiers launched an attack on the city of Fallujah, Iraq.

It was the beginning of operation «Phantom Fury»/Al-Fajr (Dawn)«the hardest fight in a built-up area ever conducted by American Marines since the battle of Hue, South Vietnam, in 1968.

This article is a thorough reconstruction of a battle destined to be included among the classic combats in inhabited areas, such as Stalingrad, Ortona, Hue and Grozny.

The Bundeswehr is preparing for Future Challenges, by Hans-Otto Budde (p. 62).

Multiethnic conflicts, religious extremism and fanaticism, collapse of entire regions, terrorism, proliferation of nuclear weapons. These are the reasons for concern that prompted the Western Countries to take a new road, in order to adapt their military instruments to the presumable future engagements.

This is what is happening in Germany, where a radical reorganization is under way, according to the strategic

concept of «Security and Reconstruction».

In this article the Chief of Staff of the German Army talks to us about this subject.

Technology in the Didactics of Languages, by Augusto Staccioli (p. 70).

Very good results have been achieved in the teaching and learning of languages, thanks to an advanced method commonly known as «Computer Assisted Language Learning». Its application requires knowledge and skill from the teachers, as well as ability and competence from the students.

The Regimental Tactical Communications Framework, by Marco Cappellini (p. 78).

The study of the architecture of a tactical land communications network is the initial prerequisite on which to base modern forces operationally capable and valid for any type of operations.

Knowing beforehand the capabilities of the communications network, its services and their distribution in the manoeuvre space, from the Command of the Contingent down to the single soldier, represents a planning element that is a real force multiplier. This is even more true if the architectural assumption is preceded by a realistic study of the available technology, training capabilities of the Service and the units' doctrine of employment.

Incendiary Devices, by Ulderico Petresca and Rossella Prisco (p. 92).

The employment of incendiary substances in conflicts has very ancient roots. The noxious effects that they produce are devastating, while conventions and prohibitions are frequently disregarded, owing to a discordant perception of their legitimacy.

Caporetto: A Controversial Story, by Eugenio Di Rienzo (p. 98).

A documentary reconstruction that highlights the many-sided aspects of a defeat often misrepresented by disinformation or propaganda.

The «raw material» is provided by the book «Ottobre 1917, dall'Isonzo al Piave» (October 1917, from the Isonzo to the Piave) by Gioacchino Volpe. A work of great impact, which, still today, raises impassioned, and sometimes discordant, reactions.

Boundaries, by Sara Gregg (p. 108).

«They die and revive, move, vanish and reappear unexpectedly. They mark the experience, the language, one's dwelling space, the body with its health and its diseases, the psyche with its splitting and readjustments, politics with its often absurd cartography, the ego with the plurality of its fragments and their laborious reassembling, society with its divisions, economy with its invasions and retreats, thought with its order maps» (Claudio Magris).

The Order of the Holy Sepulchre, by Giulio Salomone (p. 118).

It does not confer honours, but commits dames and knights to an onerous charitable and spiritual activity in favour of the Christian community in the Holy Land.

Women in Uniform, by Mara Sampietro (p. 126).

The women's integration within the Italian Armed Forces has represented a change of mentality, which numbers Italy among the most advanced nations. It is a component highly motivated and loyal to the Institutions, wishing to demonstrate its capabilities with commitment and dedication.



Religion et politique, par Giuseppe Romeo (p. 2).

A la lumière de l'expérience politique de l'Occident et, plus récemment, de l'Orient islamique, le besoin s'est fait sentir, au cours de ces dernières années, d'identifier des valeurs et des éléments de convergence entre cultures différentes en vue de leur insertion dans un cadre commun de participation démocratique à la vie de la société mondialisée.

Perspectives géostratégiques pour le XXI siècle, par Marco Centritto (p. 10).

Les rapports auxquels a donné naissance le processus de mondialisation, l'évolution des réseaux de transport et l'épuisement progressif des sources d'énergie qui en découle, donnent au problème de la sécurité une dimension de plus en plus continentale.

Egypte: un futur à décrypter, par Daniele Cellamare (p. 24).

Bien qu'il ne soit pas un membre de l'OTAN, l'Egypte est un allié fiable et une référence stratégique importante. Les quatre présidents qui se sont succédés après la chute de la monarchie proviennent des Forces armées, tout comme l'ensemble des dirigeants au Gouvernement du pays. Un régime politique monolithique sur lequel souffle cependant avec une force croissante le vent islamique.

Vie et sécurité de la Méditerranée, par Giordana Canti (p.40).

Dans un contexte caractérisé par la mondialisation, le besoin se fait sentir d'une stratégie visant à influencer les équilibres futurs de la Méditerranée, afin de prévenir les risques liés à la dégénération politique et sociale d'une région qui fut le berceau d'une ancienne civilisation. L'Italie s'emploie depuis toujours à faire en sorte que cette région ne s'éloigne pas de son destin commun fondé sur le développement et la liberté.

Fallujah, par Federico Bernacca (p. 48).

A l'aube du 8 novembre 2004, 15 000 soldats américains et irakiens marchent à l'attaque de la ville de Fallujah, en Iraq. C'est ainsi qu'est déclenchée l'opération «Phantom Fury/Al-Fajr (Dawn)», le plus rude combat dans un centre habité que les Marines aient connu depuis la bataille de Hué au Viêt-Nam du Sud en 1968.

La Bundeswehr se prépare pour relever les défis du futur, par Hans-Otto Budde (p. 62).

Conflits multiethniques, extrémismes et fanatismes religieux, la chute de régions entières, le terrorisme, la prolifération des armes nucléaires. Ce sont là autant de sources d'inquiétude qui ont poussé les pays d'Occident à s'engager sur une nouvelle voie en vue d'adapter leurs instruments militaires pour relever les défis du futur.

La technologie au service de l'enseignement des langues, par Augusto Staccioli (p. 70).

D'excellents résultats ont été obtenus dans l'enseignement et l'apprentissage des langues grâce à

l'emploi d'une technologie d'avant-garde communément appelée Computer Assisted Language Learning. Son application demande connaissances et capacité de la part des enseignants et habilité et compétence de la part des élèves.

Le Tactical Communications Framework Régimentaire, par Marco Cappellini (p. 78).

L'étude de l'architecture d'un réseau de communications tactique terrestre constitue l'élément essentiel servant de base à des forces modernes dotées de capacités opérationnelles pouvant être employées pour toutes les typologies d'opérations. Connaître à priori les possibilités du réseau de communication, les services disponibles et la façon dont ceux-ci sont distribués au sein de l'espace de la manœuvre, depuis le commandement du contingent jusqu'au simple soldat, c'est disposer d'un élément de planification susceptible de se transformer en un multiplicateur de force décisif. Et ce d'autant plus si l'analyse architecturale est précédée d'une étude réaliste des technologies disponibles, des capacités d'instruction de la Force armée et de la doctrine d'emploi des unités.

Les armes incendiaires, par Ulderico Petresca et Rossella Prisco (p. 92).

L'utilisation de substances incendiaires a des racines anciennes. Les effets de ces substances sont dévastateurs et pourtant nombreuses sont les conventions et les interdictions encore éludées, faute d'une perception commune quant à leur légitimité.

Caporetto: une histoire controversée, par Eugenio Di Rienzo (p. 98).

Une reconstruction documentaire qui jette la lumière sur de nombreux aspects liés à une défaite souvent faussée par la désinformation ou la propagande. Nous en trouvons de l'excellente « matière première » dans «Ottobre 1917, dall'Isonzo al Piave», un ouvrage d'un grand impact par Giocchino Volpe qui suscite encore aujourd'hui des réactions passionnées et, parfois, discordantes.

Confins, par Sara Greggi (p. 108).

«Ils meurent puis renaissent, ils se déplacent, s'effacent et réapparaissent inattendus. Ils marquent l'expérience, le langage, l'espace habité, le corps avec sa santé et ses maladies, la psyché avec ses dédoublements et ses rééquilibres, la politique avec sa cartographie souvent absurde, le moi avec la pluralité de ses fragments et leur recombinaison ardue, la société avec ses divisions, l'économie avec ses invasions et ses retraits, la pensée avec ses cartes de l'ordre» (Claudio Magris).

L'Ordre du Saint-Sépulcre, par Giulio Salomone (p. 118).

L'Ordre du Saint-Sépulcre ne confère aucune décoration, mais il engage dames et chevaliers dans d'onnées activités caritatives et spirituelles en faveur de la communauté chrétienne en Terre Sainte.

Les femmes en uniforme, par Mara Sampietro (p.139).

L'entrée des femmes dans les Forces armées italiennes reflète un changement dans la mentalité de l'Italie qui se place ainsi parmi les pays les plus avancés. Il s'agit d'une composante hautement motivée et fidèle aux institutions désirant prouver ses capacités avec conviction et dévouement.



SOMMARIO VARIE LINGUE



Religion und Politik, von Giuseppe Romeo (S. 2).

In der politischen Erfahrung des Westens und, seit kurzem auch des islamischen Ostens, hat es sich in den letzten Jahren als notwendig erwiesen, übereinstimmende Werte zwischen unterschiedlichen Kulturen herauszustellen, um sie in den gemeinsamen Plan demokratischer Beteiligung am Leben der globalisierten Gesellschaft einzubinden.

Eine durch die Überlagerung politischer und religiöser Dynamiken begünstigte Notwendigkeit zu einem Zeitpunkt, zu dem sich die Spiritualität aufzulösen scheint und Werte des Glaubens mit politischen Idealen koinzidieren.

Geostrategische Perspektiven für das XXI Jahrhundert, von Marco Centritto (S. 10).

Die vom Globalisierungsprozess festgelegten Beziehungen, die Evolution des Transportnetzes und die voraussehbare Verarmung der energetischen Ressourcen bringen zu einer immer stärkeren Weltdefinition des Problems der Sicherheit.

Ägypten: eine Zukunft zu entziffern, von Daniele Cellamare (S. 24).

Obwohl Ägypten kein NATO-Mitglied ist, ist das Land ein zuverlässiger Verbündeter und ein wichtiger strategischer Partner. Die vier Präsidenten, die nach dem Fall der Monarchie aufeinander gefolgt sind, kommen aus den Streitkräften sowie die Entscheidungsträger der Regierung des Landes. Ein monolithisches Regime, in das aber immer stärker der Wind des Islams bläst.

Leben und Sicherheit des Mittelmeeres, von Giordana Canti (S. 40).

Im Kontext der Globalisierung ist eine Strategie notwendig, um die zukünftige Ordnung des Mittelmeeres zu beeinflussen und um den Risiken politischer und sozialer Entartung im Gebiet einer sehr alten Zivilisation vorzubeugen. Italien setzt sich ein, damit die Bindung an ein gemeinsames Schicksal im Zeichen von Entwicklung und Freiheit stets erhalten bleibt.

Fallujah, von Federico Bernacca (S. 48).

Am Morgengrauen des 8. November 2004, stürzten sich 15.000 amerikanische und irakische Soldaten auf den Angriff der Stadt Fallujah, Irak. Die Operation «Phantom Fury/Al-Fajr (Tagesanbruch)» beginnt, dies ist der härteste Kampf in bewohnten Zentren für die amerikanischen Marines seit der Zeit der Schlacht in Huế in Südvietnam 1968. Eine ausführliche Rekonstruktion, die zu den Klassikern der Kämpfe in bewohnten Zentren, wie Stalingrad, Ortona, Huế und Grozny, zu zählen ist.

Die Bundeswehr bereit sich auf die zukünftigen Herausforderungen vor, von Hans-Otto Budde (S. 62).

Multiethnische Konflikte, Extremismen und Fanatismus religiösen Ursprungs, der Untergang ganzer Regionen, Terrorismus, Vermehrung der Atomwaffen. Diese sind die Gründe für die Sorgen, die in den Westländern dazu geführt haben, einen neuen Weg einzuschlagen, um die eigenen militärischen Instrumente eventuellen zukünftigen Einsätzen anzupassen.

Dies geschieht zur Zeit in Deutschland, wo eine radikale Neugestaltung nach dem strategischen Begriff "Si-

cherheit und Rekonstruktion" in Gang ist.

Es berichtet davon in diesem Artikel der Oberbefehlshaber des Deutschen Heeres.

Die Technologie in der Didaktik der Fremdesprachen, von Augusto Staccioli (S. 70).

Dank einer avantgardistischen, allgemein wie Computer Assisted Language Learning bekannten Methode, sind Ereignisse von höchstem Niveau in dem Lehren und Lernen der Fremdsprachen erreicht worden. Ihre Anwendung verlangt Kenntnisse und Fähigkeiten seitens der Lehrer und Geschicklichkeit und Kompetenz seitens der Schüler.

Das Regiment-Tactical Communications Framework, von Marco Cappellini (S. 78).

Die Erforschung der Architektur eines taktischen Erdkommunikationsnetzes stellt die Voraussetzung dar, auf die sich moderne Streitkräfte mit Einsatzfähigkeiten für jede Art von Operationen verlassen.

Die Möglichkeiten des Kommunikationsnetzes, seine verfügbaren Dienste und wie sie in dem Manöverraum verteilt werden, vom Kontingentsführer bis zum letzten Soldat, a priori zu kennen, ist ein Planungselement, das zu einem Kraftvervielfachen wird. Dieses um so mehr, da die Architekturhypothese durch eine realistische Einschätzung der vorhandenen Technologien, der Ausbildungskapazitäten der Streitkräfte und der Einsatztheorie der Einheiten vorbereitet wird.

Die Brandwaffen, von Ulderico Petresca und Rossella Prisco (S. 92).

Der Gebrauch von Brandstoffen in Konflikten hat uralte Wurzeln. Die schädlichen Wirkungen, die sie verursachen, sind verwüstend, während Abkommen und Verbote häufig wegen der uneinigen Wahrnehmung ihrer Rechtmäßigkeit umgangen werden.

Caporetto: eine umstrittene Geschichte, von Eugenio Di Rienzo (S. 98).

Eine Urkundenrekonstruktion, die vielfältige Aspekte einer oft von der Propaganda verfälschten Niederlage ans Licht fördert. Den "Rohstoff" liefert "Oktober 1917, vom Isonzo zum Piave" von Gioacchino Volpe, ein aufsehenerregendes Werk, das noch heute leidenschaftliche und manchmal strittige Reaktionen hervorruft.

Grenzen, von Sara Greggi (S. 108).

«Sie sterben und erstehen auf, sie bewegen sich, löschen sich aus und unerwartet erscheinen wieder. Sie bilden die Erfahrung, die Sprache, den Wohnensraum, den Körper mit seiner Gesundheit und seinen Krankheiten, den Geist mit seinen Spaltungen und seinen Wiedererregungen, die Politik mit ihrer oft sinnlosen Kartographie, das Ich mit der Pluralität seiner Fragmenten und ihrer mühevollen Wiederausammenfügungen, die Gesellschaft mit ihren Teilungen, die Wirtschaft mit ihren Eindringen und Rückzügen, den Gedanken mit seinen Ordnungsplänen» (Claudio Magris).

Der Orden des Heiligen Grabes, von Giulio Salomone (S. 118).

Er verleiht keine Ehrungen, sondern verpflichtet Damen und Ritter zu wohlthätigen und geistlichen Aktivitäten zugunsten der christlichen Gemeinde im Heiligen Land.

Frauen in Uniform, von Mara Sampietro (S. 126).

Die Integration der Frauen in die italienischen Streitkräfte hat eine Veränderung in der Mentalität hervorgerufen, durch die Italien den fortgeschritteneren Nationen zugeordnet wird. Eine hoch motivierte und den Institutionen treue Komponente, die wünscht, ihre Fähigkeiten mit Fleiß und Hingabe unter Beweis stellen zu können.



Religión y política, Giuseppe Romeo (pág. 2).

En estos últimos años, a la luz de la experiencia política de Occidente, y más recientemente, del Oriente islámico, se hizo evidente la necesidad de identificar valores de convergencia entre culturas distintas con el fin de colocarlas en un marco común de participación democrática en la vida de la sociedad mundializada. Una necesidad fomentada por la superposición de dinámicas políticas y religiosas en un momento en que la espiritualidad parece disolverse haciendo coincidir aspectos y valores religiosos con ideales políticos.

Perspectivas geoestratégicas para el siglo XXI, Marco Centritto (pág. 10).

Las relaciones generadas por el proceso de globalización, la evolución de las redes de transporte y el consiguiente agotamiento progresivo de los recursos energéticos hacen que el problema de la seguridad valla cobrando carácter y dimensión cada vez más continentales.

Egipto: un futuro a describir, Daniele Cellamare (pág. 24).

Aunque no es miembro de la OTAN, Egipto representa un aliado fiable y un referente estratégico. Los cuatro presidentes que se sucedieron tras la caída de la monarquía proceden de las Fuerzas armadas, así como toda la clase directiva del Gobierno del país. Un régimen monolítico sobre el que, sin embargo, sopla el ventarrón islámico.

Vida y seguridad del Mediterráneo, Giordana Canti (pág. 40).

En un contexto caracterizado por la globalización, se vuelve necesaria una estrategia encaminada a influir en los equilibrios futuros del Mediterráneo para prevenir los riesgos de la degeneración política y social de una área que fue la cuna de una antiquísima civilización. Italia está empeñada en una secular lucha por mantener esta área vinculada a su destino común de desarrollo y libertad.

Fallujah, Federico Bernacca (pág. 48).

Al amanecer del 8 de noviembre de 2004, 15 000 soldados norteamericanos e iraquíes se lanzan al ataque de la ciudad de Fallujah, en Iraq. Así es como empieza la operación «Phantom Fury/Al-Fajr (Dawn)», el combate más duro que los Marines norteamericanos hayan experimentado en un centro habitado desde la batalla de Huế en Vietnam del Sur en 1968.

He aquí la reconstrucción detallada de la batalla destinada a ser contada entre los combates clásicos e históricos en centros habitados, como Stalingrado, Ortona, Huế y Grozny.

La Bundeswehr se prepara para los retos del futuro, Hans-Otto Budde (pág. 62).

Conflictos multiétnicos, extremismos y fanatismos de carácter religioso, desmoronamiento de regiones enteras, terrorismo, proliferación de armas nucleares. Son éstos los motivos de preocupación que han incitado a los países de Occidente a adaptar sus propias herramientas militares para encarar los probables desafíos futuros.

Es lo que se está dando en Alemania donde se ha emprendido un proceso radical de reorganización con arreglo al concepto estratégico de «Seguridad y Reconstrucción».

De esto nos habla en este artículo el Jefe del Estado Mayor del Ejército alemán.

La tecnología en la enseñanza de las lenguas, Augusto Staccioli (pág. 70).

Son excelentes los resultados conseguidos en la enseñanza y aprendizaje de los idiomas gracias al empleo de una tecnología de vanguardia comúnmente denominada Computer Assisted Language Learning, cuya aplicación requiere conocimientos y capacidad para los docentes y habilidad y competencia para los alumnos.

El Tactical Communications Framework Regimental, Marco Cappellini (pág. 78).

El estudio de la arquitectura de una red de comunicaciones táctica terrestre es el requisito básico en el que han de fundamentarse las fuerzas modernas dotadas de capacidad operativa válida para cualquier tipología de operaciones.

El conocimiento previo de las posibilidades de la red de comunicaciones, de los servicios que ésta facilita y de la forma en que los mismos son distribuidos en el espacio de la maniobra, desde el Mando del Contingente hasta cada uno de los militares, representa un elemento de planeamiento que se convierte en un multiplicador de fuerzas decisivo. Aun más cuando al diseño de la arquitectura precede un estudio realista de las tecnologías disponibles, de las capacidades de instrucción de la Fuerza armada y de la doctrina de empleo de las unidades.

Las armas incendiarias, Ulderico Petresca y Rossella Prisco (pág. 92).

El empleo de sustancias incendiarias en los conflictos se remonta a tiempos muy lejanos. Los efectos nocivos de dichas sustancias son devastadores y, sin embargo, convenciones y prohibiciones siguen desatendidas debido a la falta de una percepción común en cuanto a su legitimidad.

Caporetto: una historia controvertida, Eugenio Di Rienzo (pág. 98).

Una reconstrucción documental que saca a luz numerosos aspectos de una derrota a menudo distorsionada por la desinformación o la propaganda.

Encontramos «materia prima» de ello en «Ottobre 1917, dall'Isonzo al Piave» (Octubre de 1917, desde el Isonzo al Piave) de Gioacchino Volpe, una obra de notable impacto que, hoy día, sigue suscitando reacciones apasionadas y tal vez discordes.

Confines, Sara Gregg (pág. 108).

«Mueren y renacen, se mueven, desaparecen, vuelven a aparecer inesperados.

Marcan la experiencia, el lenguaje, el espacio habitado, el cuerpo con su salud y sus enfermedades, la psique con sus desdoblamientos y sus reequilibrios, la política con su cartografía a menudo absurda, el yo con la pluralidad de sus fragmentos y sus arduas recomposiciones, la sociedad con sus divisiones, la economía con sus invasiones y sus retiradas, el pensamiento con sus mapas del orden» (Claudio Magris).

La Orden del Santo Sepulcro, Giulio Salomone (pág. 118).

No otorga condecoraciones pero sí implica a damas y a caballeros en una laboriosa y absorbente actividad caritativa y espiritual a favor de la comunidad cristiana en Tierra Santa.

Mujeres en uniforme, Mara Sampietro (pág. 126).

La incorporación de las mujeres en las Fuerzas armadas ha representado un cambio de mentalidad por el que Italia se coloca actualmente entre los países más avanzados. Trátase de un componente sumamente motivado y fiel a las instituciones, con la voluntad de comprobar sus propias capacidades con empeño y devoción.



Religião e Política, de Giuseppe Romeo (pág. 2).

Na experiência política do Ocidente e, mais recentemente, do Oriente islâmico notou-se, nestes últimos anos, a necessidade de identificar valores de convergência entre culturas diferentes para as poder voltar a dirigir para o interior de um quadro comum de democrática participação na vida da sociedade globalizada.

Uma necessidade favorecida pela sobreposição das dinâmicas políticas e religiosas num momento em que a espiritualidade se parece dissolver fazendo coincidir aspectos e valores de fé com ideais políticos.

Perspectivas geo-estratégicas para o séc. XXI, de Marco Centritto (pág. 10).

As relações determinadas pelo processo de globalização, a evolução das redes de transportes e o previsível empobrecimento dos recursos energéticos determinam uma cada vez mais marcada conotação continental do problema da segurança.

Egipto: um futuro a descriptar, de Daniele Cellamare (pág. 24).

Mesmo não sendo membro da NATO, representa um fiel aliado e uma importante referência estratégica. Os quatro Presidentes, que se sucederam após a queda da Monarquia, provêm das Forças Armadas, assim como toda a classe dirigente do governo do País. Um regime monolítico sobre o qual, porém, sopra cada vez mais forte o vento do Islão.

Vida e segurança do Mediterrâneo, de Giordana Canti (pág. 40).

Num contexto caracterizado pela globalização, sente-se necessidade de uma estratégia para influenciar a futura ordem do Mediterrâneo, onde prevenir os riscos da degeneração política e social de uma área de antiquíssima civilização. A Itália tem-se esforçado, desde sempre, para ficar solidamente ligada a um destino comum de desenvolvimento e liberdade.

Fallujah, de Federico Bernacca (pág. 48).

Na madrugada de 8 de Novembro de 2004, 15 000 soldados americanos e iraquianos lançam-se ao ataque da cidade de Fallujah, Iraque. Inicia a operação «Phantom Fury/Al-Fajr (Dawn)», o mais duro combate nos centros habitados pelos Marines americanos dos tempos da batalha de Hué no Sul do Vietnam em 1968.

Uma reconstrução aprofundada da batalha destinada a ser incluída entre os clássicos do combate nos centros habitados, como Stalingrado, Ortona, Hué e Grozny.

A Bundeswehr prepara-se para os desafios futuros, de Hans-Otto Budde (pág. 62).

Conflitos multi-étnicos, extremismos e fanatismos de natureza religiosa, colapso de inteiras religiões, terrorismo, proliferação das armas nucleares. São estes os motivos de preocupação que induziram os países ocidentais a traçar um novo caminho para adequar os próprios instrumentos militares aos presumíveis empenhos futuros.

É o que está a acontecer na Alemanha, onde decorre uma radical reestruturação aderente ao conceito estratégico "Segurança e Reconstrução".

Fala-nos, neste artigo, o Chefe do Estado Maior do Exército Alemão.

A tecnologia na didáctica das línguas, de Augusto Staccioli (pág. 70).

Resultados de óptimo nível atingiram-se no ensino e na aprendizagem das línguas graças ao uso de uma metodologia de vanguarda habitualmente conhecida como Computer Assisted Language Learning.

A sua aplicação requer conhecimentos e capacidades para os docentes e habilidade e competência para os alunos.

O Tactical Communications Framework de Regimento, de Marco Cappellini (pág. 78).

O estudo da arquitectura de uma rede de comunicações táctica terrestre representa um pressuposto inicial no qual basear forças modernas dotadas de capacidades operativas válidas para qualquer tipologia de operações. Conhecer a priori as possibilidades da rede de comunicações, os serviços nesta disponíveis e como os mesmos vêm distribuídos no espaço de manobra, do Comando de Contingente até ao militar singular, representa um elemento de planificação que se pode configurar num decisivo multiplicador de força. Isto, se a hipótese arquitectónica for precedida de um estudo realístico das tecnologias disponíveis, das capacidades de treino da Força Armada e da doutrina de emprego das repartições.

As armas incendiárias, de Ulderico Petresca e Rossella Prisco (pág. 92).

O uso das substâncias incendiárias nos conflitos tem raízes antiquíssimas. Os efeitos nocivos que estas produzem são devastantes, enquanto convenções e proibições são frequentemente eludidas para uma discordante percepção da sua legitimidade.

Caporetto: uma história controversa, de Eugenio Di Rienzo (pág. 98).

Uma reconstrução documental que traz à luz múltiplos aspectos de uma derrota frequentemente falseada pela desinformação ou pela propaganda.

Fornece-nos a "matéria-prima" "Outubro 1917, de Isonzo a Piave" de Gioacchino Volpe, uma obra de grande impacto que, ainda hoje, levanta reacções apaixonadas e, por vezes, discordantes.

Confini, de Sara Gregg (pág. 108).

«Morrem e ressurgem, movem-se, apagam-se e tornam a aparecer inesperados. Marcam a experiência, a linguagem, o espaço do habitar, o corpo com a sua saúde e as suas doenças, a psique com as suas desarmonias e as suas re-adaptações, a política com a sua, frequentemente, absurda cartografia, o «eu com a pluralidade dos seus fragmentos e as suas cansativas recomposições, a sociedade com as suas divisões, a economia com as suas invasões e as suas retiradas, o pensamento com os seus mapas de ordem» (Claudio Magris).

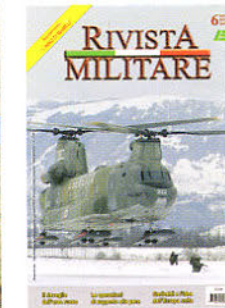
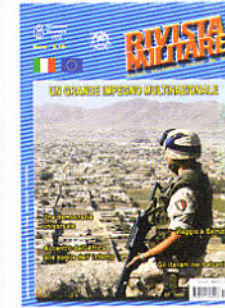
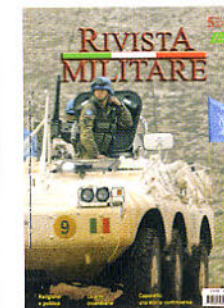
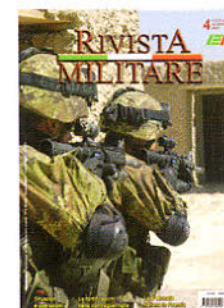
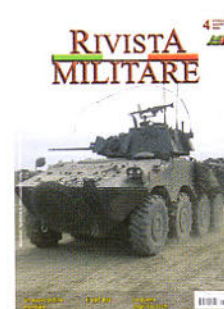
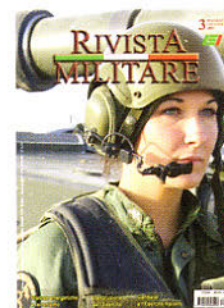
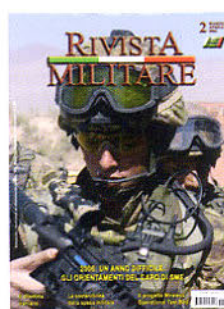
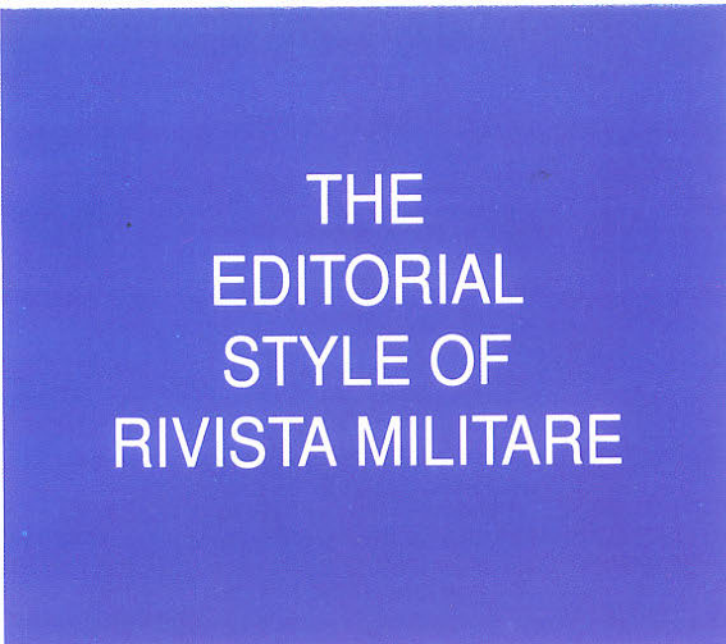
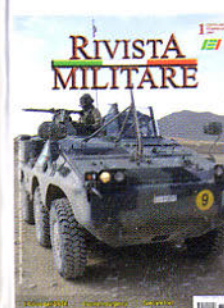
A Ordem do Santo Sepulcro, de Giulio Salomone (pág. 118).

Não confere honorificências, mas emprega damas e cavalheiros numa honrosa actividade caridosa e espiritual a favor da comunidade cristã em Terra Santa.

Mulheres em uniforme, de Mara Sampietro (pág. 126).

A integração das mulheres nas Forças Armadas italianas representou uma mudança de mentalidade que insere a Itália na lista das nações mais avançadas. Uma componente altamente motivada e fiel às instituições, que deseja demonstrar as próprias capacidades com empenho e dedicação.

THE EDITORIAL STYLE OF RIVISTA MILITARE



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JOURNAL OF THE ITALIAN ARMY FOUNDED IN 1856

